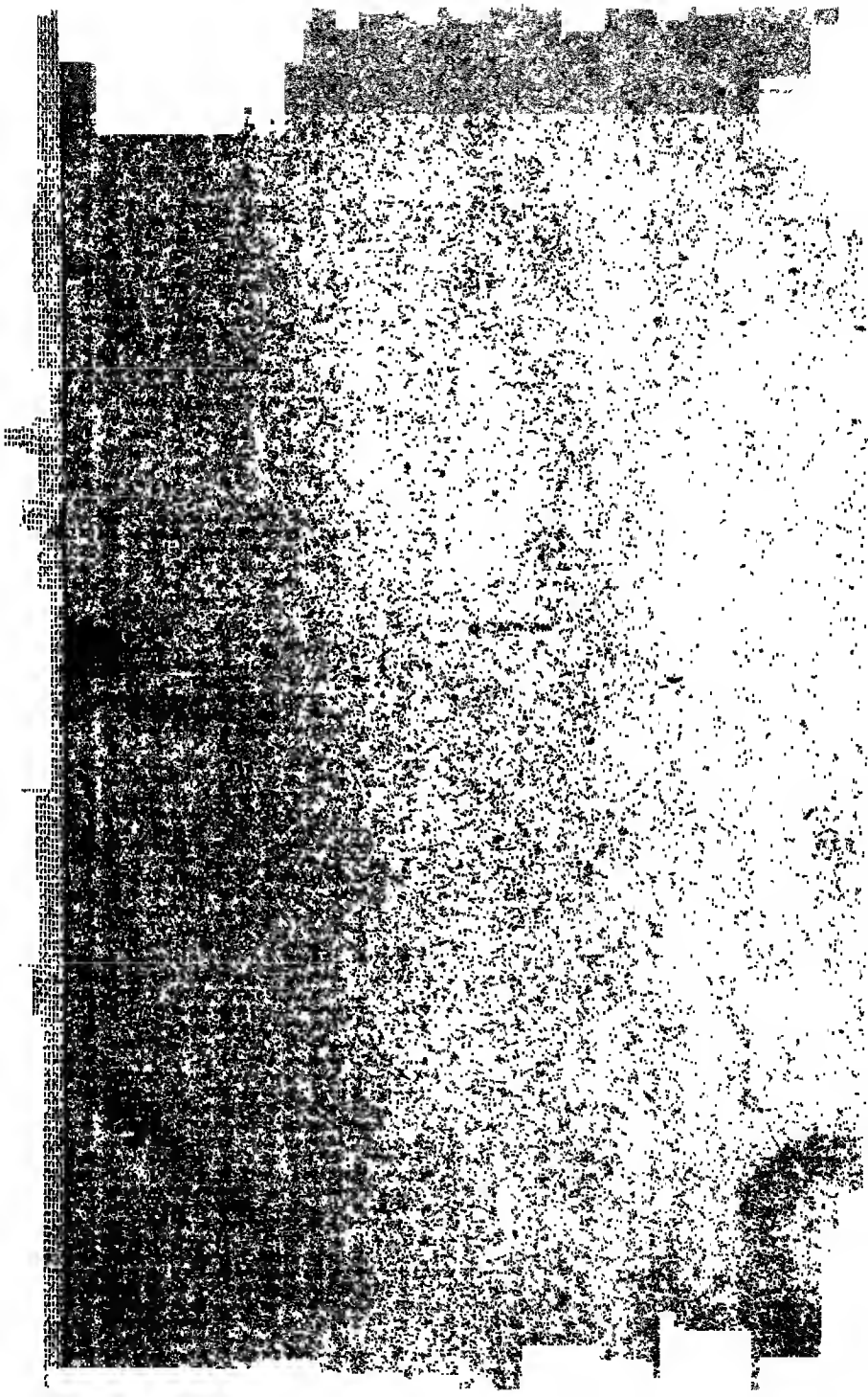


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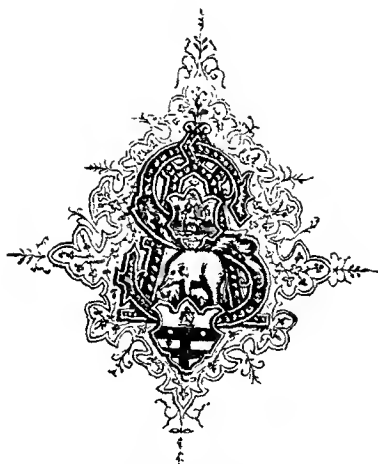
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I

ANCIENT INDIAN GENEALOGIES AND CHRONOLOGY

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A.

THE subject that I venture to discuss in this paper is one that may seem surprising and even fantastic, and yet, if any orderliness can be introduced into the earliest Indian ages, it can only be attained by examining and co-ordinating all the genealogical and quasi-historical data which have been handed down in Sanskrit books. The subject has been before my mind for many years, and it has been only after long consideration of all the relevant information, which I have been able to collect out of all those books, especially the Epics and Purāṇas, that it has seemed to me some measure of order may be educed out of the chaos of material. That information is condensed in the following pages, and no statement is made without citing the authorities that support it. I may say that the conclusions set out here were not reached from any preconceived ideas, except this one (if it merits that description), that the ancient kṣatriya literature deserves to be *examined* from a common-sense point of view on the supposition that it may contain genuine tradition, however much distorted in the course of time. It was only after investigating the subject piecemeal, following each detail

into other details to which it led and continually rearranging them as their number and mutual relations developed, that something definite seemed at first to emerge out of the chaos, and then gradually the subject seemed to shape itself into some degree of order. Even if my views should not commend themselves to others, yet the material collected here and the method of treatment may, I hope, be of some service to others in elucidating the subject. Hitherto ancient India has appeared rather like a view in a photograph, with the various distant objects shown, it is true, yet somewhat flattened in perspective; and it has been my endeavour in this paper to apply the stereoscopic process to it, so as to make the vista of the past stand out in something like its true distances.

It is a commonplace that early history concerns itself almost entirely with celebrated men and their personal deeds. Nothing more than that can then be expected in the accounts that have come down to us about ancient India, and on the whole that is all that is offered in Sanskrit books, if we consider the matter that is primarily genealogical or quasi-historical and the stories introduced therein to explain or illustrate it.

In ancient India there were two classes of celebrated men, kings and rishis (this word may fairly be Anglicized), and early Indian chronicles deal almost wholly with them. A remarkable distinction must, however, be noted between the genealogical accounts of kings and rishis. A king's life was conditioned by his family, his capital, and his territories. The rishi's life had no such bounds; his youth was spent in the hermitage of some spiritual preceptor whose teaching he desired, and after he had finished his studies his life was passed wherever he chose to fix his hermitage, or in any capital where a king welcomed his ministrations, or in any spot where he could best carry out austerities (*tapas*). The kings belonged to dynasties, and were proud of and cherished the memory and fame of

their ancestors. The rishis developed no similar priestly succession; they cared little about preserving particulars of their lineage, though a patronymic or *gotra* name attested descent in most families. Kings hoped to transmit their realm and lineage, enhanced by their own fame, to an enduring posterity. The rishis sought eminence in sacred erudition and the power of austerities, and their successors were their spiritual rather than their natural sons. With kings the dynasty was the great idea, each king being a link in its perpetuation and exaltation. With the rishis sacred lore was the great idea, each rishi being a link in its transmission and glorification. Individual ambition existed among both classes, but the main result ultimately was this—among kṣatriyas the royal dynasty formed the enduring memory, and among brahmans religious doctrine and priestly power constituted the permanent achievement.

It is clear, then, that genealogical accounts and stories of royal exploits were the essential features of the kṣatriya record, while genealogies were but a collateral detail with the ancient brahmans. Royal genealogies have been handed down in many compositions;¹ brahmanical genealogies can hardly be said to exist. The former constituted one of the main subjects which every Purāṇa was expected to set out; the latter are nowhere mentioned as a matter that required particular attention. Marriage alliances were subjects of great moment with kings; the stories told about rishis indicate that their lineage was by no means unblemished. The three great kṣatriya lines,

¹ The references to the various works cited are taken from the following editions :—*Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa*, Calc., 1835; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bomb.; *Kūrma*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, and *Vāyu* Purāṇas, Biblioth. Indica; *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, *Līṅga*, and *Matsya* Purāṇas, Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's Calc. editions of 1882, 1890, 1885, and 1876 respectively; *Bhāgavata* Purāṇa, Bomb.; *Brahma* and *Padma* Purāṇas, Ānandāśrama Bomb. Series; *Viṣṇu* Purāṇa, Wilson's Translation. The chapter is quoted as well as the verse in the *MBh.* and *Hariv.*, because the numbering of the verses is not always correct. It is indicated throughout by italic figures.

the Solar and Lunar and Yādava dynasties, profess to exhibit more than fifty well-remembered generations ; among rishi families it is rare to find a list of five continuous descents. The longest that I am aware of is this—Vasiṣṭha, Śaktri, Parāśara, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, Śuka Āraṇeya and his sons¹—yet even in this line Vasiṣṭha is probably only a *gotra* name. The most copious list of brahman families of common origin is that of the sons and descendants of Viśvāmītra,² and the longest line of brahmanical descent is that attributed to Vitahavya the Haihaya ;³ and both of them were kṣatriyas by birth who became brahmins.⁴ This marked difference can only be explained on the ground that royal lineages were not the concern of rishis, but of court bards and court priests. This kṣatriya literature grew up in virtual independence of brahmanical literature, and only when it had developed into an imposing mass and had attained great popular appreciation was it taken over by the brahmins as a not unworthy branch of knowledge. It was then that it was arranged and augmented with stories and discourses fashioned after brahmanical ideas.

The desire of handing down their genealogies and royal exploits existed thus among kings, and they had the

¹ *MBh.* i, 177, 6757-60 ; 178, 6792-4 ; 60, 2208-9 ; xii, 351, 13642-3 ; 231, 8483-5 ; 326, 12195-7. *Kūrma*, i, 19, 20-7. *Hariv.* 18, 977-81.

² *MBh.* xii, 49, 1771-2 ; xiii, 4, 248-60. *Bhāgav.* ix, 16, 28-37. *Brahma*, 10, 55-66. *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 93-9. *Hariv.* 27, 1460-74 ; 32, 1767-76.

³ *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1997-2005.

⁴ Vitahavya gained brahmanhood (*MBh.* xiii, 30, 1983-97, 2005-6) because a Bhārgava rishi falsely asserted by implication that he was a brahmin, and the assertion had to stand good. Viśvāmītra's difficulty lay in the fact that he was of pure kṣatriya lineage. Not a few royal kṣatriyas had no difficulty in becoming brahmins, because there had been brahmin paternity in their near ancestry ; thus among King Vitatha's descendants (see p. 45) were Kāṇva, Maudgalya, and other brahmins. Brahmin paternity was sufficient in those days. See p. 37 and p. 45, n. 3. The mother might be of the lowest class, as was Vyāsa's mother, or was unnecessary according to various stories.

means of doing so in bards and court priests. There was also a strong popular interest in the traditions and ballads relating to famous kings, and a class of men existed who learnt the old stories and genealogies, for nothing less than this can be implied by the many terms used to describe them, such as *purā-vid*, *purāṇa-jña*, *paurāṇika*, *vaṁśa-vid*, *vaṁśa-purāṇa-jña* ; and they were both brahmans and others, for the words *dvija*, *vipra*, and *jana* are often added to the description. Such men or perhaps popular traditions are referred to in other expressions, such as *ity anuśuśrumaḥ*, *iti śrutam*, *udāharanti*, etc.

These old genealogies, therefore, with their incidental stories are not to be looked upon as legends or fables devoid of basis or substance, but contain genuine historical tradition, and may well be considered and dealt with from a common-sense point of view. They give us an opportunity of viewing ancient India from the kṣatriya standpoint. The kṣatriyas played a very great part in those early days, and a consideration of the literature that they originated is essential to a right understanding of those distant times. The reproach that there was no historical faculty in ancient India is true only as regards the brahmans. The kṣatriyas did display almost as much of that faculty as could be expected in such ages in the appreciation bestowed on the dynastical genealogies and ballads of royal exploits. In Babylonia and Egypt permanent records were made in inscriptions and on clay tablets. In ancient India there was (as far as we know) no such method of perpetuation, and ancient deeds could be handed down only by memory. We have the results in the Epics and Purāṇas, together with a great quantity of brahmanical accretions.

It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that the kings on whom praise is bestowed in the brahmanical literature are by no means those who are highly extolled in the kṣatriya

literature. The *Rig-Veda* contains hymns composed during the ages that intervened between Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva¹ and Devāpi, who lived about a century before the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas (see p. 53). During that long period the most famous monarchs were Arjuna, Marutta, Sagara, Bharata, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa, Dilipa II, and Rāma,² besides famous kings such as Hariścandra, Alarka, Ajamiḍha, Kuru, Brahmadatta, and others,³ yet none of these are mentioned in the hymns except Bharata,⁴ and apparently Ajamiḍha,⁵ and possibly Rāma.⁶ The accounts, as they stand now, generally extol such great rulers as munificent sacrificers, yet the rishis have preserved no hymns composed in their honour, if any were composed. It can hardly be supposed that no rishis capable of song existed during the reigns of all those monarchs. On the other hand, the kings who are lauded in the hymns, such as the Pañcāla kings, Divodāsa, Sudās, and others (see p. 21), are hardly known to kṣatriya fame. It would seem, first, that the really famous kings, confident in themselves and their big battalions, cared little about the divine assistance which the rishis professed to bestow, or that the brahmanical sacrificial rites were not fully elaborated in their time; and, secondly, that the rishis established their spiritual ascendancy through the later, less powerful, but devout-minded kings of Central Madhyadeśa, such as Bharata's successors and the Pañcāla kings. Hence, probably, in great measure the special sanctity and claims asserted for that region.

It is not to be expected that precision in genealogical

¹ See pp. 30 and 31. *Rig-V.* x, 134, is attributed to him.

² See p. 30.

³ See Table of genealogical lists, p. 26.

⁴ *Rig-V.* vi, 16, 4, and other passages. Bharata is, I believe, the only really great king who receives appropriate esteem in the brahmanical literature, and he reigned in Central Madhyadeśa. He appears to have been decidedly *brahmanya*.

⁵ *Rig-V.* iv, 44, 6.

⁶ *Rig-V.* x, 93, 14.

details can be found, and for obvious reasons. In fact, it is often frankly stated that, while the lists are given "at length" and "in correct succession", *vistareṇa* and *ānupūrveṇa*,¹ yet they are not complete, and that the names of those kings only are mentioned who were famous or were specially remembered.² Sometimes it is stated that a long list is only a succinct one, *saṅkṣepeṇa* or *saṁāseṇa*.³ Admittedly, then, the lists are not exhaustive, and this conclusion is confirmed by three considerations.⁴ First, some of the lists omit even well-known names; thus, if we look at the Solar dynasty, the *Agni* and *Padma* Purāṇas omit Sudāsa, father of Mitrasaha Kalmāsa-pāda, who was famed by his patronymic Saudāsa, and the *Bhāgavata* and *Kūrma* omit Ambariṣa, who was a celebrated king. Secondly, little-known names are supplied by some of the authorities; thus, in the same dynasty the *Kūrma*, *Līṅga*, *Matsya*, and *Padma* insert Pramoda between Dṛḍhāśva and Haryaśva, while the other authorities ignore him. There is no ground for suspecting that Pramoda has been invented; as an insignificant king he has simply been dropped out of the other lists. Thirdly, names occur which are obviously or probably patronymics; thus, in the Yādava dynasty Satvat and his son Sātvata are given only by the *Garuḍa*, *Līṅga*, and *Vāyu*, while the other Purāṇas omit one or other of these names. A king who is remembered only by his patronymic is on the verge of dropping out.

Notwithstanding such omissions, the lineage is generally given as being continuous; thus, in the Lunar dynasty some authorities give from ten to thirteen generations between

¹ *Brahma*, 13, 2; *Matsya*, 43, 5; *Vāyu*, ii, 32, 1; 37, 115; *Hariv.* 31, 1653; 32, 1842.

² *Brahma*, 15, 831-2; *Kūrma*, i, 21, 60; *Līṅga*, i, 66, 43; *Padma*, v, 8, 161-2; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 211; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4; *Hariv.* 15, 831.

³ *Līṅga*, i, 68, 1; *Kūrma*, i, 21, 60.

⁴ See also p. 11, and the names in brackets in the Table of lists are further instances of omissions.

Kuru and Pratipa, while others reduce them to five or six. And it is generally said or implied that the successor after a gap was son of the predecessor before the gap. There are four ways in which the relationship between two kings is expressed, and they may be explained most easily by styling the predecessor A and the successor B; and A may be either named or referred to by the pronoun *tad*. They are these: (1) B was A's son, the relation being defined by some word meaning son or begotten:¹ (2) B was — of A, no relationship being specified;² (3) B was from or after A, the ablative case being used or the equivalent adverbial form;³ and (4) B was heir of A.⁴ These different ways no doubt often mean only the same thing, namely, sonship; still, the first does not always mean *immediate* sonship; the second and fourth might cover cases where brothers, nephews, or grandsons succeeded; and the third might imply simply that one king followed another with little or no relationship between them. Such being the conditions, the additional names which some lists give may be genuine names; and, if allowance must be made for omissions, such names may show with some probability where gaps occur. Exactitude, however, in these points is not indispensable for the present purpose. All that is necessary is that the genealogies should be set out with approximate fullness, and synchronisms will introduce fixed points among them, from which the generations may be reviewed and adjusted either backwards or forwards.

As regards names, the kings who were especially

¹ e.g. *Vijayād Ruruko jajñe, Rurukāt tu Vṛkaḥ sutaḥ. Garuḍa, i, 138, 28.*

² e.g. *Dr̥ghāśvasya Pramodaś ca and Haryaśvasya Nikumbho 'bhūt. Matsya, 12, 33.*

³ e.g. *Nābhāgād Ambariṣo 'bhut, Sindhudvīpo 'mbariṣataḥ. Garuḍa, i, 138, 31.* Ways (2) and (3) become indistinguishable where the abl. and the gen. are alike, e.g. *Bāhos tu Sagaraḥ smṛtaḥ. Ibid. 28.*

⁴ e.g. *Śasādasya tu dāyādah Kakutstho nāma. Brahma, ix, 7, 51.*

celebrated are well known, and the names of the others are mainly useful as marking steps in the descent, so that as long as the steps are labelled, it is not material whether insignificant names are perfectly correct. Where a name appears in several forms, I have taken that form which is supported by most of the authorities or the best of them: and if the variations are too many to render that possible, I have adopted what seems the most likely form. Only such names are included in the lists as are found in at least two authorities.¹

In these ways, though absolute accuracy is unattainable, it may yet be possible to reach such an approximation as may be sufficient for working purposes.

The most salient feature that appears on a comparison of the genealogies is the great length of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. It contains some ninety-three names, whereas the two next longest lists are much shorter, namely, the Yādava line of Western India with some sixty-two names, and the Lunar or Paurava line with about fifty names. There are good reasons for holding that the Solar list is fairly complete and that the latter two are far from being so.

India has often suffered from invading hosts from the north-west, and there can be no doubt that similar invasions occurred during the earliest ages. The Aryan invasion is the first of which we have any evidence, and there are indications that other races poured into and swept over North India afterwards. The most striking instance of this is the story of the struggle of Sagara,

¹ The *Brahma Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa* (which is virtually a *Purāṇa*) cannot generally be regarded as distinct authorities, for their lists have such close and even verbal resemblance as to indicate that they are little more than two versions of one authority. The other *Purāṇas*, while showing much similarity in some places, differ considerably in others, and do not readily fall into separate groups. The general exposition of the dynasties (pp. 16-25) will give some idea of the connexions which they show with one another in some, though not in all, portions of the genealogies.

king of Ayodhyā, against the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas (see p. 36, etc.) and hordes of Śakas, Pahlavas, Kāmbojas, etc. All the authorities which relate the story say this.¹ Bāhu, king of Ayodhyā,² was driven from his throne by the invaders and died afterwards in the forest; his queen gave birth to Sagara; Sagara was brought up in Aurva Bhārgava's hermitage, and on attaining manhood fought against and finally subjugated the invaders. If there is any historical truth in this story, it can only mean that the whole of North India had been overrun by those hordes, that every kingdom in the north-west and Madhyadeśa had fallen, that Kosala, the most easterly kingdom of Madhyadeśa, which encountered the invaders last, went down for a time, and that Sagara subdued them and re-established the Solar dynasty. Those events imply a period of some thirty years at least in Kosala, and indicate that North-Western and Western India and Madhyadeśa must have been submerged for half a century at least.³ The Kosala line remained unbroken, but all the dynasties west of it must have suffered seriously, and if we can synchronize this period with some period in the other dynasties, confusion or a material gap may

¹ *MBh.* iii, 106, 8831-2; *Bhāgav.* ix, 8, 2-7; *Brahma*, 8, 47-51; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 121-42; *Hariv.* 13, 760-14, 784; *Rāmāy.* i, 70, 27-37; ii, 110, 15-25 (imperfectly). The map published by me in this Journal for 1908, p. 332, will help to elucidate this paper.

² The *Rāmāy.* calls him Asita.

³ During this period the invaders were in power and had probably begun to settle down in the countries they had conquered; and this also seems implied by their appealing to Vasiṣṭha (that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family) and his taking them under his protection, for the Vasiṣṭhas were the court-priests of Ayodhyā (as mentioned in p. 14), and he as a brahman may have maintained his position as court-priest under the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha rule. Sagara's repressive treatment of the different peoples (as explained in the passages cited above), therefore, means probably that the rules which he imposed on them applied to those barbarians who had settled down and remained in the territories which he ruled as cakravartin and not to the nations outside India. He marked off and degraded them from the rest of his subjects, and the distinctions naturally disappeared in the course of time.

be expected in them. That is what we do find. A great gap occurs in the Lunar line; the Kānyakubja dynasty disappeared; the Kāśi genealogy is confused; and new dynasties sprang up afterwards in Madhyadeśa.

This story shows that Kosala from its eastward position escaped various calamities that befell the more westerly kingdoms. Its dynastic list therefore remained continuous and full, while the lists of other dynasties will be found to have suffered breaks, and thus necessarily fall short of it in their numbers. Further, other dynasties were not so great and important *continuously* as the Solar monarchy, and their lists were not handed down with the same veneration and fullness. Their lists are manifestly far from complete, as the Table of genealogies shows. The length of the Solar line, therefore, is not to be corrected and reduced by a comparison with the other lines, but is a standard by which we may measure the deficiencies and gaps in the other lists, and the Table of genealogies will show how truly it serves this purpose.

Besides such vicissitudes, changes were also produced by internal conquests. Thus the dynasties of North and South Pañcāla sprang from the Paurava Ajamīḍha of the Lunar race. He or his sons conquered those countries and established separate thrones in them. Again, one of the near descendants of Jyāmagha's son Vidarbha of the Yādava race was Cidi or Cedi, and he originated the Caidya kings,¹ that is, the kingdom of Cedi. That dynasty, however, was conquered afterwards by the Paurava Vasu, who was fifth in descent from Kuru, and established himself as Caidya - Uparicara. He also conquered the neighbouring countries as far as Magadha, and established his five sons in five kingdoms there, two of which were Cedi and Magadha, and two others were

¹ *Agni*, 274, 17-18; *Bhāgav.* ix, 24, 1-2; *Matsya*, 44, 35-8; *Padma*, v, 13, 19-21; *Vāyu*, ii, 33, 36-8; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 12; *Līṅga*, i, 68, 37-40; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 29-30.

probably Karūṣa and Kauśāmbī. His eldest son, Brhadratha, obtained Magadha and founded the dynasty which flourished under Jarāsandha in the Pāṇḍavas' time.¹

In dealing with these ancient genealogies synchronisms are the most important points to be considered. The genealogies are of little practical value by themselves. It is only by co-ordinating them that they can be made to furnish any chronological results which may possess any value, and this can only be done by establishing synchronisms between the various lines. Synchronisms, therefore, are the essential facts in the present inquiry. Now, stories and allusions exist in plenty connecting various kings and rishis, but are obviously not equally worthy of credence, and it is necessary to ascertain some criteria by which their trustworthiness may be estimated. The following distinctions are put forward as likely to help, with reasonable sureness, to eliminate what cannot be genuine tradition :—

Passages which connect different kings and rishis may be divided into four broad classes: (1) allusions or comments, incidental or explanatory, in the course of a genealogy; (2) incidental allusions elsewhere; (3) stories which are primarily kṣatriya stories; and (4) stories which are primarily brahmanical.

The first class occur as professedly genuine details and are introduced simply because they belong naturally to the genealogical accounts. They are most trustworthy when moderate in number and really explanatory, and they are open to doubt the more they show signs of amplification and exaggeration.² Passages of the second class are met with by way of explanation or comparison, and are most trustworthy when they are brief and are introduced simply and naturally.

The third class comprises a great number of stories of

¹ See *MBh.* i, 63, 2334–65, and passages cited for this dynasty, p. 22.

² The *Garuḍa* contains very little explanatory matter.

various kinds, and may be broadly divided into those that describe some alleged occurrence and those that are mainly laudatory. The latter kind are generally replete with exaggeration, and often disregard conditions of time and place. As an instance may be mentioned the long fight between Bhīṣma and Rāma Jāmadagnya in *MBh.* v, 179, etc., which is impossible, because Rāma lived many centuries before Bhīṣma. This latter kind may be discarded as worthless, but stories of the former kind may afford useful information if they agree with other stories, and this much is in their favour, that their kṣatriya features probably go back to early times, before the Epic and Paurāṇic literature was taken over and manipulated by the brahmins.

The fourth class of stories, that are principally brahmanical, bear their character unmistakably on their face. They may be roughly divided into three kinds: (1) those that exalt the dignity of some rishi, (2) those that inculcate some doctrine, and (3) those that extol the majesty of some god or the sanctity of some spot. Probably only the first kind merit any attention, yet there is always a doubt whether they represent the original story. The other two kinds are generally fabrications. As an example of a pious story blending moral delinquencies and chronological absurdities, it would be difficult to match that of Gālava in *MBh.* v, 113, etc.¹ It is not necessary for the present purpose to sift such stories, and this circumspection is requisite in the stories told in the Śānti-p. of the *MBh.*, which cannot be accepted without corroboration.

In these ways some discrimination is possible among the great quantity of material, and a considerable number of synchronisms can be collected which can claim some degree of genuineness; still, in drawing inferences from them certain cautions must be borne in mind. These

¹ Strangely enough it finds an echo in *MBh.* iii, 197, 13301-2.

cautions are more or less obvious and well known, and yet it is well to state them so that the use made of the materials may not seem capricious. They are these.

First, patronymics do not always indicate the relation of father and son, but often designate a descendant. Putting aside such generic terms as Paurava, Yādava, Bhārata, Ātreya, Bhārgava, etc., we find Viśvāmitra called Kauśika¹ after his grandfather, Rāma Dāśarathi called Rāghava² after his great-grandfather, and Kṛṣṇa called Mādhava, Sātвата, Vārṣṇeya, and also Dāśārha³ after distant ancestors, as well as Śauri⁴ after a nearer ancestor. The primary inference would be that a patronymic means a son or daughter, yet we must be quite ready to take it as meaning a descendant if the context or other considerations should so indicate.

Secondly and conversely, the simple name does not always refer to the forefather of that name, but is also at times applied to his descendants. This is a common use collectively in the *Rig-Veda*. As an instance of its application singly we find Kuvalāśva of the Solar dynasty styled Ikṣvāku;⁵ but this use is rare as regards kṣatriyas in the Epics and Purāṇas. This caution applies with special force to the names of rishis, and unless it is carefully observed we may fall into all kinds of errors. Thus the name Vasiṣṭha occurs at all periods of the Solar dynasty,⁶ and plainly refers to a long succession of members of the Vasiṣṭha family; in fact, that family appears to have held the office of court-priests to that dynasty, as the Kaśyapas were hereditary priests of Janamejaya Pārikṣita.⁷

In the same way must be understood the frequent

¹ MBh. i, 175, 6695; Mārkaṇḍ. 9, 10; Hariv. 13, 753.

² MBh. iii, 277, 16030. ³ MBh. i, 222, 8078; 223, 8083-4; v, 71, 2581.

⁴ MBh. i, 221, 7989. ⁵ MBh. iii, 200, 13486, with 201, 13515-19.

⁶ For instance, a Vasiṣṭha occurs with Triśaṅku (p. 33), with Sagara (p. 10, n. 3), with Kalmāṣapāda (p. 45, n. 3), and with Daśaratha (Rāmāy. i, 7, 4, etc.). Other Vasiṣṭhas occur elsewhere, see p. 50.

⁷ Āitar. Brāh. vii, 5, 27, and see viii, 4, 22.

mention of Bharadvāja, Kaṇva, Gotama, Bhṛgu, Atri, etc., at different periods. In fact, the indifference which characterized the rishis as regards their genealogies (as already mentioned) led them to neglect the personal name of members of the great *gotras*, and to mention them simply by their *gotra* name, with the result that the personality of the original bearer of the name and that of his descendants have been often confused. This applies even to the name Viśvāmitra, as will be shown among the synchronisms, for the first and great Viśvāmitra's descendants were divided into two *gotras*, the Kauśikas and the Viśvāmitras.¹ The rivalry between him and the great Vasiṣṭha, who was court-priest of Ayodhyā in Trisāṅku's time, was perpetuated among their descendants: and, as the brahmanas were indifferent about personal particulars, the accounts, as they stand now, often show wild confusion, all the Vasiṣṭhas being described more or less closely in terms of the great Vasiṣṭha, and all the Viśvāmitras in terms of the great Viśvāmitra.² The only method of unravelling the confusion and of distinguishing the various Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras is to get the royal genealogies clear, and then assign those rishis to their several periods by attaching them to the kings with whom they were associated.

Thirdly, it often happened that the same name was borne by different individuals, so that it by no means follows that the same name in different places means the same person. It is expressly said that among kings there were scores of Dhṛtarāṣṭras, Janamejayas, Brahmadattas, Bhiṣmas, Bhīmas, Kāśas, Kuśas, etc.,³ and that in the Lunar dynasty there were two Rkṣas, two Parikṣits, three Bhīmasenas, and two Janamejayas.⁴ In that dynasty,

¹ *Bhāgav.* ix, 16, 34-7.

² See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, i, 75, etc.

³ *MBh.* ii, 3, 333-6.

⁴ *Brakma*, 13, 112-13; *Hariv.* 32, 1817-18. Yet the lists do not show three Bhīmasenas, and two have dropped out. There were three Janamejayas, if we reckon the monarch who reigned after the great battle.

moreover, we have the strange coincidence that the two Parikṣits and the two later Janamejayas were father and son respectively.¹ There were more kings than one that bore the name Divodāsa, Sudāsa, or Śrñjaya. This caution also must be considered in dealing with the names of rishis, because similarity of names was probably just as common among brahmans as among kṣatriyas; thus there appear to have been two brahmans named Śunaka² and two named Śuka.³ This even applies to such names as Brhaspati⁴ and Uśanas,⁵ with the result that personal and mythological names have probably been confused at times.

Such appears to be the proper nature and scope of an examination of the genealogies. The next step is to state the various dynasties, notice the authorities, and offer some general remarks on each dynasty.

All the lines are derived from Manu Vaivasvata: the Solar and Videha lines from his son Ikṣvāku, the Viśāla dynasty from his son Diṣṭa or Nediṣṭha, and all the rest from his daughter Ilā's son Purūravas. Purūravas' line was Āyus, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, and then Yayāti's five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru.⁶

¹ See the genealogical lists, *infra*. For the earlier Parikṣit and Janamejaya see also *Brahma*, 1, 9-11; *Vāyu*, ii, 31, 21-2; *Hariv.* 30, 1608-9, and cf. with *MBh.* xii, 150, 5595-6. The later are well known, being Abhimanyu's son and grandson.

² One, son of Gr̥tsamada, *Bhāgar.* ix, 17, 3; *Brahma*, 11, 33; *Vāyu*, ii, 30, 4; *Hariv.* 29, 1519; less clearly *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 9; and *Viṣṇu*, iv, 8; perhaps *Rig-V.* ii, 1. The other, *MBh.* xiii, 30, 2005.

³ One was father-in-law of Aṇuha, king of South Pañcāla, *Bhāgar.* ix, 21, 24-5; *Matsya*, 49, 56-7; *Hariv.* 18, 981; 20, 1039-40, 1065. See also *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 13; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 174-5; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19. The other was Vyāsa's son, see p. 4.

⁴ See p. 44 *infra*.

⁵ There was a king Uśanas in the Yādava line; see Table of lists.

⁶ *MBh.* i, 75, 3140-61; 95, 3760-3; v, 148, 5042-52. *Agni*, 27, 5-7; 273, 12-23. *Bhāgar.* ix, 1, 11-35; 15, 1; 17, 1; 18, 1-33. *Brahma*, 7, 1-16; 10, 1-11; 11, 1-2; 12, 1-6. *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 2-3; 139, 2, 7, 17, 18. *Kūrma*, i, 20, 4-7; 22, 1-11. *Līnga*, i, 65, 17-24; 66, 55-66. *Matsya*, 11, 40-1; 12, 12-15; 24, 32-4, 49-54. *Padma*, v, 8, 75-120; 12, 85-7, 103-7. *Vāyu*, ii, 23, 1-17; 29, 1-4, 48, 114; 30, 1-2; 31, 12-17. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 1, 3, 6-10. *Hariv.* 10, 613-30; 26, 1363-73; 28, 1475; 30, 1599-1604.

The Solar line of Ayodhyā, derived from Manu's son Ikṣvāku, is given by many Purāṇas¹ and by the *Rāmāyaṇa*.² All the Purāṇas agree, subject to minor variations, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives a list twice over which is irreconcilable with them, though many of the names are the same. It is unquestionably erroneous, when considered as a whole or examined in detail. It is very improbable that the *Rāmāyaṇa* alone should be right and all the other authorities wrong, and the list is manifestly too short as compared with other dynasties. As regards details, it omits Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu,³ Hariścandra and his son Rohita,⁴ and Ṛtuparna,⁵ who were all well-known kings; and it contradicts itself by saying that Raghu's son was Kalmāṣapāda who was famous as Saudāsa (Sudāsa's son),⁶ and yet omits Sudāsa. In all these points the Purāṇas are right, and as regards the early kings from Ikṣvāku to Dṛdhāśva the *Mahābhārata*⁷ corroborates them and disagrees with the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Hariścandra or his son Rohita bought Śunaḥśepha as a victim in Rohita's stead, so the Purāṇas say, and the *Aitar. Brāhmaṇa*⁸ corroborates them against the different version which the *Rāmāy.* narrates of King Ambariṣa.⁹ The *Rāmāy.* makes Ambariṣa great-grandfather of Nābhāga, but the *MBh.*¹⁰ agrees with the Purāṇas that he was Nābhāga's son. The Purāṇas make Raghu father of Aja, but the *Rāmāy.* makes him father of Kalmāṣapāda and places Aja twelve generations below Raghu; the

¹ *Agni*, 272, 18-39; *Bhāgav.* ix, 6, 4-12, 9; *Brahma*, 7, 44-8, 94; *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 17-44; *Kūrma*, i, 20, 5-21, 60; *Linga*, i, 65, 31-66, 45; *Matsya*, 12, 25-57; *Padma*, v, 8, 130-62; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 9-211; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 2-4; *Hariv.* 10, 613; 11, 660-15, 832. I treat the *Hariv.* as a Purāṇa, which is what it is really.

² i, 70, 21-43; ii, 110, 6-35.

³ *MBh.* iii, 98, 8606-8; *Rig-V.* viii, 19, 36; and perhaps vii, 19, 3.

⁴ *Aitar. Brāh.* vii, 3, 13, 14.

⁵ *MBh.* iii, 66, 2627-9; 70, 2766.

⁶ ii, 110, 29.

⁷ iii, 201, 13515-19; 202, 13620-1.

⁸ vii, 3, 14-16.

⁹ i, 61 and 62.

¹⁰ iii, 129, 10154; vii, 64, 2303; xii, 29, 993.

*Raghuvamśa*¹ supports the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas give two Dilīpas, one father of Bhagīratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but the *Rāmāy.* gives only one Dilīpa as father of Bhagīratha and great-grandfather of Raghu; the *Raghuvamśa*,² so far as it states the genealogy, makes a Dilīpa father of Raghu, thus supporting the Purāṇas. Again, the *Rāmāy.* places Kakutstha ten steps below Māndhātṛ, whereas the Purāṇas place him seventeen generations before Māndhātṛ; the *Brhaddevatā*³ corroborates them that Kakutstha was before Māndhātṛ's grandson Trasadasyu.

It appears, therefore, that, wherever it is possible to check the two lists by other authorities, they support the Purāṇas and disagree with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, notwithstanding its great fame. Its list, therefore, may be put aside as confused and erroneous, and the Purāṇa list must be adopted.

The Purāṇa lists are in general agreement except at two stages, namely, between Kalmāṣapāda and Vṛddhaśarman-Ailavila, and between Ahīnagu and the last king Śrutāyus-Bṛhadbala. For the former group the *Agni*, *Brahma*, *Matsya*, *Padma*, and *Harivamśa* give four kings, and all the other authorities give three different kings beginning with Aśmaka. The difference is not important, and I have followed the majority, as the *MBh.* corroborates them about Aśmaka.⁴ For the second group, which consists of twenty kings, the *Agni*, *Kūrma*, *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, and *Padma* substitute only five different names; and they are clearly wrong for three reasons: (1) a comparison of the other dynasties and the synchronisms shows that there were a great many more generations; (2) what the *MBh.* says about Parikṣit and his sons⁵ agrees with Pāripātra

¹ v, 35-6.² iii, 13-21.³ vi, 50-4.⁴ *MBh.* i, 122, 4736-8; 177, 6777-91; xii, 234, 8604; xiii, 137, 6262. He was nicknamed Sarvakarman, xii, 49, 1792-3.⁵ iii, 192, 13145-78, 13198.

and his successors in the longer list : and (3) one of those Purāṇas, the *Matsya*, contradicts its own list by stating that Kṛta, king of Dvimīḍha's line, was a disciple of Hiranyanābhīn Kausalya, which name occurs only in the long list.¹

The Videha line is derived from Ikṣvāku's son Nini. It is given in full by four Purāṇas,² and down to Siradhvaja-Janaka by the *Rāmāyaṇa*.³ The *Vāyu* omits all the kings between Śrutāyus and Suśruta. The *Garuḍa*, by the omission of a verse or two which terminated the Solar line and introduced this dynasty, tacks the latter on to the former by making the third king Udāvasu son of Prasūruta of the former line. Otherwise all the lists are in substantial agreement. Many of the kings bore the name Janaka,⁴ which was not a personal name, but either a *gotra* name⁵ or a royal title.

The Yādava race, descended from Yayāti's son Yadu,⁶ is given by many Purāṇas. It divided into two lines, one from Yadu's son Sahasrajit, which developed after King Haihaya into the Haihayas and after his descendant Tālajaṅgha into the branch of the Tālajaṅghas,⁷ and the other line from another son, Kroṣṭu, which formed an

¹ *Matsya*, 49, 75-6 ; see p. 52.

² *Bhāgav.* ix, 6, 4 ; 13, 1-27. *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 44-58. *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 9 ; 27, 1-23. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 5.

³ i, 71, 3-13.

⁴ It is given in the Purāṇa lists to Mithi, Dharmadhvaja, Siradhvaja (Sitā's father), and Khāṇḍikya ; and in the *MBh.* to Dharmadhvaja (xii, 322, 11855), Siradhvaja (iii, 273, 15880), Janadeva (xii, 218, 7883 ; 321, 11839), Karāla (xii, 304, 11220), Daivarāti (xii, 312, 11545), and two others (xii, 292, 10699 ; 328, 12260).

⁵ The *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* says *Janakānām kule* (13, 11) ; see also *Rāmāy.* i, 71, 4.

⁶ The different origin mentioned in *Hariv.* 94, 5142-95, 5257, appears to be an ancient calumny, for it acknowledges the descent from Yayāti and Yadu in verse 5164. See p. 46.

⁷ *Agni*, 274, 1-11. *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 18-30. *Brahma*, 13, 153-207. *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 19-24. *Kūrma*, i, 22, 12-21 ; 23, 1-3. *Liṅga*, i, 68, 2-19. *Matsya*, 43, 5-52. *Padma*, v, 12, 110-49. *Vāyu*, ii, 32, 1-34, 48-53. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 11. *Hariv.* 33, 1843-34, 1900.

enduring lineage.¹ All the authorities are in substantial agreement. The most noteworthy difference is that the *Kūrma* makes the seven Śāśavindava kings whose names began with Pr̥thu successive descendants instead of brothers, and the exigencies of the list appear to show that it is right. Satvat or Sātvata had several sons who gave rise to different branches, among which there is much confusion; but all the authorities agree fairly about the branch that ended in Kaṁsa, and that branch has been adopted, Kṛṣṇa being added at the end.

The Paurava (or Lunar) race was descended from Yayāti's son Pūru, and is given in the *MBh.*² and many of the *Purāṇas*.³ All the latter agree fairly well, subject to considerable minor variations, but the former gives two lists which present many differences and do not even agree with each other. Both those lists leave out many of the kings between Pūru and Ahaṁyāti; the second then inserts between Ahaṁyāti and Matināra many of the kings which the *Purāṇas* generally place between Vidūratha and R̥kṣa II; both fairly agree with the *Purāṇas* from Matināra to Kuru, but reduce the number of kings between Kuru and Pratipa to five. The second list is wrong in inserting the group of kings between Ahaṁyāti and Matināra, because it is contrary to all the other authorities, and because the synchronism of Matināra with Prasenajit of the Solar race (see p. 31) proves that the others are right. That group should be placed between

¹ *Agni*, 274, 12-33. *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 30-9; 24, 1-6, 18-24. *Brahma*, 14, 1-15, 31, and 15, 45-59. *Garuda*, i, 139, 25-36, 43-8. *Kūrma*, i, 24, 34, 42-65. *Linga*, i, 68, 21-49; 69, 2, 32-46. *Matsya*, 44, 14-74. *Padma*, v, 13, 32, 45-60. *Vāyu*, ii, 33, 14-34, 2, and 34, 115-23. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 12-15. *Hariv.* 37, 1969-38, 2030.

² i, 94, 3695-752; 95, 3764-827.

³ *Agni*, 277, 1-9, 15, 25-7, 31-40. *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 1-21, 21; 22, 3-4, 9-29. *Brahma*, 13, 2-5, 50-62, 80-1, 102-23. *Garuda*, i, 140, 1-8, 24-5, 30-8. *Matsya*, 49, 1-44; 50, 1-23, 34-50. *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 115-55, 160-2, 206-13, 223-39. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19, 20. *Hariv.* 31, 1653-9; 32, 1714-32, 1754-6, 1795-1802, 1813-28.

Vidūratha and Rkṣa II, as the Purāṇas place it. The majority of the authorities therefore establish the lineage down to Rkṣa II, and after that all are in substantial agreement.

The North Pañcāla line, which reigned in Ahicchatra,¹ was an offshoot from Ajamīdha of the Lunar dynasty. It is given by many Purāṇas,² and all are in substantial agreement, except that the *Brahma* and *Hariv.* mistakenly derive Sṛñjaya directly from Bāhyāśva (= Bhṛmyaśva). Much of this genealogy from Bhṛmyaśva to Somaka is supported by the *Rig-Veda*.³ From Sṛñjaya came the family of the Sṛñjayas, and from Somaka that of the Somakas,⁴ which play such a large part in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

The South Pañcāla line, which reigned in Kāmpilya,⁵ was another offshoot from the same Ajamīdha. It is given by several Purāṇas,⁶ and all are in substantial agreement.

Another line, which reigned somewhere in Madhyadeśa (though I have not been able to find the name of its capital) was descended from the same Ajamīdha's brother Dvimīdha, and may be called Dvimīdha's line. It is given

¹ *Hariv.* 20, 1111-12.

² *Agni*, 277, 15, 18-25. *Bhāgav.* ix, 21, 21, 30-4 ; 22, 1-3. *Brahma*, 13, 81, 93-101. *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 17-24. *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 189-206. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19. *Hariv.* 32, 1755, 1776-95. *Matsya* (in part), 50, 1-16.

³ Mudgala, son of Bhṛmyaśva, x, 102. Vadhryaśva, x, 69 ; vi, 61, 1. Divodāsa, vi, 61, 1 ; iv, 26, 3 ; vi, 47, 22, and many other passages. Sṛñjaya, who is called son of Devavāta, iv, 15, 4 ; vi, 27, 7. Cyavana, x, 69, 5-6. Sudās (Sudāsa), vii, 18, 22-5, and other passages. Sahadeva and his son Somaka, iv, 15, 7-10. In vii, 18, 25, Divodāsa is called father of Sudās, but "father" clearly means "ancestor", because Sudās' patronymic was Paijavana (ibid.). This, therefore, harmonizes with the genealogy, and his father Pijavana as a king of no note has dropped out. It is said Sahadeva's original name was Suplan, *Śatap. Brāh.* II, iv, 4, 3-4.

⁴ Both families accompanied Drupada at the great battle.

⁵ *Hariv.* 20, 1062, 1065 ; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 171 ; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19.

⁶ *Bhāgav.* ix, 21, 22-6 ; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 10-13 ; *Matsya*, 49, 47-59 ; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 165-77 ; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19 ; *Hariv.* 20, 1052-72.

by some Purāṇas,¹ and all are in close agreement, except that the *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, and *Viṣṇu* omit the four kings between Dr̥ḍhanemi and Supārśva, and the *Bhāgavata* derives Ugrāyudha from Nīpa of the South Pañcāla line. There is admittedly a gap between Sārva-bhauma and Mahat-Paurava.

Another dynasty was founded by Vasu, who was fifth in descent from Kuru. He conquered the kingdom of Cedi, which had been founded by the descendants of Vidarbha of the Yādava race, and took the name Caidya-uparicara. He extended his conquests as far as Magadha, and on his death his eldest son, Br̥hadratha, took that kingdom and established a dynasty there.² This line may therefore be called the Magadha line. It is given in some of the Purāṇas,³ and all are in substantial agreement.

The line to which Gādhi and Viśvāmītra belonged reigned in Kānyakubja.⁴ It is given in much the same form by the various authorities, but is derived from two different progenitors. All agree substantially from Jahnu downwards, but above him four Purāṇas⁵ state the descent thus—Purūravas, Amāvasu (or Vijaya), Bhīma, Kāñcana, Suhotra Jahnu; while the *Agni*⁶ gives it thus—Vitatha (of the Lunar race), Br̥hat, Ajamīḍha, Jahnu. The *MBh.* gives two lists,⁷ of which the first leaves the question of the

¹ *Bhāgar.* ix, 21, 21, 27-30; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 8, 14-16; *Matsya*, 49, 70-9; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 160-2, 179-88; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1075-85.

² *MBh.* i, 63, 2334-65, and next note. *Uparicara* probably meant "he who overran", "conqueror", and afterwards was turned into "walking in the air". Cf. the later term *uparika* in inscriptions. See p. 11.

³ *Agni*, 277, 26-30; *Bhāgar.* ix, 22, 4-9; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 25-9; *Matsya*, 50, 20-34; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 209-22; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1799-1813.

⁴ *MBh.* iii, 115, 10144; v, 118, 4005. The *Rāmāy.* calls its capital Mahodaya (i, 32, 3, 6), which = Kānyakubja (see Gorr. ed., i, 35, 35).

⁵ *Bhāgar.* ix, 15, 1-16; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 2-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 48-99; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 7.

⁶ 277, 16-18.

⁷ One in xii, 49, 1717, etc.; and the other in xiii, 4, 201, etc., with i, 94, 3719-23.

progenitor untouched (as also the *Rāmāy.*¹), and the second names him as Ajamīḍha, thus agreeing with the *Agni*. The *Brahma*² and *Harivamśa*³ each give both versions, thus supporting and neutralizing both. The majority of the authorities derive the dynasty from Purūravas' son Amāvasu, and they are right, because it will be seen from the discussion of Viśvāmitra's contemporaries (p. 32) that it is impossible to relegate this dynasty to a time subsequent to Ajamīḍha. There is a conclusive argument to show that the derivation from Bharata's successor Vitatha is untenable, although the error is ancient.⁴ Viśvāmitra was a descendant (by some eight steps) from Jahnu, and must, if Jahnu was descended from Bharata's line, have been many (some sixteen) generations below Bharata; but it is well known that Bharata's mother, Śakuntalā, was daughter of Viśvāmitra.⁵ Viśvāmitra cannot have been both an ancestor and a descendant of Bharata. As the story of Śakuntalā is one of the best-alleged incidents in ancient Indian literature, Viśvāmitra was certainly prior to Bharata, and the genealogical versions which make his ancestor Jahnu a descendant of Bharata must be wrong. The error arose from confounding Amāvasu's descendant Suhotra with Vitatha's third successor Suhotra, and perhaps also Jahnus in both lines.⁶

¹ i, 32, 1-34, 6. ² 10, 11-60; 13, 80-92. ³ 27, 1413-63; 32, 1754-69.

⁴ Viśvāmitra is called "best of the Bharatas" in *Āitar. Brāh.* vii, 3, 17.

⁵ He was not the first Viśvāmitra, but a near descendant. see p. 43. This strengthens the antithesis.

⁶ The *Brahma* (10, 63) and *Hariv.* (27, 1468-9; 32, 1773) call Viśvāmitra *Paurava*, which is a mistake (helped no doubt by the general confusion) for *Paurārava*, as the *Vāyu* shows in ii, 29, 98, where *Pauroravasya* should be *Paurāravasya*. Kuru had a son Jahnu (see authorities cited above for the Paurava line). The passage in the *Āitar. Brāh.* may have originated the error. The author lived after the great battle, and many centuries later than Bharata. The composers of the *Brāhmaṇas* were not learned in ancient kṣatriya genealogies, as indeed follows from the statement that Vyāsa's disciples divided the literature and specialized each in his own department. Sāyaṇa repeats the error in his comment on *Rig-V.* iii, 53, 24.

The Kāśī line reigned at Benares. All the authorities are in general agreement from Suhotra (or Sunahotra) downwards, though they vary in fullness; but they differ regarding his ancestry. Three Purāṇas make him son of Nahuṣa's son Kṣatravṛddha,¹ and one makes him brother of Nahuṣa;² but the *Agni*³ makes him son of Vitatha of the Lunar race. The *Brahma*⁴ and *Harivaṃśa*⁵ each give both versions, thus supporting and neutralizing both. Suhotra of the Lunar race, however, was not son of Vitatha, but of Brhatkṣatra. The majority are right, because, as will be seen from the discussion about Divodāsa and Pratardana of this line (p. 38), it is impossible to relegate the line to a period later than Suhotra of the Lunar race. The error arose from confounding Nahuṣa's descendants Kṣatravṛddha and Suhotra with Suhotra and Brhatkṣatra of the Lunar race.

The descendants of Yayāti's son Anu (it is said) branched out in the north-west into the Panjab tribes of the Kekayas, Śivis, etc., and in the east into the Aṅga dynasty.⁶ All the authorities agree down to Jayadratha, king of Aṅga, and from him there were two lines of descent, one the royal line, and the other a younger branch, to which Karna belonged, who became king.⁷ It is not material which is taken, and I have chosen the latter as being clearer and fuller.

¹ *Bhāgav.* ix, 17, 1-10; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 7-14; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 8.

² *Vāyu*, ii, 30, 1-76.

³ 277, 9-14; but it is confused.

⁴ 11, 1-2, 27-60; 13, 62-79.

⁵ 29, 1517-98; 32, 1730-54.

⁶ *Agni*, 276, 5-16; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 1-14; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 65-74; *Matsya*, 48, 10-108; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 12-114; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 18. The *Brahma* (13, 4-5, 14-49) and *Hariv.* (31, 1658-9, 1668-1710) derive the line from Raudrāśva's son Kakṣeyu of the Lunar race, but these two books are so closely alike that they constitute only one authority. I have followed the majority.

⁷ The former in the *Agni* and *Brahma*, the latter in the *Bhāgav.*, *Garuḍa*, and *Viṣṇu*, and both in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Hariv.*

Another line is derived from Manu's son Diṣṭa (or Nediṣṭha), in which Viśāla and the later kings, if not the earlier also, constituted the dynasty of Viśālā or Vaiśālī.¹ It may be called Diṣṭa's line. All the authorities are in substantial agreement.²

Having offered these general remarks it remains to set out the genealogical lists, explain the synchronisms, and show their results in the Table of lists. In the following Table the most important lines of descent are shown, and all start from Manu, because that is how the authorities begin them. The three Bhārgava rishis, R̥cika, Jamadagni, and Rāma, are also included in order to bring out the synchronisms at their period more clearly. The lines of descent have been placed according to geographical position as nearly as is feasible, that is, dynasties that reigned in the west are placed on the left, those of Madhyadeśa in the middle, and those that reigned in the east on the right. The names of all kings whose positions are fixed by the synchronisms are printed in italics. Names added in brackets are those of kings who are not mentioned in the genealogies, but whose existence is disclosed in the discussion of the synchronisms. Some lists it will be seen are far less full than others, though they may start from a synchronism and reach a synchronism, that is, the omissions are more numerous. It is not, however, known where the omissions occur, consequently the names in those lists have been simply spaced out, and where there are no synchronisms the position of a name is not to be taken as more than the best conjecture possible.

¹ Marutta, the greatest king, who preceded Viśāla, is called the Āyogava king. *Śatap. Brāh.* XIII, v, 4, 6.

² *Bhāgar.* ix, 1, 12; 2, 22-36; *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 2-13; *Vāyu*, ii, 23, 3-24, 22; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 1; *Mārkaṇḍ.* (at great length to Rājyavardhana), 113-36 and 109-10; *Liṅga* (the beginning), i, 66, 53; *MBh.* (first part partially), xiv, 4, 65-91; *Rāmāy.* (from Viśāla to the end), i, 47, 11-18.

	I. YĀDAVAS.	II. HAIHAYAS.	III. PAURAVAS.	IV. KĀNYAKUBJA.	V.
1	Manu		Manu		
2	Ilā		Ilā		
3	Purūravas		Purūravas		
4	Āyus		Āyus	Amāvasu	
5	Nahusa		Nahusa		
6	Yayāti *		Yayāti *		
7	Yadu		Pūru		
8	Kroṣṭu	Sahasrajit	Janamejaya I	Bhīma	
9			Prācinvat		
10	Vṛjinivat	Śatajit	Pravira		
11			Manasyu		
12		Haihaya	Abhayada		
13	Svāhi		Sudhanvan	Kāncana-	
14			Bahugava	prabha	
15		Dharma	Saṁyāti		
16	Ruśadgu		Ahaṁyāti		
17		Dharmanetra	Raudrāśva		
18			Rceyu	Suhotra	
19	Citraratha	Kunti	<i>Matināra</i>		
20			Taṁsu		
21	Śaśavindu *	Sāhañji			
22	Prthuyāśas		—	<i>Jahnu</i>	
23	Prthukarman		—	Sumantu	
24	Prthujaya	Mahiṣmat	—	Ajaka	
25	Prthukirti		—	Balākāśva	
26	Prthudāna		—	Kuśa	BHĀRGAVA
27	Prthusravas	<i>Bhadraśreṇya</i>	—	Kuśāśva	BRĀHMANS.
28	Prthusattama		—	<i>Kuśika</i>	
29		<i>Durdama</i>	—	<i>Gādhi</i>	
30	Antara	Kanaka	—		
31	Suyajña	Kṛtavīrya	—		<i>Reika</i>
32	Uśanas	<i>Arjuna *</i>	—	<i>Viśvāmitra</i>	<i>Jamadagni</i>
33	Sineyu	Jayadhva	—		
34	Marutta	<i>Tālaṅgha</i>	—	Aṣṭaka	<i>Rāma</i>
35	Kambalabarhis	Vītihotra	—	Parāvasu	
36	Rukmakavaca	Vṛṣa	—		
37	Parāvṛt	Madhu	—		
38	<i>Jyāmagha</i>	Vṛṣṇi	—		
39			—		
40	<i>Vidarbha</i>	—			
41	Kratha		Ailina		
42	Kunti				
43	Dhrṣṭi		<i>Duṣyanta</i>		
44	Nirvṛti		<i>Bharata *</i>		
45	Vidūratha				
46	<i>Daśārha</i>		<i>Vitatha</i>		
47	Vyoman		<i>Bhūmanyu</i>		
48	Jimūta		Brhatkṣatra		
49	Vikṛti		Suhotra		
50	<i>Bhīmaratha</i>		Hastin		

VI. KĀŚI LINE.	VII. SOLAR LINE.	VIII. VIDEHA LINE.	IX. DIṢṬA'S LINE.	X. ANU'S LINE.	
Manu	Manu		Manu	Manu	1
Ilā	Ikṣvāku		Diṣṭa	Ilā	2
Purūravas				Purūravas	3
Āyus	Śasāda	Nimi	Nābhāga	Āyus	4
Nahuṣa	<i>Kakutstha</i>			Nahuṣa	5
Kṣatravṛdha	Anenas		Bhalandana	<i>Yayāti</i> *	6
	Prthu	Mithi-Janaka		Anu	7
Su(na)hotra	Viśvagaśva				8
	Ārdra		Vatsapri	Sabhānara	9
Kāśa	Yuvanāśva I	Udāvasu		Kālānala	10
	Śrāvasta				11
Kāśipa	Bṛhadaśva		Prāṇīsu		12
	Kuvalāśva	Nandivardhana			13
Dīrghatapasa	Dṛdhāśva		Prajāni	Srñjaya	14
	Pramoda				15
	Haryaśva I	Suketu			16
Dhanva	Nikumbha			Purañjaya	17
	Samhataśva		Khanitra		18
Dhanvantari	Kṛśāśva	Devarāta		Janamejaya	19
	<i>Prasenajit</i>				20
	<i>Yuvanāśva II</i>		Kṣupa		21
Ketumat	<i>Mādhātṛ</i> *	Bṛhaduktha		Mahāśāla	22
	<i>Purukutsa</i>				23
	Trasadasyu		Vimśa		24
	Sambhūta	Mahāvīrya		Mahāmanas	25
Bhīmaratha	Anaranya				26
	Prśadaśva		Vivimśa	Uśīnara	27
<i>Divodāsa I</i>	Haryaśva II	Sudhṛti		Titikṣu	28
(Aṣṭāratha)	Vasumanas		Khanīnetra	<i>Śiri</i> *	29
	Tridhanvan			<i>Kekaya</i>	30
—	Trayyāruṇa	Dhṛṣṭaketu	<i>Karandhama</i>	Ruśadratha	31
	<i>Triśaṅku</i>				32
—	<i>Harīścandra</i>		<i>Avikṣit</i>		33
	<i>Rohita</i>	Haryaśva	<i>Marutta</i> *	Hema	34
—	Harita				35
(Haryaśva)	Cañcu		Nariṣyanta		36
	Vijaya	Maru	Dama		37
(Sudeva)	Ruruka			Sutapas	38
	Vṛka		Rājyavardhana		39
<i>Divodāsa II</i>	<i>Bāhu</i>	Pratindhaka	Sudhṛti		40
<i>Pratardana</i>	<i>Sagara</i> *				41
Vatsa	Asamāñjas		Nara	<i>Bali</i>	42
<i>Alarka</i>	Amśumat	Kṛtiratha	Kevala		43
	Dilīpa I			<i>Aṅga</i>	44
Sannati	Bhagīratha*		Bandhumat		45
	Śruta	Devamiḍha	Vegavat		46
Sunitha	Nābhāga				47
	Ambarīṣa*		Budba	Dadhivāhana	48
Kṣema	Sindhuvīpa	Vibudha	<i>Tṛṇarindu</i>		49
	Ayutāyus				50

	I. YĀDAVAS.	II. DVMĪDHAS.	III. PAURAVAS.	IV. N. PAÑCĀLA.	V. S. PAÑCĀLA.
51	Navaratha		Vikunthana ?		
52	Daśaratha	Dvimīdha	Ajamīdha		
53	Śakuni	Yavinara	—	Nila	Brhadiṣu
54	Karambha	Dhṛtimat	—	Śānti	Brhadvasu
55	Devarāta	Satyadhṛti	—	Susānti	
56	Devakṣatra	Dr̥ghanemi	—	Puruṣāti	Brhaddhanus
57	Madhu	Sudhanvan	—	Arka	
58	Kuruvaśa		—	Bhr̥myaśva	
59	Anu	Sārvaabhauma	—	Mudgala	—
60	Purudvat		—	Brahmiṣṭha	
61	Puruhotra		—	Vadhryaśva	Brhatkarman
62	Amśu		<i>Rkṣa I</i>	<i>Divodāsa</i>	
63				Mitrayu	Jayadratha
64	Satvat		—	(Devavāta)	
65	<i>Sātvata</i>		—	<i>Śr̥ñjaya</i>	Viśvajit
66		—	—		
67	<i>Andhaka</i>	—	—	Cyavana	Senajit
68		—	—	Somadatta	
69	Kukura	—	—	(Pijavana)	Rucirāśva
70		—	—	<i>Sudāsa</i>	
71	Vṛṣṇi		<i>Saṁvarana</i>	Sahadeva	Pr̥thuṣeṇa
72		—	—	<i>Somaka</i>	
73	Dhṛti	—	<i>Kuru</i>	Jantu	Pāra I
74		—	Parikṣit I		
75	Kapotaroman	Mahat Paurava	<i>Janamejaya II</i>	—	Nīpa
76			Suratha		
77	Viloman	Rukmaratha	Vidūratha	—	Samara
78			Sārvaabhauma		
79	Tittiri	Supārśva	Jayatsena	—	Pāra II
80	Taittiri		Arādhi		
81		Sumati	Mahāsattva	—	Pr̥thu
82	Nala		Ayutāyus		
83		Sannati	Akrodhana	—	Sukṛti
84	—	<i>Kṛta</i>	Devātithi		
85			Rkṣa II	—	Vibhrāja
86	Abhijit		Bhīmasena		
87		—	Dilīpa	—	Anuha
88	Punarvasu		<i>Pratīpa</i>		<i>Brahmadatta</i>
89		—		—	Viśvaksena
90	Āhuka		(R̥ṣiṣeṇa)	Nīpa (Nila)	Udaksena
91		—	<i>Santanu</i>		Bhallāta
92	—	<i>Ugrāyudha</i>	[<i>Bhīṣma</i>]	<i>Pr̥ṣata</i>	<i>Janamejaya</i>
93	<i>Ugrasena</i>	Kṣem̐ya	Vicitravīrya		
94	<i>Kaṁsa</i>	Suvīra	<i>Dhṛtarāṣṭra</i>	<i>Drupada</i>	
95	<i>Kṛṣṇa</i>	Nr̥pañjaya	<i>Pāṇḍavas</i>	<i>Dhṛṣṭadyumna</i>	
96		Bahuratha	<i>Abhimanyu</i>	<i>Dhṛṣṭaketu</i>	

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE

Parikṣit II
Janamejaya III
etc.

VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	
KĀŚI LINE.	SOLAR LINE.	VIDEHA LINE.	DIṢṬA'S LINE.	ANU'S LINE.	
Ketumat	<i>Rtuparṇa</i>		Viśāla	Anapāna	51
	Sarvakāma	Mahādhr̥ti	Hemacandra		52
Suketu	Sudāsa				53
Dharmaketu	Kalmāṣapāda		Sucandra	Diviratha	54
	Aśmaka	Kṛtirāta	Dhūmrāśva		55
	Mūlaka				56
Satyaketu	Śataratha		Śrñjaya	—	57
	Vṛddhaśarman	Mahāroman	Sahadeva		58
Vibhu	Viśvasaha I				59
	Dilīpa II *	Svarṇaroman	Kṛśāśva	Citraratha	60
Suvibhu	Dirghabāhu		Somadatta		61
	Raghu	Hrasvaroman			62
Sukumāra	Aja		Janamejaya		63
	<i>Daśaratha</i>	<i>Siradhvaja</i>	<i>Pramati</i>	<i>Lomapāda</i>	64
Dhr̥ṣṭaketu	<i>Rāma *</i>	Bhānumat			65
Venuhotra		Śatadyumna		Caturaṅga	66
Bhargha	<i>Kuśa</i>	Suci			67
	Atithi	Ūrjavaha		Pr̥thulākṣa	68
	Niśadha	Sanadvāja			69
	Nala	Kuni		Campa	70
MAGADHA LINE	Nabhas	Añjana			71
	Puṇḍarika	Kulajit		Haryaṅga	72
<i>Kuru</i>	Kṣemadhanvan	Ariṣtanemi			73
Sudhanvan	Devānika	Śrutāyus		Bhadraratha	74
Suhotra	Ahinagu	Supārśva			75
Cyavana	Pāripātra	Sañjaya		Bṛhatkarman	76
	Dala	Kṣemāri			77
Kṛta	Sala	Anenas		Bṛhadratha	78
<i>Vasu Caidya</i>	Uktha	Samaratha			79
	Vajranābha	Satyaratha		Bṛhadbhānu	80
Bṛhadratha	Saṅkhana	Sātyarathi			81
	Vyusitāśva	Upaguru		Bṛhanmanas	82
Kuśāgra	Viśvasaha II	Upagupta			83
Rṣabha	<i>Hiraṇyanābha</i>	Svāgata		Jayadratha	84
	Puṣya	Svanara			85
Puṣpavat	Dhruvasandhi	Suvarcas		Vijaya	86
Satyahita	Sudarsana	Subhāsa			87
	Agnivarna	Suśruta		Dhr̥ti	88
Ūrja	Sighra	Jaya			89
Jahnu	Maru	Vijaya		Dhr̥tavrata	90
	Prasuśruta	Rta			91
Sambhava	Susandhi	Śunaya		Satyakarman	92
<i>Jarāsandha</i>	Amarsa	Vitahavya		Adhiratha	93
	Mahasvat	Dhr̥ti			94
<i>Sahadeva</i>	Viśrutavat	Bahulāśva		<i>Karṇa</i>	95
	<i>Bṛhadbala</i>	Kṛti			96

PĀṆDAVAS AND KAURAVAS.

Somādhi	Bṛhatkṣana		
Śrutaśravas	Ūrukṣepa		
etc.	etc.		

The accounts say there were kings from time to time who established a supremacy over the kingdoms around them, and so were called *samrāj* or *cakravartin*. There is no improbability in that, and their conquests may have resulted in the subversion of a neighbouring dynasty, or merely in its reduction to a kind of vassalage; hence when we consider the times of those kings we may find some confusion in the lists of neighbouring dynasties. Moreover, it is highly probable, and is indeed implied, that those great monarchs had long reigns. The names of such very famous monarchs are given,¹ namely, in the Solar race, Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśvi, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi, Dilipa II Khatvāṅga, and Rāma Dāśarathi; in the Lunar dynasty, Bharata Daśyanti; in the Yādava line, Śaśavindu Caitraratha and Arjuna Kārtavīrya; in Anu's line, Śivi Auśīnara; in Diṣṭa's line, Marutta Āvikṣita; as well as Yayāti Nāhuṣa, and others also who belonged to side-dynasties which developed no long genealogy and which are unnecessary for the present purpose.² Of these monarchs, Māndhātṛ, Bhagīratha, Arjuna, Bharata, and Marutta were specially called *samrāj*.³ The names of all the *cakravartins* who occur in the Table are marked with an asterisk.

Dealing now with the synchronisms in accordance with the principles explained above, we may find not a few which are deserving of consideration. The following are

¹ *MBh.* vii, 55-70; xii, 8, 238: 29. The genealogies corroborate.

² Namely, Rantideva Sāṅkr̥ti and Suhotra Ātithina of the Paurava race; Gaya Āmūrtarayasa; and Paurava Vira Bṛhadratha, king of Aṅga; and also Pr̥thu Vainya, who belonged to the most ancient age. There were many Suhotras, but none that I can identify as Ātithina; perhaps he is Suhotra, descendant of Vitatha of the Lunar dynasty. Bṛhadratha may be No. 78 in Anu's line in the table, but the epithet Paurava is perplexing.

³ *MBh.* ii, 14, 649-50. The remarks in *Aitar. Brāh.* viii, 3, 3, profess to explain contemporary conditions and relate to a time later than the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.

all the important instances that I have been able to discover, and they are taken in chronological order as far as possible.

The earliest synchronism is that Yayāti's eldest brother, Yati, married Go, daughter of Kakutstha, who can only be Kakutstha of the Solar dynasty.¹ Yayāti therefore was one generation below Kakutstha.

There are clear connexions between the Solar, Lunar, and Yādava lines about the time of Māndhātṛ. Gaurī, daughter of Matināra of the Lunar dynasty, married either Prasenajit of the Solar dynasty² or his son Yuvanāśva II,³ and was thus grandmother or mother of Māndhātṛ. The latter connexion is the better supported, for she is called *jananī*, or mother, of Māndhātṛ.⁴ The difference is not material for the present purpose; what is material is that Matināra was a contemporary of Prasenajit.

Māndhātṛ married Vindumatī Caitrarathī, daughter of Śāśavindu,⁵ who can only be the famous Śāśavindu, son of Citraratha of the Yādavas.⁶ And this is corroborated by the further statement that she was the eldest sister of many brothers,⁷ because Śāśavindu had a great number of sons, who were called the Śāśavindu or Śāśavindava kings.⁸ Śāśavindu, therefore, and Yuvanāśva II were contemporaries.

Śivi, son of Uśinara of Anu's line, appears to have originated the Śivis, and is said to have had four sons who originated the Vṛṣadarbhas, Suvīras, Kekayas (or

¹ *Brahma*, 12, 3; *Vāyu*, ii, 31, 14; *Hariv.* 30, 1601.

² *Brahma*, 7, 90-2; *Hariv.* 12, 709-11.

³ *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 65.

⁴ *Matsya*, 49, 8; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 126; *Hariv.* 32, 1716.

⁵ *Bhāgav.* ix, 6, 38; *Brahma*, 7, 92-3; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 70; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 2; *Hariv.* 12, 712-13. Also *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 22, where *Vindumahya* is a mistake for *Vindumatī*.

⁶ *MBh.* xii, 29, 998; *Agni*, 274, 13-14; and other passages cited for the Yādava genealogy.

⁷ *Brahma*, 7, 93-4; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 71; *Hariv.* 12, 713.

⁸ See passages cited for the Yādava genealogy.

Kaikeyas), and Madras in the Panjab.¹ Trisāṅku of the Solar race married a Kaikeya princess,² hence the Kaikeya kings were established before his time, and therefore Śivi cannot be placed less than two or three generations before Trisāṅku.³ Jyāmagha the Yādava, who was later, married a Śaivya princess.⁴

The next synchronism is that Jahnu of the Kānyakubja line married Kāverī, daughter⁵ or great-granddaughter⁶ of Yuvanāśva. This Yuvanāśva would be Yuvanāśva II of the Solar line, because the bare mention of such a name must imply that it was sufficiently well known, and the first Yuvanāśva was not famous. It is more probable she was his daughter, because (it is said) she was cursed by him; yet perhaps as a safe medium we may take it she was his granddaughter. Jahnu would thus be placed alongside Purukutsa. Jahnu was a famous king (after whom the Ganges is said to have been named Jāhnavī), and he could not have attained eminence till after the death of Yuvanāśva's son Māndhātṛ, who was a cakravartin, that is, he must be placed a generation later than Māndhātṛ, so that his wife was probably Yuvanāśva's granddaughter.

We may next take Viśvāmitra and his contemporaries, and here we must consider (having regard to the caution mentioned above, p. 14) only the earliest person of that name, for he had many descendants with the *gotra* name Viśvāmitra. The earliest and greatest Viśvāmitra was the son of Gādhi, or Gāthin, king of Kānyakubja,⁷ and his

¹ See passages cited for Anu's line.

² *Brahma*, 8, 24; *Līṅga*, i, 66, 10; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 116; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 3; *Hariv.* 13, 754.

³ *MBh.* iii, 194, 13249 is an obvious brahman anachronism.

⁴ *Agni*, 274, 17; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 35; *Brahma*, 15, 16; *Līṅga*, i, 68, 37; *Padma*, v, 13, 15; *Vāyu*, ii, 33, 32; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 12; *Hariv.* 37, 1984.

⁵ *Brahma*, 10, 19-21; 13, 87. *Hariv.* 27, 1421-2; 32, 1761.

⁶ *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 55.

⁷ See authorities cited for this dynasty, p. 22. *Brhaddevatā*, viii, 70; *Sarvānukramaṇī* on *Rig-V.* iii, hymns 1, etc. I have to thank Professor Macdonell for corrections and suggestions regarding the references to the *Rig-Veda*.

ksatriya name was Viśvaratha.¹ He was closely connected with the Solar dynasty. His father Gādhi's mother is called Paurukutsā or Paurukutsī,² and was therefore a daughter or descendant of Purukutsa, who can only be the famous king of Ayodhyā. Her patronymic would ordinarily mean she was daughter of Purukutsa, but not necessarily so, for (according to the first caution mentioned above, p. 14) it may also mean she was a descendant of even three or four generations. It is necessary to discuss these relationships at some length, and the discussion will illustrate the principles and cautions which have been laid down.

If Paurukutsā was Purukutsa's daughter, Viśvāmitra would be three generations below him, and if she was his great - great - granddaughter Viśvāmitra would be six generations below him. One step more, however, must be added, because Viśvāmitra ranks properly two steps below Gādhi, for Gādhi had a daughter Satyavati, and Viśvāmitra was born at the same time as her son Jamadagni (see p. 35). On the above alternatives, then, Viśvāmitra would be four or seven generations below Purukutsa. What precise relationship, then, is meant by "Paurukutsā" must depend on the other circumstances. Now Viśvāmitra is closely connected in the stories with Purukutsa's ninth successor, Satyavrata Triśaṅku, and his heirs. The stories may be summarized thus:³ Triśaṅku was banished by his father Trayyāruṇa, and the court-priest Vasiṣṭha (that is, the then Vasiṣṭha) approved and enforced the order with relentless severity. There was thus deep hatred between Triśaṅku and Vasiṣṭha. A terrible twelve-year drought occurred then, during which Viśvāmitra was away

¹ *Brahma*, 10, 55-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 90; *Hariv.* 27, 1459; 32, 1766.

² *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 63; *Hariv.* 27, 1430. The *Brahma* makes Paurā (or Paurakutsā, as one MS. reads) wife of Gādhi.

³ Most of the authorities are cited in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, i, 82, etc. See *Rig-V.* v, 2, 7, and Śaṅkara's *Vedārthadīpikā* on i, 24. It is needless to cite other passages.

performing austerities.¹ Triśaṅku supported Viśvāmitra's wife and children through it and earned his gratitude. Viśvāmitra therefore espoused Triśaṅku's cause, opposed Vasiṣṭha, and reinstated Triśaṅku. Triśaṅku's son Hariścandra² was obliged to offer his own son Rohita as a victim in a sacrifice, and after long procrastination saved him by buying Ajigarta's son Śunaḥśepha³ as the victim instead. Śunaḥśepha, though bound at the sacrifice, had his life spared, and was adopted by Viśvāmitra as his chief son with the name Devarāta.

These stories are only possible if Paurukutsā was not Purukutsa's daughter, but was a descendant, and it follows that she must have been his descendant of some four generations, unless the eight Solar kings who intervened between Purukutsa and Triśaṅku were not descendants in regular order, but were some of them brothers. Now one or two of those kings may have been brothers, but it is not probable that the number of generations among them was less than six, because Jahnu was, as shown, contemporary with Purukutsa, and Viśvāmitra, who was contemporary with Triśaṅku, was Jahnu's eighth successor.⁴

¹ As to Viśvāmitra's brahmanhood, see p. 4 *ante*.

² The *Āitar. Brāh.* says Hariścandra was son of Vedhas (vii, 3, 13; and so also Śaḍguruśiṣya on *Rig-V.* i, 24). It is not necessary to discuss the difference, because the synchronism stands good, but it may be pointed out that the genealogies rest on the *purāṇa-vaṁśa-vidā*, and the author of the *Brāh.* was more versed in philosophical speculation than in kṣatriya genealogical lore.

³ Sarvānukramaṇi on *Rig-V.* i, hymns 24-30; *Āitar. Brāh.* vii, 3, 15; *Bhāgav.* ix, 7, 8-23. But the *Vāyu* (ii, 29, 89), *Brahma* (10, 54), and *Hariv.* (27, 1457) make him son or brother of Jamadagni. The difference is not material here. Ajigarta's father Suyavasa (*Āitar. Brāh.*, loc. cit.) may have been a brother of Ṛcika or Jamadagni.

⁴ The lists agree in the number of steps down to Kuśa, and then vary as regards the next, whom they name as Kuśāśva, Kuśāmba, and Kuśika. Gādhi was certainly son of Kuśika, and the only doubtful point is whether a king named Kuśāśva, or Kuśāmba, preceded him. That there was such an extra generation seems clear, because Iṣiratha, who is not named in the genealogies, is mentioned as Gādhi's grandfather by Śaḍguruśiṣya (introduction to *Rig-V.* iii), and by the Sarvānukramaṇi (*ibid.*). Hence the general result is that Viśvāmitra was eighth in descent from Jahnu.

It is not probable a number of brothers succeeded in both lines at the same time, so as to reduce the actual generations to three only, as would be necessary if Paurukutsā was Purukutsa's own daughter; and it is quite possible, on the other hand, that nine generations in the Solar line might correspond to eight in the Kānyakubja line. For all substantial results these minor differences are hardly material, and it follows that Paurukutsā does not mean "daughter" of Purukutsa, and must mean his "descendant" in about the fourth degree.¹

Further, Gādhi's daughter Satyavatī was married to the rishi Ṛcika Bhārgava, and had a son Jamadagni, who was born at the same time as Viśvāmitra.² Jamadagni had several sons, of whom the youngest was Rāma.³

It thus appears that Gādhi's father was four or five generations posterior to Purukutsa, that Viśvāmitra, Triśaṅku, Hariścandra, Jamadagni, and Ajigarta were contemporaries, and that Rohita, Śunaḥsepha, and Rāma Jāmadagnya were contemporaries.

There are more synchronisms with Jamadagni and his son Rāma. The stories about them and the allusions, if treated as containing some truth, may be summarized thus:⁴ Kṛtavīrya, king of the Haihayas, had the Bhārgavas as his priests, and endowed them with great wealth.⁵ His

¹ See a similar case, where *Dāśārhi* was applied to several generations: p. 42, n. 4.

² *MBh.* iii, 115, 10144-53; v, 116, 3973; 118, 4005-7; xii, 49, 1721-45. *Bhāgav.* ix, 15, 4-13. *Brahma*, 10, 28-53. *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 6. *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 63-89. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 7.

³ *MBh.* iii, 116, 11074, 11080, and passages cited for the Kānyakubja line. Jamadagni married Reṇukā, daughter of King Reṇu of Ikṣvāku's race (*MBh.* iii, 116, 11072; v, 116, 3972; and the above passages), and Prasenajit gave her to him (*MBh.* iii, 116, 11072), but no king Reṇu is mentioned in the genealogies, nor any Prasenajit at this period, so that they belonged probably to a junior branch of the Solar race.

⁴ *MBh.* iii, 116, 11089-117, 10204 (*sic*, the numbering is erroneous); xii, 49. *Bhāgav.* ix, 15, 14-36; 16, 8-27; 23, 24. *Brahma*, 13, 159-99. *Matsya*, 43, 15-43; 44, 12-14. *Padma*, v, 12, 117-43. *Vāyu*, ii, 32, 10-48. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 11. *Hariv.* 34, 1850-91.

⁵ *MBh.* i, 178, 6802-3.

son Arjuna reigned at Māhiṣmatī (the modern Mandhātā on the River Narmadā), and extended his conquests everywhere. During his time the Haihaya princes tried to recover the wealth from the Bhārgavas, and being unsuccessful killed many of them, and the Bhārgavas were scattered.¹ In one of his expeditions Arjuna burnt up Āpava Vasiṣṭha's hermitage and incurred Āpava's curse. The hostility against the Bhārgavas brought him into conflict with Rāma, because he or his sons robbed Jamadagni, who was a Bhārgava. Rāma killed Arjuna, and the latter's sons then murdered Jamadagni. Rāma swore vengeance against the kṣatriyas, and is said to have destroyed all Arjuna's sons (except five) and thousands of Haihayas. After an interval he renewed his hostilities against all kṣatriyas, and is said to have almost exterminated them. It thus appears that Arjuna was a contemporary of Jamadagni,² so that he began to reign about the same time as Hariścandra, and, as the stories imply that his reign was a long one, it probably overlapped the reigns of Rohita and Harita also.

This story carries us further. Arjuna's grandson was Tālajaṅgha, and he is said to have had a numerous progeny, which constituted five tribes of Tālajaṅghas among the Haihayas. He would have been a younger contemporary of Rāma Jāmadagnya, and the Tālajaṅghas would have grown powerful towards the end of Rāma's life, or soon afterwards, in what is the modern Mahratta country. The stories say Rāma exterminated the kṣatriyas twenty-one times. This statement is too fabulous to merit any particle of credence, and is besides incompatible with the remarkable rise of the Tālajaṅgha power in the period that immediately followed, for (as already mentioned, p. 10)

¹ *MBh.* i, 178, 6804–179, 6827.

² It is said Ahaṁyāti of the Lunar race married Kṛtavīrya's daughter (*MBh.* i, 95, 3768), but if the same Kṛtavīrya is meant this statement is incompatible with all the other indications.

the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas overran the whole of North India, and hordes from the countries to the north-west also invaded India during that period. Their overthrow of the kingdoms in North India and the destruction that must have befallen the kṣatriyas in the continual wars may furnish an explanation of the extermination attributed to Rāma.

Rāma is always spoken of as a great warrior highly skilled in weapons, and his successful contest with Arjuna and his sons implies that the Bhārgavas took to arms.¹ He certainly did not exterminate the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, but, on the contrary, they were rising into great power at the close of his life. Some remarks may be offered in explanation of this. Rāma had no real cause of enmity against kṣatriyas generally, but the Tālajaṅgha-Haihayas, being warlike kṣatriyas bent on conquest, would have naturally attacked every kingdom, that is, all kṣatriyas. The fact that the destruction which they wrought is ascribed to Rāma suggests that they and the Bhārgavas had composed their quarrel after Arjuna's death and were acting together; and there are some incidents which support this suggestion.² If that were so, the destruction would naturally in brahmanical mouths be attributed to Rāma. The history of the Mahratta power offers a striking parallel. Brahmins and soldiery were combined. They did not make a permanent conquest of the countries they invaded, but made annual raids, and every year fighting was renewed.

¹ In later centuries brahmins among the descendants of Bhūmanyu and Ajamīdha of the Lunar race took to arms, *kṣatropetū drijātayaḥ*, namely, Gargas, Saṅkrtis. Kāvyas, Maudgalyas, Maitreyas, and apparently Kāṇvas; and during that period there were two military parties among brahmins, the Āngirases and Bhārgavas. *Agni*, 277, 21; *Matsya*, 49, 38, 41; 50, 5, 14; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 160, 177, 193-4. 201-2; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1781. 1790.

² e.g. Bhṛgu, that is, a Bhṛgu or Bhārgava rishi, saved the Haihaya king Vitahavya from Pratardana's vengeance by a deliberate falsehood, *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1983-97 (see p. 4).

Such devastating raids continued for half a century (and the Tālajaṅgha-Haihaya dominion lasted fully that time, see p. 10) might well be described as twenty-one exterminations of the kṣatriyas. The parallel goes even further, for, just as the Persians under Nādir Shāh invaded India once, and the Afghans under Ahmad Shāh made four incursions during the prevalence of the Mahratta power, so it is said Pahlavas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, and other hordes from the north-west poured into India during the disorganization caused by the Haihaya conquests.

This leads to certain synchronisms between the kings of Kāśī (Benares) and the Haihaya kings. There was a long contest between them, which began with Bhadrāśreṇya and ended with Vitahavya on the Haihaya side.¹ In the accounts one king of Kāśī, named Divodāsa, is made contemporary with the former's sons, and he or his son Pratardana² with the latter. Now this is impossible if the same king Divodāsa is meant, and for several reasons. Six generations are given from Bhadrāśreṇya to Tālajaṅgha, and King Vitahavya (or rather the Vitahavya king³) appears to have belonged to the Tālajaṅghas, and therefore to have been three or four steps later. The contest lasted a very long time.⁴ Such a contest and the successive Haihaya kings, six at least,⁵ cannot with any probability be compressed into the reign of a single king Divodāsa. The Purāṇa accounts say it began with Divodāsa and ended with Pratardana,

¹ *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1946-96. *Brahma*, 11, 40-54; 13, 66-75. *Hariv.* 29, 1541-8, 1582-91; 32, 1736-49. *Vāyu*, ii, 30, 23-8, 61-9. Also *Padma*, v, 12, 114.

² Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, of Kāśī. *Kauṣīt. Up.* iii, 1.

³ The name is generic rather than personal, *MBh.* loc. cit. Vitahavya of the *MBh.* probably = Vitihoṭra of the Purāṇas.

⁴ A thousand years. This, like most statements of time, is absurdly exaggerated, but all the references imply a long-continued struggle.

⁵ These generations cannot be condensed on the supposition that many of these kings were brothers, as the whole of the circumstances indicate the opposite.

and the *MBh.* account describes the contest (and that not the beginning of it, for it deals only with the Vitahavya period of the Haihayas) as occupying the reigns of four kings of Kāśī, of whom the last two were Divodāsa and Pratardana. Divodāsa was son of Bhīmaratha according to the Purāṇas, and son of Sudeva according to the *MBh.*¹ He was called Śatrujit according to two of the Purāṇas,² and this name could not have been applied to the Divodāsa of the *MBh.*, as will appear from the narrative following.

All these data are impossible on the supposition that there was only one Divodāsa, and are quite intelligible if we take it there were two Divodāsas, one son of Bhīmaratha and the other son of Sudeva.³ Hence there would seem to have been two Divodāsas in the Kāśī line, separated by some six or seven kings. That there were intermediate kings is shown by the stray mention of a king Aṣṭāratha, son of Bhīmaratha,⁴ during the contest, and the express insertion by the *MBh.* of two kings, Haryaśva and Sudeva.⁵ Confusion was easy because of the long dispossession of the Kāśī kings. Collating the various accounts the story may be stated thus: Bhadrāsrenya conquered Vārāṇasī (Benares), and Divodāsa I (son of Bhīmaratha, probably Śatrujit) recovered it from his sons. Then followed a long period, during which the city Vārāṇasī was abandoned and was (it is said) occupied by Rākṣasas. During that time Bhadrāsrenya's successor Durdama reconquered the Kāśī territory, and it seems to have remained under the Haihayas. The six or seven Kāśī successors fought unsuccessfully with the Haihayas,

¹ See passages cited in p. 38, n. 1.

² *Bhāgav.* ix, 17, 6; *Brahma*, 13, 66-7; *Mārkaṇḍ.* 20, 21. Since Pratardana is called R̥tadhvaṇa and Kuvalayāśva, *Viṣṇu*, iv, 8 (which calls him Śatrujit also; and so also *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 10), and *Mārkaṇḍ.*, loc. cit.; but the point is not clear, and the confusion is natural if the explanation offered is sound. The *Mārkaṇḍ.* account is largely fable.

³ There is nothing at all improbable in this (see p. 15).

⁴ *Brahma*, 13, 71; *Hariv.* 32, 1744.

⁵ *MBh.* loc. cit.

and Divodāsa II (son of Sudeva) built a new capital in the extreme east of the territory at the junction of the Ganges and Gomati. His successor Pratardana (Ṛtadhvaja, Kuvalayāśva) defeated the Vitahavya king and finally recovered the kingdom; he also conquered the Rākṣasas and regained the capital Vārāṇasī.

Divodāsa I would therefore be just posterior to Bhadrāśreṇya, and some further particulars will enable us to fix the position of Pratardana in connexion with the kings of Vidarbha and with Sagara.

Sagara had two wives. Their names are given by the authorities, though not quite in agreement; still, all which give the parentage agree that one of them was Vaidarbhī, or a daughter of Vidarbha,¹ who must be Vidarbha, son of Jyāmagha of the Yādava race. He was therefore just prior to Sagara. In support of this it may be noted further that Vidarbha's descendants reigned in Vidarbha and Cedi,² and that Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Virabāhu's son Subāhu, king of Cedi, were contemporaries of Sagara's tenth successor, Ṛtuparna, in the story of Nala.³ That Bhīma is no doubt Vidarbha's tenth successor Bhīmaratha in the genealogy, and should be equated with Ṛtuparna's father. Hence also Vidarbha's sixth successor Daśārha would be placed just after Bhagīratha.

Alarka, king of Kāśī, appears to have been Pratardana's grandson,⁴ and is said to have enjoyed very long life through Lopāmudrā's favour.⁵ She was daughter of

¹ *MBh.* iii, 106, 8833, 8843-7; *Brahma.* 8, 63-72; *Padma.* v, 8, 144-7; *Vāyu.* ii, 26, 154-8; *Viṣṇu.* iv, 4; *Hariv.* 15, 797.

² *Agni.* 274, 17-20; *Bhāgav.* ix, 24, 1-4; *Garuḍa.* i, 139, 29-32; *Līnga.* i, 68, 38-43; *Matsya.* 44, 35-41; *Padma.* v, 13, 19-24; *Vāyu.* ii, 33, 36-41.

³ *MBh.* iii, 65, 2576; 67, 2634-5; 69, 2705-8; 70, 2766; 73, 2852.

⁴ The authorities are not all clear about the exact relationship.

⁵ *Brahma.* 11, 53; 13, 74. *Vāyu.* ii, 30, 68. *Hariv.* 29, 1590; 32, 1794.

a Vidarbha king and married Agastya.¹ The king's name is given as Nimi.² No Nimi is mentioned in the Vidarbha genealogy, but the names after Vidarbha are not quite clear, and he would seem to have been one of Vidarbha's near successors, because after Daśārha the princesses were called Dāsārhi. Lopānudrā may presumably be equated with Kuntī, king of Vidarbha,³ and Alarka with Dhṛṣṭi. Pratardana therefore would synchronize with Sagara, and he and Sagara, as already mentioned, broke the power of the Tālajaṅgha - Haihayas, and Sagara completed their overthrow.

Something may be done towards fixing the position of the cakravartin Marutta, son of Avikṣit of Diṣṭa's line, and his descendant Tṛṇavindu. It is said that Avikṣit or his father Karandhama lived at the beginning of the Tretā Age,⁴ and that Tṛṇavindu lived "at the third mouth of the Tretā age",⁵ that is, apparently at the beginning of the third quarter of that age. It is not clear at what stage in the genealogies that age is supposed to have begun. It is said that Rāma Jāmadagnya lived in the Tretā age, and that Rāma Dāśarathi lived in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara ages.⁶ The further statement that Viśvāmitra lived in that same interval⁷ is inconsistent with these two, and perhaps we should read "in the interval between the Kṛta and Tretā ages". Such an arrangement of the ages makes a fair division of the genealogies, and without meriting any trust whatever it

¹ *MBh.* iii, 96, 8561-97, 8576; iv, 21, 654-5; v, 116, 3971. *Rig-V.* i, 179.

² *MBh.* xiii, 137, 6255. Confused with Nimi, first king of Videha, *ibid.*, 234, 8600, who is genealogically ages apart; and *Videha* is an easy mistake for *Vidarbha*.

³ The synchronism of this Agastya with kings Śrutarvan, Bradhnaśva, and Paurukutsa Trasadasyu (*MBh.* iii, 98, 8595-608) appears to be a brahmanical addition.

⁴ *MBh.* xiv, 4, 80; *Vāyu*, ii, 24, 7.

⁵ Tretā-yuga-mukhe tṛtiye, *Vāyu*, ii, 24, 15.

⁶ *MBh.* xii, 341, 12948-9.

⁷ *MBh.* xii, 141, 5331.

may serve as a possible working hypothesis. Marutta then might be placed conjecturally in about the same age as Rāma Jāmadagnya,¹ and Tṛṇavindu soon after Ambariṣa of the Solar line.

In the Lunar race Matināra's position has been fixed (p. 31). We may next consider the position of Duṣyanta² and his son Bharata.

Duṣyanta married Viśvāmitra's daughter Śakuntalā, as is well known. If that Viśvāmitra be the first and great Viśvāmitra, Duṣyanta must be placed alongside Hariścandra or Rohita, and his son Bharata immediately afterwards; but there are arguments against that. There is no indication that Bharata's successors were overthrown by the Haihayas, as they must have been in that case. Bharata had three wives, Vaidarbhī,³ and Vidarbha's position, as shown, was later. Bharata's second successor, Bhūmanyu, married a daughter (or descendant) of Daśārha,⁴ who was much later. These three considerations settle the question, and indeed the first statement is not necessarily in conflict with them, because such names as Viśvāmitra do not always refer to the original rishis, but also denoted their descendants, and produced some confusion in the personalities (see p. 15). The reasonable inferences therefore are that Bhūmanyu married Daśārha's daughter,

¹ In Marutta's time lived two rishis, Bṛhaspati and his younger brother Saṁvarta, who were rivals. The former declined to be Marutta's priest, so Marutta engaged Saṁvarta. *MBh.* xii, 29, 910-13; xiv, 5, 95-8, 218; corroborated by vii, 55, 2170-1. *Bhāgar.* ix, 2, 27. *Vāyu*, ii, 24, 9-11. *Āitar. Brāh.* viii, 4, 21. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, on *Rig-V.* vi, 52, makes these two rishis younger brothers of Ucathya (see p. 44); there may have been some relation between these two rishis and the other two, Ucathya and Bṛhaspati, who seem to have been later.

² Or Duḥṣanti, as he is sometimes called, e.g. *Śatap. Brāh.* XIII, v, 4, 11.

³ *MBh.* i, 94, 3710-11; *Agni*, 277, 34; *Bhāgar.* ix, 20, 34; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 133. The *Brahma* (13, 58), *Viṣṇu* (iv, 19), and *Hariv.* (32, 1727) support. The [single wife in *MBh.* i, 95, 3785, was probably wife of Vitatha, who is omitted there.

⁴ *MBh.* i, 95, 3786. His fourth successor, Vikunṭhana, also married a later Dāśārhi princess, *ibid.*, 3789.

that Bharata must be placed three or four generations after Vidarbha, and that Śakuntalā's father was a near descendant of the great Viśvāmitra.¹ Bhūmanyu must then be placed soon after Daśārha and contemporary with Nābhāga of the Solar line, Bharata with Dilipa I, and Duśyanta with Anśumat.

This conclusion leaves an immense gap between Matināra and Duśyanta, in which only two or three names occur, but there are considerations which corroborate it, surprising though it be at first sight.

The lists show little agreement as to the relation between those two kings, and some of them leave it indefinite. It is obvious that the genealogists were puzzled, and each authority has taken its own method of bridging over the gap. A long period of confusion is what all the information indicates, if it be noted that Pūru had his kingdom in the middle of Madhyadeśa, and that that region has been the battle-ground of contending races at all times. Matināra's kingdom would have been conquered by the cakravartin Śaśavindu from the south-west, and have then undergone a long eclipse under a series of cakravartins, Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā, Śivi son of Usīnara in the north-west, Arjuna Kārtavīrya of Māliṣmatī, Marutta son of Avikṣit of Diṣṭa's line, the Haihaya dominion (with the inroads of the hordes from the north-west), and, lastly, Sagara of Ayodhyā. Duśyanta, as a youth in Sagara's time, might well have deemed his right to the Paurava kingdom hopeless; consequently we may well believe another statement that Marutta, son of Karandhama, in the lineage of Yayāti's son Turvasu,² had no son and adopted Duśyanta the Paurava, and that afterwards Duśyanta, desiring his own kingdom, reverted to his own race.³ He would have

¹ Even so she was still of kṣatriya origin.

² Not given in the Table, because it is too brief, and is said to have merged into the Paurava line by this adoption.

³ *Agni*, 276, 2; *Bhāgar.* ix. 23, 17-18; *Brahma*, 13, 143-6; *Matṣya*, 48, 2-3; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 2-4; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 16; *Hariv.* 32, 1831-4.

had that opportunity on Sagara's death, and so would be contemporary with Amśumat, for the authorities say that Asamañjas did not succeed his father Sagara. To recover his kingdom he had the help of his adoptive father's realm. Duśyanta thus became in a very real sense what he is called, namely, the *vañśa-kara* of the Pauravas,¹ and united the sovereignty of two kingdoms.

The story of Bharata opens out other connexions. There were two rishis of Aṅgiras' race, Ucathya and his younger brother Brhaspati. Ucathya's wife was Mamatā, and their son was Dirghatamas, who was born blind. Bharadvāja was Brhaspati's son, begotten by him (it is said) of the same Mamatā.² Dirghatamas, after he had grown up, was set adrift in the Ganges, and was carried down to Bali's³ kingdom in the east. There he was rescued and begot of the queen, at Bali's desire, Aṅga and four other sons.⁴ That there was such a blind rishi Dirghatamas, who was son of Ucathya and Mamatā, and was rescued from perishing in the rivers, is clear from the *Rig-Veda*.⁵ Bharadvāja's personality is not quite so clear, because on the one hand Bharadvāja, the eldest son of Brhaspati, is made contemporary with Divodāsa II of Kāśi,⁶ and on the other hand he is brought into connexion with Bharata at

¹ *MBh.* i, 68, 2801.

² He is called *Dryāmuṣyāyaṇa*, *Bhāgar.* ix, 20, 38-9; *Matsya*, 49, 33; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 153.

³ He must be distinguished from Bali, son of Virocana, the Daitya.

⁴ The story is told in various ways, and Ucathya's name is given as Utathya, Uśija, Aśija, and Asija. *MBh.* i, 104, 4179-221; ii, 20, 802; xii, 343, 13177-84. *Bhāgar.* ix, 20, 36-9; 23, 4-5. *Matsya*, 48, 24-84; 49, 17-26. *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 37-92, 137-46. *Viṣṇu.* iv, 19. *Hariv.* 31, 1689-93. Śaḍguruśiṣya on *Rig-V.* vi, 52, and i, 116. *Bṛhaddeśatā*, iv, 11-15, 21-5. Cf. p. 42, n. 1. Dirghatamas is said to have gained his sight in later life (*MBh.* xii; *Matsya*; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, loc. cit.). If a natural explanation may be suggested, it is that he was not totally blind, but purblind, or extremely short-sighted, when young, and that his sight improved in old age, as often happens in such cases.

⁵ i, 147, 3; 158, 3-6; iv, 4, 13; and perhaps, i, 152, 6.

⁶ *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1962-3; see also *Sarvānukramaṇī*, introduction to *Rig-V.* vi, for his patronymic.

the close of Bharata's life. Thus some accounts say that Bharata lost all his sons, and Bharadvāja was then brought to him and became his son as King Vitatha¹; and other accounts say Bharadvāja sacrificed for Bharata, and then a son Vitatha was born from Bharadvāja.² The latter version is preferable, because (1) some of the former authorities corroborate it, and discredit their own story by adding that Bharata died when Vitatha was born³; and (2) Dirghatamas inaugurated Bharata with the *mahābhīṣeka*,⁴ so that Bharadvāja could not have been a child at the end of Bharata's life.⁵ It is credible that Dirghatamas and Bharadvāja were brothers or cousins⁶; and if we accept the above equation of Bharadvāja and Divodāsa II, the inference would be that both those rishis were younger contemporaries of Divodāsa II, that Dirghatamas, who lived to a great age,⁷ inaugurated Bharata,

¹ *Agni*, 377, 7-8; *Bhāgar.* ix, 20, 34-9; *Matsya*, 49, 14-15, 27-32; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 147-53; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19. Śaṅkaraśiṣya on *Rig-V.* vi, 52, says Suhotra, etc., were Bharadvāja's sons, but according to the genealogies they were his great-great-grandsons.

² *Brahma*, 13, 58-60; *Hariv.* 32, 1729-31; *MBh.* i, 94, 3710-13, which calls the son Bhūmanyu.

³ *Matsya*, 49, 34; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 154. The accounts and other statements leave no doubt that brahman paternity was introduced at this period. In fact, it is stated that Bharadvāja's descendants comprised both brahmins and kṣatriyas, *Matsya*, 49, 33. Similar cases occurred: thus a Vasiṣṭha begot King Aśmaka of Kalmāṣapāda's queen in the Solar dynasty. *MBh.* i, 122, 4736-7; 177, 6787-91; *Bhāgar.* ix, 9, 18, 38-9; *Kārma*, i, 21, 12-13; *Lūga*, i, 66, 27-8; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 176.

⁴ *Āitar. Brāh.* viii, 4, 23; and was his priest, *Bhāgar.* ix, 20, 25.

⁵ The confusion of Bharadvāja and Vitatha no doubt arose because Bharadvāja was called Vidathin, *Bṛhaddev.* v, 102-3.

⁶ The accounts are supported to some extent by the *Rig-V.* because Vaidathina (that is, Bharadvāja's son or more probably descendant), Rjīśvan (*Rig-V.* iv, 16, 13; and compare vi, 50, 15 and 51, 12 with the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, which attributes these hymns to Rjīśvan) is even called Auśija (x, 99, 11), which was the metronymic of Kakṣivat, son of Dirghatamas (i, 18, 1; *Sarvānukramaṇī* on i, 116). Kakṣivat is mentioned in the passages cited from *MBh.* i, *Matsya*, and *Vāyu* in p. 44, n. 4.

⁷ *Rig-V.* i, 158, 6.

and that that Bharadvāja,¹ or his son, begot Vitatha at the end of Bharata's life.

The position of Ajamīdha of the Lunar race, from whom sprang both the North and South Pañcāla dynasties, is important. I have not found any data to fix it directly, but something is possible indirectly. If, using the more complete Solar line as a measuring scale, we reckon the generations on from Bharata, Ajamīdha should fall at or soon after Rtuparna's time; and if we continue the reckoning down the North Pañcāla line, Śrñjaya should fall about the time of Daśaratha and Rāma, and here we do reach synchronisms which confirm the reckoning. There are synchronisms between several lines at this stage.

With Daśaratha were contemporary Siradhvaja Janaka of Videha (the father of Sitā), Lomapāda of Āṅga,² and Pramati, king of Vaiśālī.³

There is a story connecting Rāma and his brother Śatrughna with the Yādava dynasty,⁴ and it is so strange at first sight as hardly to merit attention, but other allusions support incidents in it, and it explains certain important territorial facts. Madhu, called king of the Dānavas in it, was clearly a descendant of Yayāti's son Yadu,⁵ and is obviously the Madhu in the Yādava list. According to the story, Madhu's kingdom, that is, the Yādava territory, stretched from Gujarat to the forest Madhuvana on the Yamunā; his fourth descendant was Sattvata, and Sattvata's son Bhīma was reigning at the same time as Rāma; Śatrughna killed the local prince Lavaṇa, felled the forest, and built Mathurā (the modern Muttra) on its site; after Rāma's death Bhīma recovered

¹ "Bharadvāja" was the longest-lived rishi, *Āitar. Āraṇ.* I, ii, 2, 8.

² *MBh.* iii, 110, 10008-9; *Rāmāy.* i, 11, 13-20; *Bhāgar.* ix, 23, 7-10.

³ *Rāmāy.* i, 47, 17, which calls him Sumati; compared with the other authorities for Diṣṭa's line, p. 25.

⁴ *Hariv.* 94, 5142-95, 5257; and 55, 3060-3104. The *Rāmāy.* tells a similar story (*Uttara-k.* 64, 68-70, 103), but amplifies and brahmanizes it.

⁵ *Hariv.* 94, 5164 (see p. 19, n. 6).

the city and dwelt there, and his son Andhaka reigned there when Rāma's son Kuśa was reigning in Kosala. Now some of the Purāṇas also assert that Śatrugṇa killed the Mādhava Lavaṇa, took Madhuvana, and established Mathurā there, and they add that his sons Subāhu and Śūrasena guarded the city.¹ Further, the story explains, first, how the country, of which Mathurā was the capital, was called Śūrasena, for both Śūrasena's name and also the name of the city Mathurā remained, though the Yādavas recovered the sovereignty soon afterwards: and, secondly, how it was that Kaiśa, a Yādava and descendant of Andhaka, reigned there in the Pāṇḍavas' time—a collocation of facts of which there is no other explanation. The story appears, therefore, to contain historical truth.

That king Bhīma is not named in the genealogies, but as son of Sattvata (Satvat) appears as Sātvata in them. They and the story concur in making Andhaka grandson of Satvat, and fairly agree in placing him six or eight steps below Madhu. We may therefore equate the Yādava Satvat with Daśaratha, Sātvata with Rāma, and Andhaka with Kuśa; and Madhu then would be placed about equal with Śataratha in the Solar line.

Further, another son of Sātvata, named Bhajamāna, married one or two daughters of Śrṇjaya,² who cannot well be any other than the king of North Pañcāla. Śrṇjaya was thus a contemporary of Sātvata, and therefore of Rāma, and this confirms his position as calculated above, and consequently Ajamīḍha must be placed with, or just after, Rtnparṇa. In agreement with this is the statement that King Śatadyumna (probably king No. 66 of Videha)

¹ *Bhāgar.* ix, 11, 13-14; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 184-5; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4. The *Garuḍa* (i, 138, 38) names the sons.

² *Brahma*, 15, 32; *Liṅga*, i, 69, 3; *Matsya*, 44, 49-50; *Padma*, v, 13, 33; *Vāyu*, ii, 34, 3; *Hariv.* 38, 2201; perhaps *Kūrma*, i, 24, 37. The *Vāyu* (ibid. 4) adds that Bhajamāna's son married two daughters (grand-daughters) of Śrṇjaya, who were his cousins.

gave wealth to Mudgala or (more probably) Maudgalya,¹ that is, one of the Maudgalya brahmins descended from Mudgala the Pañcāla.² Śrñjaya's position serves to fix those of Divodāsa and Sudāsa (Sudās), who are so often mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*.³

Śrñjaya places us in the middle of the "Pañcālas". This name began, as all the authorities say, with the jocular boast of a king, whose name is given variously as Bharmya, Bharmyāśva, Bāhyāśva, etc., but was really Bhṛmyāśva. He had five sons, Mudgala, etc., and said, "My five (*pañca*) sons are sufficient (*alam*) for protecting five kingdoms."⁴ The accounts imply that the words *pañca* + *alam* caught the fancy, and the new name Pañcāla gradually debased and superseded the name Krivi, which was the old name of the people or country.⁵ These Pañcālas flourished till Somaka and his son Jantu, then (the accounts say) there were great reverses and the dynasty fell into insignificance (that is, there is a gap) till Prṣata's time,⁶ and that was caused by the rise again of the Lunar dynasty under Kuru, as will be explained.

The positions of Ṛkṣa I, Samvarana, and Kuru may be

¹ *MBh.* xii, 234, 8606 ; xiii, 137, 6265.

² See passages cited for the genealogy, p. 21. n. 2.

³ See p. 21, n. 3.

⁴ *Agni*, 277, 19-20 ; *Bhāgar.* ix, 21, 31-4 ; 22, 3 ; *Brahma*, 13, 94-6 ; *Matsya*, 50, 2-4 ; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 190-3 ; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19 ; *Hariv.* 32, 1778-80 ; Śaṅkaraśiṣya on *Rig-V.* x, 102. Very many derivations or explanations of names in the literature are fanciful, but this explanation is such as may be genuine, for the name Pañcāla certainly superseded Krivi.

⁵ *Rig-V.* ii, 22, 2 ; *Śatap. Brāh.* XIII, v, 4, 7. It is implied in the latter passage that both names were current for a time, Pañcāla being the kṣatriya name and Krivi the vulgar one. In the Epics and Purāṇas, therefore, Pañcāla is always used, and I have not met with Krivi there. On the identity of Krivi and Pañcāla, see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 1st German ed., 409 ; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 102 seq.

⁶ In the last part of this gap may be placed Duṣṭarītu Pauṁsāyana, king of the Śrñjayas, because he was contemporary with Balhika Prātipiya, the Kauravya king (*Śatap. Brāh.* XII, ix, 3, 1-13), that is, the Kaurava Vāhlika, son of Pratīpa and brother of Śāntanu, who is often mentioned in the *MBh.* (e.g. v, 148, 5053-5 ; vii, 157, 6931-4). See *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 320.

fixed approximately. Saṁvaraṇa was driven out of his kingdom by the Pañcālas, and took refuge in a fastness near the River Sindhu many years; at length Vasiṣṭha (that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family) came to him and became his priest, and encouraged by his aid Saṁvaraṇa recovered his kingdom.¹ As the Pañcālas began with Mudgala, the dispossession was posterior to Mudgala, and it seems, further, that event could not have taken place before Divodāsa's time, because Indrota Ātithigva (Divodāsa's son presumably) was apparently on friendly terms with Rkṣa's son.² Thus Rkṣa would be contemporary with Divodāsa.

The dispossession would seem to have been effected by Sudāsa (Sudās). A hymn in the *Rig-Veda* shows he had wars and extended his territory.³ His great battle with the ten kings⁴ was probably connected in some way with the dispossession. It was fought near the Paruṣṇī (the modern Ravi),⁵ and he could not have got there from North Pañcāla without passing over the Lunar kingdom, and as the Bharatas (that is, the Lunar dynasty⁶) were against him, he had presumably conquered it. His conquests evidently stirred up the tribes to the west against him, namely, the Yādva (the Yādava king of Mathurā, see p. 47), the Śivas (Śivis) who were Ānavas (see pp. 24, 31), Druhyus (Gāndhāras, who were descended from Druhyu⁷), Matsyas (to the west of Mathurā), Turvaśa (some tribal king

¹ *MBh.* i, 94, 3727-37.

² *Rig-V.* viii, 68 [57], 15-17.

³ *Rig-V.* vii, 20, 2.

⁴ *Rig-V.* vii, 18; 19, 3, 6, 8.

⁵ *Rig-V.* vii, 18, 8-9. If we might identify Śrutarvan Ārkṣa with Saṁvaraṇa Ārkṣa, *Rig-V.* viii, 74 might have been composed on the Paruṣṇī during the exile. That river was among the Madras or Kaikeyas, who were descended from Anu (see pp. 31-2), hence Agni there might well be called Ānava (ibid. 4).

⁶ *MBh.* i, 95, 3785; or Bhāratas, *MBh.* i, 94, 3709; *Brahma*, 13, 57; *Matsya*, 49, 11. Saṁvaraṇa is called Bhārata, *MBh.* i, 94, 3731.

⁷ *Agni*, 276, 4; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 14-15; *Brahma*, 13, 146-51; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 64; *Matsya*, 48, 6-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 7-9; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 17; *Hariv.* 32, 1837-40.

descended from Turvaśa, that is, Turvasu ; probably on his north-west), and other small clans. Further, "old Kavaśa" was drowned at the battle.¹ Now a rishi named Tura inaugurated Janamejaya Pāriksita (that is, Saṁvarana's great-grandson) with the *mahābhiṣeka*, and his father was Kavaśa, who might well have been contemporary with Saṁvarana.² There need be no hesitation in identifying these two Kavaśas, for "old Kavaśa" was on the side opposed to Sudās, that is, on Saṁvarana's side, and Kavaśa's son inaugurated Saṁvarana's great-grandson.

The dispossession would appear to have lasted through Sahadeva's reign³ into Somaka's, for Somaka performed sacrifices on the Yamunā,⁴ and he could not have done that unless his territory extended there. Saṁvarana would seem to have recovered his kingdom in the early part of Somaka's reign, for several reasons. First, this Pañcāla dynasty suffered serious reverses during Somaka's and his son Jantu's time (see p. 48). Secondly, all the hymns in Sudās' praise are by Vasiṣṭha, that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family.⁵ There is only one⁶ in praise of Somaka when he was a young prince, and this fact deserves to be compared with the statement (p. 49) that Vasiṣṭha went to Saṁvarana and helped him to regain his kingdom. It would seem that some strong reason must have moved Vasiṣṭha to forsake Somaka and espouse Saṁvarana's cause. His behaviour suggests vengeance, and may be ascribed to the statement that his sons were killed by Sudās' descendants.⁷ Thirdly, this last inference helps to

¹ *Rig-V.* vii, 18, 12.

² *Āitar. Brāh.* ii, 3, 19 ; vii, 5, 34 ; viii, 4, 21.

³ His race and kingdom were prosperous (*Śatap. Brāh.* II, iv, 4, 4-5).

⁴ *MBh.* iii, 125, 10421-2.

⁵ He also inaugurated Sudās (*Āitar. Brāh.* viii, 4, 21).

⁶ *Rig-V.* iv, 15 ; where Somaka is mentioned as *kumāraḥ Sāhaderyaḥ* (verses 7-10), "the youth, the son of Sahadeva."

⁷ *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi, 28 (which obviously refers to this Vasiṣṭha). The word is *Saudāsaiḥ*, which means the sons or grandsons of Sudās, and thus undoubtedly includes Somaka. See other passages cited in Muir's

explain the story that Somaka sacrificed his first son Jantu in order to obtain more sons,¹ for the ṛtvij who performed such a barbarous magical rite could not have been Vasiṣṭha, nor had his approval.²

For all these reasons Saṁvaraṇa may be placed alongside Sudāsa or Sahadeva, and Kuru beside Somaka or Jantu. Kuru had a numerous progeny. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and pushed his rule beyond Prayāga (Allahabad),³ which implies he overcame Pañcāla. His waxing meant the waning of the Pañcālas.

These conclusions leave a considerable gap between Ajamīdha and Ṛkṣa, and between Ṛkṣa and Saṁvaraṇa. That there was a long combined gap is implied by some of the authorities, for they even go so far as to say that Ajamīdha was reborn as Somaka and begot Ṛkṣa,⁴ thus virtually placing Ṛkṣa after Somaka, and implying that the rise of the Kauravas and the decline of the North Pañcālas were connected. The gap from Ajamīdha to Saṁvaraṇa marks the eclipse of the Lunar dynasty during the dominance of North Pañcāla, just as the gap from Jantu to Pṛṣata marks the reverse.⁵

Vasu Caidyoparicara founded new Cedi and Magadha dynasties (see p. 22). He was fifth in descent from Kuru according to the genealogies, and was later therefore than Janamejaya II Pārikṣita. He may be placed three or four

Sanskrit Texts, i, 114, etc., where, however, this Sudāsa is classed with a different and earlier king Sudāsa, No. 53 of the Solar line in the Table. See also n. 2 below.

¹ *MBh.* iii, 127, 10486–128, 10495; *Matsya*, 50, 16; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 204.

² It may have been this ṛtvij who called this Vasiṣṭha a Yātudhāna (*Rig-V.* vii, 104, 15), and so moved him to compose that hymn.

³ *Agni*, 277, 26; *Bhāgav.* ix, 22, 4; *Brahma*, 13, 106–7; *Matsya*, 50, 20–2; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 209–12; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1800–1.

⁴ *Matsya*, 50, 15–19; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 203–9; *Hariv.* 32, 1792, 1795–9. See *Brahma*, 13, 99–100.

⁵ The Kurus and both branches of the Pañcālas were of the same stock (see p. 21). They are not particularly linked together in the *MBh.* or *Purāṇas*, and the double compound found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, etc., refers to a later period—after the great battle.

steps lower. This agrees with the story that Yayāti's chariot which had belonged to Pūru and his descendants passed from that Janamejaya to Vasu.¹

Ayutanāyin of the Lunar dynasty married a daughter of Prthuśravas.² He seems (though misplaced in the *MBh.*) to be the same as Ayutāyus, and Prthuśravas may perhaps be Prthu of the South Pañcala line.

In the concluding portion of the Lunar and Pañcāla dynasties and Dvimīḍha's line are a number of synchronisms. Kṛta of Dvimīḍha's line was a disciple and therefore a younger contemporary of Hiranyanābha, king of Kosala.³ Brahmadatta of South Pañcāla and Pratipa of the Lunar dynasty were contemporaries.⁴ Ugrāyudha, whose name follows Kṛta's, killed Janamejaya Durbuddhi and all the Nīpa princes of South Pañcāla,⁵ and also Prṣata's father or grandfather, Nīpa or Nīla, of North Pañcāla⁶; and Bhīṣma killed him after Śantanu's death.⁷ Hence Ugrāyudha was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya and Śantanu, and an earlier contemporary of Bhīṣma. These synchronisms bring out some interesting points. Ugrāyudha is called son of Kṛta, but it is plain there is a gap of four or five steps between them. Again, Pratipa's position contemporary with Brahmadatta, and Śantanu's position contemporary with Brahmadatta's third successor, show there must be a small gap of one or two steps between Pratipa and Śantanu. No such gap is

¹ *Brahma*, 12, 6-16; *Vāyu*, ii, 31, 18-27; *Hariv.* 30, 1605-16. The descent of Śantanu's queen, Satyavati, from Vasu is a mere fable, chronologically impossible.

² *MBh.* i, 95, 3774.

³ *Bhāgav.* ix, 12, 3-4; 21, 28-9; *Matsya*, 49, 75-6; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 295-6; 37, 185-6; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4 and 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1080-1.

⁴ *Hariv.* 20, 1047-8.

⁵ *Matsya*, 49, 59; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 177; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1071-2.

⁶ *Matsya*, 49, 77-8; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 186-7; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1083, 1086.

⁷ *MBh.* xii, 27, 808 *Hariv.* 20, 1073, 1085-1110. Śantanu is generally called Śāntanu in the *MBh.* and *Purāṇas*.

hinted at anywhere in the *MBh.* or *Purāṇas*, yet it is proved by the *Rig-Veda*, for all accounts agree that Devāpi was Śantanu's eldest brother,¹ and Devāpi calls himself Ārṣṭiṣeṇa.² Clearly, therefore, Rṣṭiṣeṇa must be inserted.

The other contemporaries at the end are too well known to need notice. They are discussed in my paper on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas".³

I have now dealt with all the material synchronisms that I have been able to discover, and it will be seen that they do not all come from one kind of authority, or even from one possible source, but have been collected out of all kinds of books, from the *Rig-Veda* to the *Raghuvamśa*, and from various accounts and stories. Many of the narratives noticed have so little in common that the points of agreement which they show in these details are unquestionably undesigned coincidences. As a corroboration of these results it may be pointed out that the positions of the cakravartins (see p. 30) in the Table turn out to be such that they do not clash with one another. Other allusions occur but have not been noticed (so as not to encumber this article), because they are not clear enough to be of any value, or merely corroborate these conclusions, or are stray and unsupported, or belong to brahmanical stories, which (as already explained, p. 13) cannot be accepted without corroboration, even if they are not deemed pious fabrications.⁴ It may seem that the grounds for the synchronisms are not conclusive. I may admit

¹ *Nirukta*, ii, 10 ; *Bṛhadd.* vii, 156.

² *Rig-V.* x, 98, 5, 6, 8.

³ *JRAS.* 1908, p. 309.

⁴ e.g. the account of the transmission of knowledge about soma-drinking from one king to another in *Āitar. Brāh.* vii, 5, 34, is chronologically erroneous. Similarly the story of the descent of the sword in *MBh.* xii, 166, 6192-6201 is hopelessly confused. The brahmins who composed the theological and didactic literature knew little about ancient kṣatriya history, and no wonder, when all knowledge rested on memory alone.

this, and add that conclusive proof for such ancient times is generally impossible; indeed, certain inconsistent passages have been referred to in the notes. All that is possible is to collate the data regarding a synchronism, and draw the conclusions which satisfy them, or the greater number of them. Each set of data must be dealt with by itself in the first instance, yet, as the genealogies are not isolated but have many points of connexion, the conclusion regarding one synchronism must be tested and should harmonize with those regarding others. The data may be viewed in ways different from that in which they have been now presented, and different inferences drawn; and, in fact, many such inferences were formed and rejected, because further consideration showed that they did not agree with other conditions which were related to them. The synchronisms must be considered both singly and collectively, and if according to the conclusions now put forward all the genealogies fit in together and corroborate one another, the resulting harmony supplies cogent cumulative evidence in favour of the scheme presented, both as regards particulars and also generally.

Nearly all the genealogical lists terminate with the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. Some mention a few generations more in certain cases, or give lists of the kings who should reign in certain dynasties after that event. But in all genealogical matters the great battle constitutes a notable *terminus ad quem*, as if a period of considerable prosperity, knowledge, and refinement was succeeded by one of disorganization and darkness. Whatever the cause may have been, that event was an undoubted epoch, and may be taken as an era, so that in dealing with these genealogies chronologically we may reckon backwards *ante bellum*.

The question suggests itself, what may be the chronological import of these genealogies? In forming an estimate of time the average which may be taken for

the duration of reigns in India depends partly on the length of the dynasty. It may be twenty years (or even more) in short dynasties, but to adopt a lower average would be prudent when the list of kings is very long, because their length neutralizes special conditions that may affect short periods.¹ Hence fifteen years per reign would be a safer estimate. It must be noted that any such average applied to these lists means a smaller average in reality, because we must allow for the fact that the lists, and even the long Solar list, are not exhaustive (see p. 7), and that the number of kings should be increased somewhat to compensate for omissions. If it be supposed there is only one omission to every seven kings named in the lists (which is surely a moderate supposition), and the average be adjusted accordingly, an average of fifteen years becomes one of about thirteen years. This appears to be a reasonable ratio, because fifty-five early kings of Ceylon reigned altogether 601 years, that is, with an average of eleven years²; but that average is unduly lowered by the fact that the number of insignificant kings is almost one in every three. If that average be adopted for the present purpose it would be proper to increase the number of kings in the same proportion. Taking then the lists as they stand, fifteen years per reign seems a reasonable and even moderate estimate. The only list which spans the entire period is the Solar list, and that contains ninety-three names from Ikṣvāku to the great battle. The entire duration then would be not less than 1400 years. Māndhātṛ would be placed about eleven centuries before that battle; Sagara, Bharata, and Bhagīratha in the eighth century; Rāma Dāśarathi in the middle of the fifth century; and the Pañcāla kings, Divodāsa to

¹ I have to thank Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hoernle for advice on this matter.

² Dr. Fleet's list, Nos. 7-54, JRAS., 1909, p. 350.

Somaka, during the fifth and fourth centuries before that battle.

Duncker in his *History of Antiquity* (vol. iv, pp. 74-7) gives four calculations for the beginning of the Kali age, that is, approximately for the date of the great battle, viz., 1300, 1175, 1200, and 1418 B.C. They are probably excessive, because his calculation amounts to the rate of twenty-five years per reign. If his calculations be revised, allowing fifteen years per reign, and the average date be taken, it becomes about 1100 B.C. It is no part of this paper to fix that date, but if we assume that the battle occurred about 1000 B.C., Āyus, Nahuṣa, and Yayāti, who are alluded to in the *Rig-Veda*, would be placed not later than some twenty-three centuries B.C. The Āryan immigration would be earlier still. The civilization of Babylonia and Egypt goes back to 5000 B.C., or earlier. Is it likely that India, which was in no way inferior to those countries in geographical and climatic conditions, was a land of no account till several thousands of years later?

II

THE AHUNA-VAIRYA FROM YASNA XXVII, 13, WITH ITS PAHLAVI AND SANSKRIT TRANSLATIONS

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

I. The text of the *Ahuna* is as follows:—

*Yaθā ahū vairiyo aθā ratuš ašūčēt hačā,
rañhēuš duzdā manaiñhō, syaoθnanām añhēuš Mazdāi,
χšaθremčā Ahurāi ā yim drigubhyō dadat vāstārem.*

II. This may be translated thus:—

As the *Ahū* (is) to be (revered and) chosen,
so (let) the *Ratu* (be) from (all) correct legality.
A creator of mental goodness,
and of life's actions done for *Mazda*;
And the Kingdom (is) to Ahura,—whom (the *Ahū*, or
Ratu)

He has appointed as nourisher to the poor.

The *Ahuna-Vairya* was so distinguished by the later use which was made of it that it became a formula of unusual moral and ritualistic importance—indeed, more so than, upon our first glance upon it, we should, the most of us, think that it deserved. But, though bearing unmistakable traces of being somewhat artificially constructed, both in its metre and contents, upon closer study the little group of words seems well worthy of its parentage, for it is a succinct cipher of that remarkable manifestation of the *moral idea* which, as the *one point* of Zoroastrianism, must have had enormous influence during successive generations among the inhabitants of Mid-Asia. The Pahlavi form of the name *Ahunaver* is but a contraction of *Ahuna-Vairya*,—the nasal *n* having intruded from the nasal *m* of an accusative *ahūm*, or else from mere euphony.

III. As experts will at once observe, the *Ahuna* preserves the *metre* of the *Gātha Ahunavaiti*, which *Gātha*, though largely the original of both the substance and metre of this brief piece, yet curiously derives its name from its own offspring;—that is to say, the *Gātha* from which these lines were collected bears their name, and is called *Ahunavaiti*, i.e. “having the *Ahuna*”, probably referring to the accidental position of this formula in the usual fixed course of the *Yasna* recital, as part of a liturgy.

IV. *The Sources of the Ahunaver*, as already implied, must naturally be looked for in the *Gātha*, as it is a general opinion that the *Ahunaver* is, next after the *Gātha*, with its companion pieces, the *Ašēm Vohu* and the *Airyēmā išyō*,¹ one of the oldest documents of the Avesta, standing so closely associated with its original, both as to its name and contents.² In glancing over these Gathic originals of it, we are first struck with *Yasna XXIX, 6, nōiṭ aēvā ahū vistō, naēdā ratuš ašātēit hačā . . .* “Not a single secular (?) official, *ahū*, has been found (for us), nor a priestly chief (*ratu*) (moved) from his sanctity,”—which was obviously the motive to our *Yaθā ahū vairiyō, taθā ratuš ašātēit hačā* of line *a*; see above, while we recall also *Yasna XXIX, 2*, in this connexion; see also *Yasna XXXIII, 1, yaθā āiš iθā var(e)šaitē . . . ratuš syaoθnā razištā dregvataēčā*, etc.—this, of an expected leading moral-religious chief. “As in accordance with these (laws), so shall he act, (the laws) which were those of the world primeval;—as a *Ratu* he will do deeds most just . . . (see *ašātēit hačā* of the *Ahuna* above) towards the wicked as towards the righteous . . .” *Vairiyō* seems suggested by the *vairyam*

¹ And the *yēn'hē (yahya) hātām*.

² It may possibly have been put together by some priestly author at a later age; but such conscious imitative construction is, on the whole, not so probable, and would not have occurred to any sacerdotal writer of a much later age.

of Yasna LI, 1, apparently only written *vairīm*,¹ where, however, the particular idea is not "appointment". Yet, notwithstanding this, and from no obscure reason, the word *vairyō* remained predominantly in vogue; see also *vairīm* at Yasna XXXIV, 14 (so again only thus apparently spelt; for it again equals *vairyam*, and its sense is again "desirable").

For *vanhēuš dazdā mananhō*, "the establisher of a good intention," we may compare *kasnā-vanhēuš dāmiš mananhō*, "who, indeed, is the Creator of the sincere mind" (that is, of the sincerely minded man), Yasna XLIV, 4; *syaoθnānām anhēuš* = "of the actions of life" finds its original in *anhēuš ahurem syaoθnaēšū* (Yasna XXXI, 8), "Lord in the actions of life," which last also throws still further light upon our *ahū* here as designating a sacred official person; this *ahurem* of Yasna XXXI, 8, at the same time also saves us, with this *anhēuš*, from such a slip as the rendering of the Av. *anhēuš* = "life", of the *Ahuna* here, in the same sense as this *ahū* = "Lord" in the *Ahuna*, line *a*, for, as we see, *anhēuš* and *ahurem* occur as related only, and not as identical, in Yasna XXXI, 8; if *anhēuš* means of "life" there so it must here, in its dependent passage, while it is *ahurem* which alone means "Lord" at Yasna XXXI, 8. See below upon the Pahlavi; see also *yā-syaoθnasčā* (Yasna XXXI, 16); and *yē hōi maniyū syaoθanāisčā urvaθō*, "who is His friend in spirit and in deeds" (Yasna XXXI, 21), etc.

Mazdāi, as the objective of the good deeds, also finds its origin and its warrant in "the actions of life" just cited; see also Yasna XXXI, 1, *yōi zarzdāo anhen mazdāi* = "who are heart-devoted to Mazda", while the *mazdā tavā χšaθrem . . .*, of Yasna LIII, 9, is almost inseparable from our *mazdāi χš. ahurāi ā*, here, as also

¹ This *i* is Pahlavi-Avesta *y* with its inherent vowel *a* = *ya*; see ZDMG., 1893, Heft iii, of October, 1898, Heft iii, and of 1901, Heft ii, etc. The supposed *-īm* is *-yam* as in numbers of cases.

from its most significant accompaniment *yim drigubhyō dadat vāstārem* = "whom he will establish as a nurturer of the poor" (fancy this as the first attribute of a political ruler!). For both the signal passages upon which our *Mazdāi* . . . *ahurāi ā*, "'and' the Kingdom is to Ahura," is based have this deeply and urgently practical connexion; see them at Yasna XXXIV, 5, which reads, *kaṭ vē xšaθrem; kā ištīš syaoθnāiš yaθā vāo ahmī ašā vohū mananhā θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākem* . . . "What is your kingdom? What your (sovereign) desire, that in my actions I may be yours (or 'follow You'), with *Ašā* ('the Truth-Law') and the Good Mind (Benevolence) to nourish your poor . . ."; and at Yasna LIII, 9 (see above), which is perhaps even more directly related to our passage, we read *aṭ Mazdā tavā xšaθrem yā erež(e)jōi dāhī drigaove vahyō* . . . "Yea, *Mazda*, Thine is the kingdom by which Thou wilt give the better (thing, the *summum bonum*) to the right-living poor." All three of these signal passages, which so conspicuously mention "Thine is the kingdom", also base that sovereign authority upon "care for the afflicted".

Some writers might here gather up the later allusions to the terms of the *Ahunaver*, but it is obviously better to separate the sources, and even the more immediately established facts, from the results,¹ as to which latter see such sentences as are indicated in the dictionaries.

It will be now best, before more closely discussing the Avesta text of the *Ahunaver* in detail, to examine once for all what our earliest predecessors in exegesis have left for our consideration.

This is found in the *Pahlavi* and *Sanskrit* translations, with such fragments of the *Persian* as may be collected

¹ See Yasna XXVII, 1, *dazdyāi ahūmčā ratūmčā*, Visp. XI, 21, *dudemahī ahūmčā ratūmčā*. See the name itself, *Ahuna-vairya*, used as sacrosanct, and like the "Word of God", which was the "Sword of the Spirit"; so in the Temptation of *Zarathuštra*, so in the *Hōm-Yast* and in the *Srōš Yast*, in Yasna XIX and elsewhere.

from Yasna XIX, for I do not find any *Persian* of the *Ahunaver* in my MS. of this Yasna XXVII.

V. The *Pahlavi* text of the *Ahunaver*, Yasna XXVII, is as follows¹ :—

(a) Čēgōn aχw' kūmak; [čēgōn Aūharmazd kūmak], aētōn' ratihā [va aētōn' frūrūnīhā] mīn aharāyih [kār va kirfak] čīgāmēāi; [kār va kirfak aētōn' frūrūnīhā kartan čēgōn Aūharmazd kūmak].

(b) zīš (or "zak as"?) Vah'man' dahesn', [aēy zag mīzd (va) pat'dahesn' ī Vah'man' yehabūnēt aē valā yehabūnēt man'] bayen aχwān' kūnesn' ī Aūharmazd, [aē zag vebedūnyēn (ī) Aūharmazd arāyad. Aīt man' aētōn' yemalelūnēt aē-zīš (or "zag aš") ar' Aūharmazd dahesn' aē zag mīzd va pat'dahesn' ar' Vah'man' yehabūnd aē valā al yehabūnd. Aīt man' aētōn' yemalelūnēt aē; zīš (zagāš?) parān Vah'man' dahesn' aē zag mīzd (vā) pat'dahesn' parān Vah'man' barū yehabūnd aē valā yehabūnd. Aē Ātar'pāt ī Zartūšt ar' gūft; aēy mīn aχwān' kūnesn-kār bayen xarītūnd]:

(c) xratāiyih (or "xratāi aš") ar' Aūharmazd, [aēy aš xratāiyih aētōn' pavan sūt ī Aūharmazd šayad yehevūnēt(-ūnt)] man' val daryōšān' yehabūnēt vāstary [aēy šān datakgobih vebedūnyēn].

Criticism upon the Pahlavi Text. [The remark of one writer to the effect that this Pahlavi text is *verdorben* I cannot admit, as it is not any more in that condition than most of these traditional expositions. It would not be critical to expect perfection in it, ignoring the obvious fact that, like its fellows, it must have been rewritten repeatedly in the course of the many centuries of its existence; I find myself, on the contrary, fairly grateful that we have such texts as lie before us. Not a single word here fails to report a correct root-idea, while the failures as to grammatical form are only up to a fair

¹ A provisional text at this date, but probably little to be improved upon.

average of what might be expected; and every one of these errors is, when detected, of value to put us well upon our guard against a confidence which might be otherwise too unreserved.]

As will be seen below, I regard the adverbial form *ratīhā* as the correct text as against a supposed *rat haē*, which latter ignores the alternative *dastbarīhā* in other passages of the Yasna Commentary; and this alternative form cannot well possibly be deciphered as *dast'bar haē* = "the destoor should be"; so of *frārūnīhā* in the third gloss—*frārūn haē* would look jejune, though it gives a glibber flow; but, owing to the artificial form of the entire construction, too glib a flow should be always suspicious. *Haē* would also constitute a sort of gloss within the body of the text, not, however, a very serious objection. I think that the adverbial *-īhā* of *ratīhā* was occasioned, or at least somewhat influenced, by the correctly supposed adverbial force in the following *-ēit*, rendered *pavan ēīgāmčāi*, "in every way whatsoever." This may even have induced the early expositors to read the word *ratuš* as *ratū*, in the instrumental, from this the adverbial *-īhū*. A reading *ratū* might also well have suggested itself to the *Pahlavi* translator owing to the just preceding curious form *aχū*, an unusual nom. sing. masc.; and we must never forget that they, the *Pahlavi* translators of the Avesta, were often forced to take the same liberties with texts which we take with them; at times even translating a text as if it were corrected, though unfortunately without any intimation of the precise change of words held in view, and some of us also have done the like—a mistake.

One distinguished writer reads *aχvān'* as if it were immediately here the plural of the preceding *aχū*, and gives it the meaning of "spiritual Lords"; but *aχvān'*, although undoubtedly in its original form a plural, is yet fully established and the sense of the "world", "lives" in

that sense ; and it cannot possibly mean *Lords* here, *spiritual* or *otherwise*, because it translates Av. *aiihēuš*, a common word meaning “of life”; see also above, “upon the Sources”. So also Nēryōsangh fully understood it, with his *antar būvane* ; and N. is of great authority on the meaning of this Pahlavi.

Then a *vāyagānō*, rendered “allotments”, would be far indeed from the original *vāstārem* as from Nēr., who, while free here with his *pālanam* and *sāhūyyam*, “protection” and “friendship”, has yet, at Yasna XIX, the very idea which has been more recently attached to *vāstārem*, for he has *āhūram* (= “food”), originally suggesting a root (*vas*, or) *vās* (*vah*, *vāh*) = “to fodder”. I can find no Persian of this Yasna XXVII, 13, here, but in Yasna XIX the Persian seems to read *va āsān*, which looks like “felicitous” in general rather than “allotments”.

VI. A revised *Translation* of the *Pahlavi* Text should be as follows. [And, as is hardly necessary to be said, it ought not to be expected to afford us final critical results. Its exploitation is, however, the more indispensable because many still hold too closely by it, and it actually gave us our first and often still valuable indications, as is, indeed, the case with all the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts of the Avesta. There is one further all-important point which must never be lost sight of in dealing with these *Pahlavi* translations of the Avesta ;—and this is, that we are here totally debarred from those hazardous dashes which are often so useful in dealing with the original, for we are here engaged in an effort to decipher the already attempted translation of a document which is actually before us. Our eye must rest upon the already tentatively exploited text of the original Avesta, and this at every moment.]

(a) As (is) the will of the Lord,¹ [as is the will of

¹ We are constrained to refer *Aūharmazd* to *axū* as explaining it, but this gloss might be merely corroborative ; see line c.

Aūharmazd] so (let it be)¹ according to the legal ordinances (*ratīhā*, not *rat haē*), and so from correct propriety (*frārūnīhā*, and not *frārūn haē*), in accordance with *aša* (*min ahurāyih*; lit. "from *aša*") [that is, in accordance with duty and good works] in whatsoever way (i.e. strictly) [that is to say, (let there be) a doing of duty and good works thus properly, as is *Aūharmazd*'s desire].

(b) Whose is (also) (*zīšh*) *Vah'man*'s giving, [that is, by him *Vah'man*'s giving is to be fulfilled: (here evidently meaning the "Archangel")]; that is to say, he gives (that is, *Aūharmazd* gives, or "his devoted servant gives") the giving of the recompense and the reward of *Vah'man*;— he gives (it) even (to) him whose (are) the deeds of *Aūharmazd* within the world (and not "among the spiritual Lords", *axvān*, translates *añhēuš*);² that is to say, (to) that (one He gives it who) would do what *Aūharmazd* desires (recall *kāmak* erroneously, or inadequately, rendering *vairyo*). (An alternative translation:—Some say (that the meaning is) this: that by Him (*zīš Aūharmazd*, or "by His typical saint"; see line c) there is to be a giving to *Vah'man* (here evidently meant as "the saint" to V. (so, against my translation of the original Avesta, and contrary to the original, as I also now view it)); that is to say, they give that recompense and reward to *Vah'man* (i.e. "to the good man"); and also upon him (the saint, as *Vah'man*'s representative) they especially bestow it.) Some (again) say (another alternative) that the meaning is this, that

¹ My warrant for this "let it be" is supplied by *v'airyo* = "to be chosen", though that form is not reported by the Pahlavi text; we must treat the Pahlavi texts as if they were only fitfully correct as to the ultimate details, and at times, as might be expected, not consistent with themselves.

² Not *axvān* = "spiritual Lords" (!) as the plural of *axū* in *a*; the word renders the Av. word *añhēuš* = "of life"; so also *Nēr.* = *antar bhurane* (accidental repetition).

it is “*in accordance with Vah’man* (or *through the agency of Vah’man*)”;—that is, they will (in the future) give that recompense and reward *through* (or *in accordance with Vah’man*); (so) even they also give to him (the typical saint).—Ātar’pāt¹ (the son) of Zartūšt, said (still another view) that the meaning is this, “that they have an understanding from² the experience of the world within (it).”³ (The meaning here seems to be that the “giving of *Vah’man* within the actions of life” refers to the acquisition and bestowal of good ideas in the actual experiences of daily life.)

(c) His (?the *Aχū’s*, or the *Ratu’s* of line *a*?)⁴ sovereignty is to *Ahura*, [that is to say, his sovereignty should be such (as is in accordance) with the advantage (desired; see *vairyō*) by *Aūharmazd* (the object held in view by Him; that is to say, his sovereign authority is such as that of him)], who gives a garment to the poor, [that is to say, their sovereignty (the sovereignty of such as these, the just *aχū* and the holy *ratu*, is like that of such as) would effect (just charitable) mediation for them (the poor, “poor-guardianship”)].

Criticism upon the text of the Pahlavi translation itself as above rendered. The translation of *vairyō* with *kāmak* is a fair specimen of the possibility of error on the point of the Pahlavi translators in general. It preserves the root-idea present which is, in fact, “desire,” to *var*, but the future passive participial form (now accepted by all) is not at all reported. That the word *aχū* should be referred above in the gloss to *Ahura*, as the Pahlavi translator seems to indicate, is out of the question.

¹ A commentator, or “of the *Zartūshts*”; read *-tān’*.

² Notice that *min* = “from” is a closer rendering of *aiñhēuš*.

³ Or they know a “man-of-deeds from his interior life”; but this seems to be far too modern a turn of thought.

⁴ See note above, *Aχū* seems explained as *Aūharmazd* in line *a*, but such inconsequences are to be expected.

Dahešn' = *dazdā* = "a giving" is followed by some moderns, but its form seems totally irrational in such a connexion.

The rendering *vastarg* = "a garment" for *vāstārem* may not be so exact as a word meaning "nurture", but it was, none the less, an admirable suggestion. As to this see below. Nēr. seems to have originated our modern idea of a root *vas* (*vās*), "to fodder" with "food", for *vāstārem*; and this in defiance of the Pahlavi, which some too hastily suppose to have been his only original; he has *āhāram* = in a direct sense "food" in Yasna XIX, 3; but *pālanam* is his more immediate translation here. It is important to notice that from the beginning on the interior sense is attempted in this Pahlavi translation; *ašāt hačā*, for instance, is taken in its deepest sense as "the fulfilment of duty and good works" according to *Ahura's* will.

Deeds, actions, etc., are correctly seen as being "of", or "for", *Ahura* in the world, which means that "they should do what *Ahura* desires", with little reference to "ceremonies". Notice especially that there is no idea of the *Archangel* here present, in translating *χšaθrem* in line *a*, in a place where he might be so easily introduced, which is very significant of the depth of the ideas present as connected with the practical close. Indeed, this idea of the characteristic of sovereignty may be applied to a then present ruling monarch, as if the *aχā* of line *a* were a term which, with the Pahlavi translator, may possibly have covered that idea; and this in spite of the gloss in *a*, which may always have been of a later date; "(his) sovereignty (is) for *Ahura*" explaining "that his authority must be such as affords the profitable advantage which *Ahura* desires (the object held in view by Him); that is to say, He gives it to him who gives a garment to the poor". The ideas, therefore, continue highly moral throughout; there is also little thought of independent

sacerdotal authority as derived, merely from the "orders" of the priest.

VII. *The Sanskrit Text of Nēryōsangh* is as follows :—

(a) *Yat'ā svāmīnaḥ kāmāḥ*, [*kīla*, *yat'ā* (-ā-) *ahurami(a)jda'b'ilāśaḥ*] *evam ādeçyaḥ* (= Avesta *ratus*, Pahl. *ratihā*) *puṇyāt* (= Av. *ašāt*— and Pahl. *min aharāyih*) *yasmāt kasmācēt* (= -ēt), [*kīla*, *yat kāryam puṇyam tasya tat'ā* (-ā-) *ādeçāḥ* (= Pahl. *frārūnīhā*) *kartuṃ yat'ā hormi(a)jdasya roçate*;—*nā'nyat'ā kim viçīṣṭāt puṇyāt*];—

(b) *uttamasya dāteḥ(-r) manasaḥ*¹ *karmaṇām antar b'uvane[-'h-]* *ahurmi(a)jdasya*, [*kīla*, *taṃ puṇyam prasādam uttamam manah*;—*iti, gvaḥmanah* (-o'miç-) *amiçaspinto dadāti teb'yo ye* (-'n-) *antas tasmin karmaṇi svāmitve ēa yat(-d) ahurmi(a)jdasya roçate*];—

(c) *rājyamēa(-ā-) ahurmajdāt tasya*, [*kīla*, *tena(-ā-) Ahurmi(a)jdasya tano(-r) rajā kṛto b'avati*], *yaḥ(-o) durbaleb'yo dadāti pālanam*, [*kīla*, *durbalāṇām sāhāyiam pālanam karoti*].

VIII. *Translation of Nēryōsangh's Sanskrit.* (a) As is the desire of the Lord, [that is, as is *Ahurami(a)jda's* wish], so is the desire to be pointed out (or "pointedly fulfilled"²) from (that is, "in accordance with") every Sanctity whatsoever (that is, what sacred duty is to be performed, of this the pointing out (or "the obedience"?) is to be effected ("realized") as pleases *Ahurmi(a)jda*. Not otherwise at all than from distinctly defined (see *ādeçyaḥ* above = Pahl. *ratihā*) sanctity³].

¹ Notice that the glosses in Nēr. do not correspond exactly with those of the Pahlavi. Were some of these latter added since Nēryōsangh wrote? Notice also that Nēr. does not even render the same grammatical forms which we see in the Pahlavi. Though Nēr. states that his translations into Sanskrit were made upon the Pahlavi translation, yet his eye was always upon the original Av. text, and this is proved by his frequent emendations.

² It is somewhat difficult to make *ādeçyaḥ* equal "to be obeyed"—this also in view of *viçīṣṭāt*; see both the Pahl. *ratihā* and the Av. *ratus*.

³ Or read *vasiṣṭāt* (?) from Sanctity the Best, from *Aša Vahišta* (?) ; hardly.

(b) Of, or “from”, the gift of the best mind (is the reward) of actions within the world (the reward) of *Ahurmi(a)jda*, [that is, that holy reward the best mind (gives, or “is”); thus, Gvahanah, the amishaspenta, gives it to those who in this action, and within the Lordship (sovereign authority) of *Ahurmi(a)jda*, do what pleases Him (A.)] ;—

(c) And the Kingdom (the Sovereign authority) is from (*sic*) *Ahurmi(a)jda* for him¹ (gen. for dat.) [that is, for this reason he (the one who pleases A.) is made *Ahuramajda's* own King], who (that is, because he —) affords protection to the feeble (or “unfortunate”), [that is, he effects the protection of the unfortunate and friendly-companionship (a comforting recognition) for them].

Having done what we could, at least provisionally, to produce and explain the work of our predecessors, we can return to the original text itself, and in a future contribution finish exhaustively our discussion of the subject.

¹ Does this *tasya*, see also *tena* in the gl., show that Nēr. understood the Pahl. text as “*χρατῆι αἴ*” rather than as “*χρατῆιγιῆ*”?

III

CHINESE IMPERIAL EDICT OF 1808 A.D. ON THE ORIGIN AND TRANSMIGRATIONS OF THE GRAND LAMAS OF TIBET

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

WHEN at Lhasa in 1904 I found, in addition to the two earliest historical Tibetan documents yet known (as notified in this Journal¹), a very long inscription of the Chinese emperor Chia-ch'ing, of 1808 A.D., which is of considerable historical interest and importance. It gives an official account of the origin of the Grand Lamaship and of the theory of succession to the same by divine reincarnations; it also prescribes the "Ordeal of the Urn" for the selection of the candidate, one of the steps taken by China to secure political control over the succession to the pontifical throne; and it records the building of the Potala palace at Lhasa as one of "the three Potalas", and of a fourth "Potala"-academy erected by a Chinese emperor at Jehol, to the north-west of Peking.

This edict is inscribed on four tablets of dark stone or slate at the left side of the door of the great Jo-k'añ temple of Lhasa, and protected by an awning, as seen in my photograph at p. 364 of my *Lhasa and its Mysteries*. A duplicate copy is displayed at the great lamasery of Sera in a special niche to the right of the great temple door, also shown in my photograph at p. 374 of the same work.² This appears to be the edict noted in the official list of Chinese inscriptions at Lhasa (as both of them are bilingual) in the following terms: "No. 3, Imperial autograph dated [=1808 A.D.] in Chia-ch'ing's reign entitled

¹ JRAS., 1909, pp. 924, etc.

² First edition.

‘Tablet of the narrative of the doctrinal ceremonies of the *P’u-to-tsung-sheng* temple’: it is north-east of Potala, near Mount Sera.”¹

The origin of the priest-godship at Lhasa was involved in mystery until I showed, fifteen years ago, in my *Buddhism of Tibet*, as the result of my researches amongst the vernacular histories, that it appeared to date merely to the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.; and that it was obviously the invention of the head abbot of the Yellow-hat sect, *after he had seized the temporal sovereignty* in 1640 A.D., and was evidently a device to strengthen his title to the sovereignty and to retain hold of it for his order. I also showed that the dual hierarchy of the two Grand Lamas, one at Lhasa as the *Tālaī* and the other at Tashi-lhunpo in Western Tibet as the *Tāshi* Lama, did not, as hitherto believed by Europeans, date to the time of Tson-ka’pa or his nephew, but that it arose two and a half centuries later; and it also was the invention of this priest-king, Lo-bzañ Gya-mtso, who, although nominally the fifth *Tālaī*, seems to have been really the first of the series of pontiffs who claimed to be priest-gods. In conceiving and carrying out so successfully this bold policy he was obviously assisted by his crafty tutor, the old abbot of the Gahldan monastery near Lhasa, who, in return for his help, was created the first *Tāshi* Lama, apparently posthumously. The *Tālaī* Lo-bzañ, posing as the earthly incarnation of the most popular of all the Buddhist divinities, namely, “The Compassionate Lord” or “The God of Mercy”, *Avalokita*, built for himself in 1644 A.D.² a palace-temple as a residence on the Red Hill at Lhasa, the site of the ancient kings’ palace; and he altered the name of the hill to “Potala”, after the name of the celebrated hill on the seashore of Southern India, on which stood the chief shrine and earthly seat

¹ W. W. Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, p. 264.

² Csoma, *Dictionary of Tibetan*, p. 190, gives 1643 A.D.

of *Avalokita* as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century.¹

For details and proofs in regard to these points in the evolution of the priest-god—who was called by the contemporary Jesuit missionaries at Lhasa “that devilish God-the-Father who puts to death such as refuse to adore him”²—I must refer the reader to my *Buddhism of Tibet*, and especially the second edition, where the subject is treated more fully in view of its importance. Subsequent research has so far confirmed all my above conclusions.

The priest-god-kingship, however, did not work well after the death of its author, the first and greatest of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa, though nominally the fifth of the series of the “Tālai” Lamas as they are called by the Mongols. The lay-governor of Lhasa of that time, Saṅgyā Gyamts’o (who is referred to in this edict, par. 12, by implication, as a natural son of the supposed celibate Grand Lama, a report which I found current amongst Tibetans though not expressed in writing), concealed the death of the Grand Lama for about eighteen years and reigned himself as regent of Tibet. He eventually nominated as successor to the Tālai Lamaship a notoriously dissolute youth who so scandalized everyone by his licentious conduct that he was dethroned and assassinated, and his patron, the regent, was killed in the fighting which ensued. His successors, too, the seventh and eighth, did not prove successes, so that on the death of the last unusual precautions, it appears, were taken to secure a more respectable incarnation for the ninth Tālai, who is the subject of the present edict of Chia-ch’ing.

In this edict especial pains are taken to disregard those “false” or “deceitful” incarnations, as they are termed,

¹ This Indian Potala was placed by Csoma (*Dictionary of Tibetan*, p. 198) in the Indus delta near Karachi, and Koppen (*Relig. des Buddh.*, i, p. 75) and others have repeated this mistaken identification.

² J. Grueber, quoted by Markham, *Tibet*, p. 297.

namely, the sixth to the eighth of the series, and to show that the ninth one is without doubt the genuine re-embodiment of the first and the greatest of all, namely, the so-called fifth Tālai. He, it is stated, was selected, not by the ordeal of the Urn, but by direct nomination approved by the Chinese imperial resident. The reason for this doubtless was that the Chinese were satisfied as to the hereditary fitness of the selected candidate, who, we read in the edict, was the son of a "defender of the faith" from the frontier of China, and so must have been of noble birth, so that his election was not to be jeopardized by entrusting the nomination to the lottery of the Urn.

The Urn ordeal, which had only recently been instituted by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, in 1793¹ had not yet been used, so a considerable portion of this edict is devoted to singing the praises of this mode of selection, which as it is manipulated directly by the Chinese Amban, who personally draws the lot,² is generally believed to have been devised for the purpose of enabling the Chinese to control the succession to the pontiffship. The Urn is also here expressly prescribed for the election of the Tāshi Lama, as well as the third great Yellow-hat Lama (par. 15), the Mongolian lama of Urga (or the fourth at Peking).³

The edict also reveals the fact that the political movement of the Yellow-hat Lamas for the seizure of the temporal sovereignty of Tibet began considerably earlier than has been believed (par. 19). The usual accounts of Csoma⁴ and others state that the Mongol prince, Gusri Khan, conquered Tibet in 1641 and made a present of it to the Tālai Lama. But this edict records that the Tālai sent in the year 1634 A.D. with much tribute "a delegate as an envoy to reside permanently" at the court of the emperor.

¹ Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, p. 279.

² See full details in my *Buddhism of Tibet*.

³ But see note 1, p. 81.

⁴ *Grammar of Tibetan*, p. 190.

It is news (pars. 4 and 5) that the Potala or "P'u-to" of the Chusan Archipelago is an offshoot of the Tibetan one. This is the Island of P'u-to containing a celebrated shrine of the Goddess of Mercy, or Kwan-yin, the female form of Avalokita, who is especially regarded as the saviour of sailors from perils at sea.¹

The fourth or "subsidiary Potala-academy" at Jehol, a favourite summer retreat of the Manchu emperors about a hundred miles to the north-east of Peking, in a locality studded with picturesque hills, one of which is crowned by this temple, is described in some detail. This temple, we are informed by Dr. Bushell, who gives a photograph of it,² "was built by the Emperor K'ang-hsi³ in the vicinity of the summer residence at Jehol, outside the Great Wall of China, where Earl Macartney was received by [Ch'ien-lung] the grandson of founder in 1763. The temple is built in the style of the famous palace-temple of Potala at Lhasa, the residence of the Dalai Lama. But the resemblance is only superficial; deceptive as it may be when seen at a distance from one of the pavilions in the imperial park, on closer inspection the apparently storied walls prove to be a mere shell with doors and windows all unperforated."

In recounting the origin of the dual hierarchy the edict gives the priestly fiction, invented, as we have seen, about 1640 A.D., which merely shows that this tale had in 1808 A.D. become accepted by Lamaists as the orthodox account. And so, too, the attempt to give a remote antiquity to the Potala epithet by confusing it with the Red Hill palace erected by King Sron-btsan a thousand years before is

¹ Cf. Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 267.

² S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, i, 66.

³ H. Giles, in *Glossary*, p. 137, says that Jehol was built by Ch'ien-lung in 1780, but he evidently means the model of the Tashi-lhunpo temple there, which was erected by Ch'ien-lung in that year for the reception of the third Tashi Lama, Bogle's friend, whose "Life" (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1882, p. 37) mentions that at Jehol were two Lamaist temples, one modelled after that of Potala, and one "newly" erected after that of Tashi-lhunpo.

obviously intended by the Lamas to obscure the facts. Whereas we know from contemporary seventeenth century history that the Potala legends at Lhasa date merely to the seventeenth century, though they have misled many European writers.

“Tālai,” it will be noticed, is the form invariably used in the edict in both versions (pars. 14, etc.) for the title of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, which is variously rendered by European writers as “Dalai” and “Tale”, and as it is thus the official and apparently the more correct form it should be followed for the future. This word, which is used by the Chinese and Mongols, is the Mongol translation of the Tibetan surname or after-title of the Lhasa hierarchs, namely “*rGyamts'o*”, literally “ocean or sea”; and it is evidently the same word which the Moghals, a branch of the Mongols, have naturalized about the same time in India as “Tāl” in the names of the great lakes, e.g. Naini Tāl, Manasorawar Tāl, etc.; and obviously also in the common word still used in the plains of Northern India for “lakes”, namely *Tāl-āb*, where the affix *āb*, the Hindustani for “water”, would appear to have been added redundantly where the new Moghal word was not at first understood.

The epithet of the Emperor of China as the “Lord-Father” reproduces the Chinese attitude towards the emperor, who is regarded in China as the “father” of his people and called as such; for according to the fundamental laws of sovereignty embodied in the first four books of Confucius, the State should be ruled by the same laws as those which govern a private family, and so justifies State interference in the minutest detail of the domestic life of individual families, which is a characteristic feature of Chinese government.

Its exercise of rights, too, over what is considered by lamaists to be the transmigration of the soul of the re-incarnating Lamas is not without precedent and subsequent

custom. In the *Peking Gazette* of March 31, 1877, in the case of a Tibetan "reincarnating" Lama, who was denounced by the imperial resident at Lhasa for having carried off the official seals, it was declared by the emperor as "Son of Heaven" that "his soul should not be allowed to transmigrate at his decease". Altogether the edict affords us an interesting insight into the curious religious polity of both Tibet and China.

In form it begins with an invocation in verse to the divine Bodhisattva of Wisdom, a Minerva or Apollo, who is invoked by the Mahāyāna Buddhists as the presiding deity of literature and speech, like Saraswati by the later Hindu writers. He, moreover, is held to be incarnate in the Emperor of China. An introductory verse also introduces each of the other three sections, and these verses are somewhat cryptic in their allusions. It will be noticed that it is solely the dominant Yellow-cap sect of Lamas which is represented as enjoying the imperial patronage.

TRANSLATION.

[This is from the Tibetan text. The paragraphs are numbered on the margin by me merely for convenience of reference.]

1. "This descriptive chapter on the sacred academy of learning at Potala is here set down.

2. "O Mañjuśrī!¹ Our Lord and Father! Empowered with glorious all-penetrating speech!

Thy function is to obtain the best means of keeping alive the doctrine of the *Jina* (Buddha).

Thy grace multiplies as a mountain of gold unto those who wear the yellow-hat, the *Pandit's* crown.

All living things take upon their heads the precious dust of Thy feet!

¹ Buddhist divinity of Wisdom, incarnate in the Emperor of China. Cf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 355, etc.

3. "On the hill of the adamantine Jehol,¹ in order to fulfil the hopes of all people through the good deeds done during ten thousand *kalpas*,² a modern Mount Potala was newly made, and appeared like unto a mansion of the Akanistha³ heaven. This Potala-academy was founded on the top of the northern hill on the outskirts of the palace of The Most High [the Emperor of China]. The Potala of the Tibetan religion is called 'Potala' in the book-language and 'Pū-t'o' in the language of China.

4. "There are three [other] Potalas : one is in India⁴ or Hindust'an [*sic*], and one is in T'u-sbe-t'e⁵ or the holy land⁶ of Bod, [and] one is [in] Che-chang⁷ in the southern ocean.

5. "Buddha first caused the doctrine to prosper in Hindust'an and afterwards spread it to Tibet. From Tibet it spread to the southern ocean, and truly the Potala of the southern ocean is indeed a sacred place [where] the doctrine of the Bodhisattvas was made to spread in purity. Hindust'an is so far off that it is difficult to see. The Potala-academy in Tibet, however, is perfect in size and structure. It is a holy place of the Three Precious Ones, as the religion greatly prospers [here]. About one thousand years have passed since the first founding of this academy.⁸ Buddha's body shines [here] with a glorious halo, and is agreeable to behold.

6. "Formerly when Buddha was in India he said :

¹ འཇིག་རྟ་མཚོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་, z'e-hor rdo-rje rir.

² See footnote 2, p. 78.

³ The highest heaven of the Buddhists (my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 85-6).

⁴ See foregoing note I on p. 71.

⁵ This is interesting as a native form of the name "Tibet" in the year 1808.

⁶ འཇིག་, z'iñ. Cf. Jaeschke's *Dictionary*, p. 475.

⁷ Probably intended for Chusan Archipelago, in which it is situated ; see p. 73.

⁸ This is an attempt to identify the building of Potala with the building of King Sron-btsan's palace on the same site ; see p. 70.

'This [my] doctrine will extend to the Middle regions¹ in time to come.' [Now] Tibet for the greater part is situated along the eastern side of India or Hindustan, and this [Tibetan] Potala by the words of Buddha of old is marvellously holy and possessed of great blessedness.

7. "The model subsidiary shrine of the Jehol country is the chief of the six newly-erected shrines of the three divine protectors.² It is constructed as an academy with many stories, wide and broad, and topped by gilded domes. Below there are circular roads. It has circles of [? images of] gold, *vajra*-sceptres of precious stones, bells, various sweet-smelling medicinal trees, umbrella-canopies, banners of victory, silk pendants, and complete sets of the various kinds of votive offerings. It is a holy place where all living things can earn merit.

8. "The forefathers of The Most High [Chia-ch'ing], ever since they exercised power over the religious kingdom [of Tibet], they desired that the doctrine of the yellow-hats only should increase and spread,³ and the Lord-Father [the emperor] not only takes the place of a [? patron] god of the sky,⁴ but has caused the doctrine to spread to the fullest extent, so that all the kingdoms, new and old, on the borders have begat faith in it. The Lord-Father, The Most High himself, when he visited Jehol, filled up the spaces in the heaven and earth with different kinds of offerings and innumerable military banners. On the birthday of the emperor all the living beings scattered flowers in his praise, and came long

¹ དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ. By the "Middle country" Buddha of course referred to the Indian Gangetic provinces around Magadha.

² Evidently the three great patron Manchu emperors—Kang-hsi, Yang-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung.

³ This takes no account of the previous dynasties as patrons of another sect, the Saskya *red-cap* sect which was patronized by Kublai Khan and his successors of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty.

⁴ ཡབ་རྗེ་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་འི་བར་གནས་པ་, Yab-rje gnam-gyi bhai-bar gnas-pa.

distances from border kingdoms with intense desire for the faith, and as soon as they saw the Jehol Potala they joined their palms in worship, and, full of faith, found the truth in this sublime place. This great celestial divinity [the emperor] did a great work for the doctrine of Buddha. Many persons have said that more new academies like this grand one should be constructed. It is complete with all the figures of the three worlds, and the top, middle, and bottom portions are filled with auspicious signs. This academy, indeed, has been blessed by the gods of heaven in the region of the *vajra*,¹ and will remain firm for ever.²

9. "The gift of a ransom is the act of a *Jina* and his [spiritual] sons.³

The face even of a hermit⁴ is the means of deceit in the degenerate days.

The work of a hermit's waterpot⁵ is to reveal the prophecy infallibly.

The investigation by the precious brazen mind⁶ is good.

Let therefore the doubts and suspicions of all living things be cleared away,

For it will yield the fruits of the wish-granting gem!

¹ Or "adamantine", probably with reference to the adamantine hill of Jehol (v. par. 3).

² Literally "during the *kalpas*", that is, the Indian fabulous 100,000 year cycles of time in the cataclysms of worlds.

³ This seems like a begging solicitation, or it may be intended to mean the gift of the Tālaī lama to mankind.

⁴ གི་རི་ཀ་རེ་བཞིན་, gi-ri-kā rañ-bzin. Girikā seems intended for the Sanskritic term for a hermit. It refers to the imperial disbelief in the integrity or ability of the lamas in selecting the successor.

⁵ བུམ་བུ་ལས་, bum-bu. This is evidently a reference to the use of the hermit's waterpot as an urn in the lottery ordeal.

⁶ རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་ལོ་འཕྲོད་པའི་, rin-chen kun-lo-awrode-pa'i.

Let the well-considered command here given be respected !

Sound the great bell over all the earth !

10. "The doctrine of Buddha came from India-Hindusit'an and spread into the eastern land of Tibet. Those who take orders in Tibet are called '*Trā-pa*'¹ [or 'learners']. The Lord-Father [the emperor] himself hears Buddha's religion and practises it in the Tibetan language. The omniscient one of the religion of purity² [i.e. the Grand Lama] is called *Lama*, that is, the '*Hvashang*'³ of China.

11. "On the passing away of the Lama the one born in his stead is called *sPrul-sku*⁴ [or 'incarnation of the emanation']; this in the Chinese language is called *So-so-i*.⁵ which means 'the accepted one born without confusion or doubt'. Before the sprouting of the birth-elements of the reincarnation,⁶ the assembly of the clergy prays before the image of Buddha and makes careful inquiry in every direction. The child who is born as the reincarnation of the former Lama is identified in the presence of the assembly of all the Defenders of the Faith by means of drawing lots. In his childhood the reincarnated Lama practises virtue and purity, and when he grows older he receives a religious name and works for the doctrine of the yellow-hats. He loves all living things without partiality, and all human beings believe in him and have great faith in the doctrine of the yellow-hats. Many years have passed since the Protector has

¹ ལྷ་པ་, grva-pa = literally a "learner or schoolboy".

² སྤུངས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ཀྱན་མཆོད་སྤྱད་པ་

³ The Sera version has here *ma-tha*, which is evidently intended for the Sanskrit *maṭha*, "temple," or it may be for "head", though *gurū* is given by the dictionaries as the ordinary equivalent for *bLa-ma*.

⁴ Pronounced *t'ul-ku*.

⁵ The Sera version has *So-so-s*.

⁶ ལྷ་པ་ལྷ་པ་མ་འཁུངས་གོང་ལུ་མ་

caused the doctrine as obtained and preached to be believed in and practised.

12. "In identifying the incarnation, however, there has been deceit or error on several occasions, owing to the mistaken recognition of one as an incarnation who was not truly such; and several incarnations have been produced from one particular family, so that the succession became like that of a temporal ruler who retains the rank fixedly [in the family], and so leading believers in Buddha's doctrine to lose faith. The Lord-Father, the emperor, has [now] prevented such occurrences [for the future], and has thus brought happiness over the land of Tibet. He has offered respect to the yellow-hat doctrine, and has overcome all the enemies who have desired to harm that doctrine.

13. "To save the country from being [further] cheated by selecting as a pure rebirth one that is the [ordinary] impure movement of Desire, he has deposited at Lhasa a golden urn as the means of holding on its top the lineage of the great [rightful] incarnation.

14. "At the inquiry, after having performed all the religious rites in accordance with former custom and in keeping with the instructions of the Lama-god,¹ the name-tablets of the children candidates for the *So-so-i*-ship² are placed inside the golden urn. Then the *Tū-laī*³ Lama [if the inquiry relates to the second of the dual Grand Lamas, namely, the Pandita Rinpoc-h'e (the *Erteni* of the Mongols) of Tashi-lhunpo] or the great *Paṇḍita Erteni*⁴ [if the inquiry relates to the *Tālaī*], along with all

¹ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་, or it may mean "the supreme god".

² Sera version has here "*dsems*", or soul or mind, in the sense of a re-embodied soul.

³ ཏཱ་ལའི་ལྷ་མོ་, *Tā-laī*. It is interesting to find throughout in both versions this form and not "Dalai", etc.

⁴ *Erteni* is the Mongol transcription of the Sanskrit *ratna*, the precious gem. Cf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 235, etc.

the great ministers of Tibet, should assemble at the taking out of the name-tablets to identify the reincarnation.

15. "In the case of the Mongolian¹ [incarnation] the name-tablets should be placed inside a golden urn in the Yung-ho-gung;² the fascinating paradise of delight, and the incarnation must be identified in the presence of the Mongol leaders, the head of the house of *Yoga*,³ the head of the yellow fortune-teller⁴ of the great royal castle,⁵ the imperial prefect,⁶ Tā Lama, with the entire crowd of those who have interests in the matter.

16. "The Emperor, the Lord-Father, himself sympathizes with this religion, and issues these commands in accordance with the customs of this faith. All persons, therefore, must abide by his commands.

17. "Great is [the Emperor] the spiritual son of the all-pervading Mañjuśrī, the lord of Lamas.

The sun of the wisdom of the thunderbolt shines within him.

In rising and setting he is the fastening for our hopes.

He is the ruler of the ocean of the precepts and of perfect knowledge.

The Emperor himself has numbered the oceans.⁷

¹ སོགས་རྩེགས་, sog-rigs, and lower down the word *mon-gol* is given in the Sera version as the equivalent of *sog*. This Mongol incarnation may be the *Chan-kyā* lama of the great Lama temple at Peking. The "Tāranātha" Lama at Urga is said to be usually selected from Lhasa direct.

² The great Lama temple at Peking.

³ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་, lō-lō-lō.

⁴ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་, lō-lō-lō-lō. Doubtless an official augur.

⁵ The Lhasa version has རྩེགས་ = "presence" or "deputy" instead of ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ = "castle".

⁶ *Dsā-sags* = a Chinese title of a prefect.

⁷ This may be a cryptic reference to the *Tālaī* or "Ocean" lamas. Its usual Tibetan equivalent is not used—ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་.

He strives to select without mistake and according to the doctrines.

Spiritual wisdom is indeed needed to discover the true rebirth !

18. "The doctrine of the yellow-hats spread at first under Tibet's own saints,¹ and it appears to have spread from the commencement of the reign of Yon-k'raō, the king of the Hor.² The great Tson-k'a-pa [*circa* 1356-1441 A.D.], the founder³ of the yellow-hat doctrine, had two spiritual sons. One was the worshipful Tā-lai Lama [of Lhasa] and one was the Pan-ch'en Lama [of Tashi-lhunpo]. The Tā-lai Lama was the chief spiritual son, and his name was *dGe-'dun-grub-pa*. The second spiritual son, the Pan-ch'en Lama, was named *mK'as-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzañ-po*. Beginning from *dGe-'dun-grub*, the doctrine-holder of the yellow-hats, the bodily rebirths⁴ took place in series, one by one, according to the custom of the religion.

19. "During the time of the fifth incarnation, namely, *Nag-dvañ bLo-bzañ rGya-mts'o*, in the seventh year of the reign of our forefather the Emperor The-chung,⁵ the great [= 1634 A.D.], the Tā-lai Lama sent a delegate as an envoy to reside permanently at Kwan-hung,⁶ and offered at the time the rarest products of the country ; and he received kindness from the hands of the succeeding emperors.⁷ After that were two reincarnations [of the sixth and

¹ བོད་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་འཕགས་པ་ = the exalted ones, Skt. *Arya*.

² Or the "Turkish" emperor of China, Yon-k'raō.

³ བདག་པོ་, literally "owner" or "master".

⁴ སྐྱུ་སྐྱེས་

⁵ This is the Manchu emperor T'ai Tsung Wên, 1627-44 A.D. (Mayer's *Chinese Readers Manual*, p. 389).

⁶ Probably intended for 'Hwang-kung, the imperial palace at Peking.

⁷ He lived in the reign of two successive emperors.

seventh]¹ and the eighth Tālai Lama passed away in the ninth year of the reign of Chia-ching.²

20. "Before the fresh incarnation [was found] the Imperial Secretary,³ the Ho-thog-thu,⁴ and the Abbot-Lama⁵ did their utmost for the doctrine, and prayed for the early return ahead of the reflected apparition⁶ of Buddha.

21. "In the first month of the present year [1808 A.D.] the great imperial resident minister⁷ of Tibet [?the Amban] named Yui-ning-chan reported [as follows]: 'The difficulties in the direction of Tibet are that there is a doubt as to which is the perfect and right advent of the sacred personage amongst nine children. The imperial secretary [?and] Ho-thog-thu have examined these children, and have found three of them to be miraculous. Amongst these, the son of T'u-si *bsTan*-*'dsin*, the defender-of-the-faith, of the religious circle of Kham, was born on the first day of the second month of the wooden-bull year [= 1805 A.D.]. He is now under four years of age, but yet is extraordinarily clever. He can repeat many things about religion, and *clearly remembers* the birth of the fifth Tālai Lama [192 years ago!], and recognizes the *vajra*-sceptre and bell of that Tālai Lama, so that all classes of men, high and low, in China and Tibet, are astonished. Pan-ch'en Erteni also has visited Lhasa, and having obtained proofs is delighted and believes in him. I, Yul-ning-chan, also have tested him, and have found that he is wanting nothing in strength and power, also that he possesses all the wisdom which His Sublimity the former Tālai Lama had; and

¹ These were the notoriously dissolute Grand Lama, who was deposed and assassinated, and his successor.

² བཅའ་ཚིན་, *bChā-ch'in*.

³ *rje-druñ*.

⁴ For Mongol *khutuktu* = an incarnation.

⁵ Doubtless the Abbot of Gahldan.

⁶ ལྷ་པོ་ལྷ་ན་

⁷ བོད་ལྷ་པོ་ལྷ་ན་

‘it seems to me that he has obtained it by inheritance.
 ‘No deceit is possible in this case, as this reincarnated
 ‘candidate has been able to state clearly concerning his
 ‘death, also to recognize his kingdom. The Ho-thog-thu
 ‘is unchangeably fixed in his conclusion that this is
 ‘the genuine reincarnation. All people, therefore, should
 ‘believe this reincarnation to be true.’

22. “By the spell of the sunbeams of The Compassionate
 Lord, The Master of *Tantric* Mysticism,¹
 The son of the *Jina* (Buddha) is inherently good,
 and saves thousands of his followers.
 Whenever there is difficulty in finding him
 The augury of the urn should be consulted.
 O! minister of the interior lands,² attendants of
 The Five-times Fortunate One!³
 Rejoice that the highest-born messenger of the
Gya-nom paradise is enthroned!
 May happiness be complete, and new feasts and
 unbounded praise
 Be given on hearing these glad tidings of The
 Compassionate One!⁴

23. “The golden urn has been instituted by the great
 Lord-Father [the emperor] for these reasons: that the
 doctrine of Buddha should be highly esteemed, and that
 all evils be averted. Now he is looking on all with
 celestial mercy, with never-dying love; therefore let
 this son of *bsTan-'dsin*, the defender-of-the-faith, who is

¹ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་ = master of the tantrik *Kalacakra*.

² མངའ་སྡེ་གློན་པོ་

³ སྐྱད་སྐྱུ་ཚོགས་ = literally “possessed of the three fortunes or blessings, namely, grace, glory, and wealth”. It is a common personal name, and is prefixed five times to the titles of kings like its equivalent the Indian *Śrī*.

⁴ Avalokita incarnate is the Tālai.

the incarnation found to possess the highest miraculous signs, be deeply revered by all living things.

24. "When our father was alive, if such circumstances had been reported to him, he would have dealt kindly and would not have considered it necessary to shake the golden urn. Therefore, as this incarnation has given absolutely clear proofs of his being the true one, and as there is no doubt about it, the letter recognizing him to be the incarnation is sent accordingly. The Pan-ch'en Erteni has also prayed in front of the picture of the emperor, and offered his thanks.

25. "The following presents have been given to the new incarnation of the Tālai Lama: one scarf, one idol of the *Jina* of Everlasting Life,¹ a *dorje*-sceptre and bell to match, a rosary of *ski-ya-shi*² with ten pearls. These have been sent to Lhasa by Khrin-thu-hi Chun-thei Tshan-de.

26. "At the same time [? the Amban] Yul-ning-chan reported that the incarnation of the Tālai Lama was to be set upon the throne on the 22nd day of the 9th month, and he had sent the following persons to the ceremony: the ministers of the interior, Tu-rin dZun-dvañ, To-ro Em-bu Mañju-vajra, Me-rin dZan-gi Kur-bu, sByor-k'a-gi-a-sri, Han-wan Bhan-chiñ, Hui-chan-chin, K'ya-me Rañ-dzañ-gi luñ-p'u, and the Ho-thog-thu of the worshipful Gahldan. The presents consisted of a golden letter, dresses and other articles of great value, and ten thousand silver *srañ*.³

27. "Now [for the future, however] if such beneficent deeds by the Lord-Father for the benefit of all living things are to be continued, the golden urn must be employed, as it removes all doubts and errors, and so keeps the doctrine of Buddha pure. In the present case,

¹ རྩེ་མཐུན་ཡས་པ་

² Not Tibetan (*byi-ru* = coral); doubtless a Chinese word.

³ About an ounce each in weight and in value about 3s.

with the approval of the great Lord-Father [the emperor], it was not used because there were no doubts to be removed. But in the future such miraculous signs cannot be expected. So, the former custom of the urn is to be followed, and the names of the children written down and the urn shaken. If this be done there will be no deception whatever.

28. "This record is written holding to the old records as the foundation for the procedure. It is compiled by the owner of the [emperor's] confidence in the glad autumn in the eighth month of the earth-dragon year of the thirteenth year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing."

"This order is copied and engraved by me, 'Un-pis, Minister."

IV

GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

III. THE AUSPICIOUS MARKS ON THE FEET OF THE INCARNATE DEITY

BEFORE proceeding to the subject-matter of this paper, I would ask leave to revert for a moment to the preceding article on the Bhāgavata system of incarnations.¹ Several kind Bhāgavata friends have sent me criticisms on points of detail in what I then wrote, which will be utilized when opportunity occurs. I would mention one now, as it affects the question of terminology. On p. 624 I used the name *Vibhu* or *Vibhava Avatāra* as the name of one of the forms under which the Supreme manifests Himself. I can give authority for both these names from North Indian literature ; but, writing from Mysore in the south, Paṇḍit Gōvindācārya, the translator of Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā*, informs me that the use of *Vibhu* in this connexion is incorrect. As a technical term of Bhāgavata theology, *vibhu* means "infinite", in contradistinction to *aṇu*, "finite." For the incarnation, *vibhava* is the only correct term. In this sense *vibhava* is explained as *vividhēna bhavati*, and means literally "many-becomingness".

The sixth verse of Nābhā's text, and the second in *chappai* metre, runs as follows :—

TEXT.

Chappai.

(6) (2) The marks on the feet of Raghu-vīra (i.e. Rāmācandra) are ever helpers to the Holy. Especially (1) the elephant-goad, (2) the vestment, (3) the thunderbolt, (4) the lotus, (5) the barley-corn, (6) the banner, (7) the cow's foot-mark, (8) the conch, (9) the discus, (10) the *svastika*, (11) the

¹ JRAS., 1909, pp. 621 ff.

rose-apple, (12) the pitcher, (13) the lake of ambrosia, (14) the half-moon, (15) the hexagon, (16) the fish, (17) the spot, (18) the upward line, (19) the octagon, (20) the triangle, (21) the rainbow, and (22) the man. These givers of blessedness aye dwell on the feet of the Lord of Sītā.

Notes.

Having celebrated the various incarnations of the ADORABLE, Nābhā, as becomes a member of the Hanumān family (see notes to verses 2-4, JRAS. for 1909, pp. 618 ff.), now turns to the incarnation to which he is particularly devoted—that of Rāma-candra. The belief in auspicious marks on the hands and feet is very widely spread in India. The full number of auspicious marks on Rāma's feet is traditionally said to have been forty-eight, twenty-four on each foot, arranged as follows. The numbers against some of them are those of Nābhā's shorter list:—

RIGHT FOOT (TOES).

<p><i>Jayamāla</i>, the wreath of victory.</p>	<p>5. <i>Yara</i> (on great toe), the barley-corn.</p>
<p>22. <i>Nara</i>, the man.</p>	<p>3. <i>Vajra</i>, the thunder-bolt.</p>
<p><i>Chattra</i>, the umbrella.</p>	<p><i>Ratha</i>, the chariot.</p>
<p><i>Cāmara</i>, the fly-whisk.</p>	<p>4. <i>Kamala</i>, the lotus.</p>
<p><i>Yama-daṇḍa</i>, Yama's rod.</p>	<p>2. <i>Ambara</i>, the vestment.</p>
<p><i>Siṃhāsana</i>, the throne.</p>	<p><i>Sara</i>, the arrow.</p>
<p>9. <i>Cakra</i>, the discus.</p>	<p>Śeṣa, the serpent of eternity.</p>
<p><i>Mukuta</i>, the diadem.</p>	<p><i>Musala</i>, the mace.</p>
<p>6. <i>Dhvaja</i>, the banner.</p>	<p><i>Hala</i>, the plough.</p>
<p>1. <i>Aṅkuṣa</i>, the elephant-goad.</p>	<p><i>Lakṣmī</i>, the Goddess Lakṣmī.</p>
<p><i>Kalpa-taru</i>, the kalpa-taru.</p>	<p>19. <i>Aṣṭakōṇa</i>, the octagon.</p>
<p>10. <i>Svastika</i>, the Svastika.</p>	

RIGHT FOOT (HEEL).

LEFT FOOT (TOES).

17. <i>Vindu</i> (on great toe), the spot.		<i>Candrikā</i> , the moon- beam.
<i>Jīva</i> , life.		<i>Haṁsa</i> , the swan.
<i>Gadā</i> , the club.		<i>Tūṇīra</i> , the quiver.
20. <i>Trikōṇa</i> , the triangle.		21. <i>Dhanuṣa</i> , the bow.
15. <i>Ṣaṭkōṇa</i> , the hexagon.		<i>Vanśī</i> , the flute.
8. <i>Śaṅkha</i> , the couch.		<i>Vīṇā</i> , the lute.
14. <i>Ardha-candra</i> , the half-moon.		<i>Pūrṇa-candra</i> , the full moon.
11. <i>Jambū-phala</i> , the rose- apple.		16. <i>Mina</i> , the fish.
<i>Patākā</i> , the pennon.		<i>Trirālī</i> , the three wrinkles.
12. <i>Kalaśī</i> , the pitcher.		13. <i>Sudhā-kunḍa</i> , the lake of ambrosia.
<i>Bhūmi</i> , the earth.		<i>Śakti</i> , the śakti dart.
	<i>Sarayu</i> , the River Sarayu.	
7. <i>Gōspada</i> , the cow's footmark.		

LEFT FOOT (HEEL).

In the above, we are supposed to be looking at the soles of the feet. Each mark is placed in its relative position. The marks are the creases, or lines, on the soles of the feet, corresponding to the lines on the palms of the hand employed in England for fortune-telling. The marks on Sītā's feet are the same as the above, but are reversed, those on her right foot being the same as those on Rāma's left, and vice versa.

Different Vaiṣṇava writers select different marks for special adoration. Nābhā, we have seen, mentions only twenty-two, eleven on each foot. In the *Śrī-Raghunātha-nātha-caraṇa-chihna-stōtra*, attributed to the Muni Agastī, only eighteen are enumerated, being the same as Nābhā's, with the omission of the rose-apple, the lake of ambrosia, the hexagon, the rainbow, and the man, and the addition of the bow. An anonymous *Sōraṭhā*, which is generally current, mentions *eight*, as follows:—

Bandaū Siya-pada-rēkha,

(1) *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, *aru* (2) *Śrī-Sarayu* |

(3) *Saktī*, (4) *puruṣa-viśēkha*,

(5) *svastika*, (6) *śara*, (7) *dhanu*, (8) *candrikā* ||

In this they are recorded as the marks on Sitā's (Siya's) feet. A verse of Yamunācārya, in the *Ālavandāra-stōtra*, communicated to me by Paṇḍit Gōvindācārya, mentions only seven, the conch, the discus, the kalpataru, the banner, the lotus, the elephant-goad, and the thunderbolt. Thus :—

Kadā punaś śaṅkha-rathāṅga-kalpaka-

Dhvajā-'ravindā-'ṅkuśa-vajra-lāñchanam, |

Trivikrama! tvac-caraṇā-'mbuja-dvayam

Madhīya-mūrdhānam alaṅkariṣyati ||

Tulasī-dāsa, in *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, I, 199, 3, says:—

rēkha kulisa dhvaja aṅkusa sōhai |

nūpura-dhuni suni muni-mana mōhai ||

“The lines, the thunderbolt, the banner, and the elephant-goad, are full of beauty; the tinkling of his anklets charms the hearts of the saints as they listen to it.” Here only three are named.

For further particulars regarding these lines see the very elaborate account given by Bh. We shall see, in the next article, how they are connected with the Vaiṣṇava *niṣṭhās*.

These marks become “helpers to the Holy” and “givers of blessedness” through the good results which follow meditation upon them. The following is a summary of what P. says regarding the fruits of meditation upon each :—

1. The elephant-goad. No man can control of his own power that furious elephant, the thoughts of the heart. Hence Rāma hath placed the symbol of the elephant-goad upon His foot, that, meditating thereon in their hearts, the Faithful may bring that elephant under subjection.

2. The vestment. Because Rāma's liegemen experience the frost of the cold of apathy, He put the mark of the vestment, that meditating upon and clothed in the thought of this, they may become warm and so be established in the faith.

3. The thunderbolt. Meditation on this teacheth how Rāma splitteth the mountain of sin as with Indra's thunderbolt.

4. The lotus. This is the seat of Lakṣmī, the divine mistress of the nine *nidhis*, or perfect treasures. Therefore meditation upon it accumulath the perfect treasure of Faith (*bhakti*).

5. The barley-corn. He placed this upon His foot, because it giveth all wisdom and all perfections. It is the abode of a right mind, of a right conduct, and of a wealth of bliss. [Barley is a sacred grain. It is rubbed over the corpse of a Hindu and sprinkled on the head before cremation is performed. It is employed as an oblation at the *śrāddha* ceremony, and is the subject of an elaborate festival inaugurating the sowing of the winter crops, entitled the *Jayī*, or barley-feast. In folk-tales it appears as a magic remedy for barrenness. See Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 200, 115, 373, 134, and 143.]

6. The banner. When the Faithful see the wickedness of this present Kali age they are for a moment terrified. But meditation on the banner of victory giveth them the confidence of fearlessness.

7. The cow's footmark. The water that lieth in a cow's footmark is but a little puddle. He placed this mark that the wise man, who looketh upon it with the eyes of his heart, may remember that the shoreless ocean of existence hath no terrors to the Faithful, to whom it is but a puddle to be stepped across.

8. The conch. He placed this mark to remind the Faithful of their victory over the hosts of deceit and

wickedness. [The conch is commonly employed in India as a trumpet of victory.]

9. The discus. This is a sign of the slaughter of the demons of lust. [The discus is Viṣṇu's special weapon.]

10. The *svastika*. This He hath placed for auspiciousness. [This is the well-known Svastika, or fylfot, familiar to antiquarians. As an auspicious emblem it is frequently met in India. See Crooke, op. laud., 7, 58, 104, 250.]

11. The rose-apple. Meditate thou on this, for it calleth to thy mind the "four fruits", and thus in many ways fulfilleth thy desires. [The four fruits are the well-known *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mōkṣa*, religious merit, wealth, pleasure, and final emancipation.]

12. The pitcher. 13. The lake of ambrosia. If a man meditate on these his heart becometh full of the nectar of Faith. Drink thou it from the pitcher (or cup) of the eyes of the soul and thou shalt live for ever.

14. The half-moon. Meditate thou on this, for thereby is thy faith increased and the three pains are diminished. [Pain is divided into three classes, viz., *ādhyātmika*, that which is natural and inseparable from the personality; *ādhibhautika*, that which is natural, but extrinsic; and *ādhidaivika*, that which is non-natural or superhuman.]

15. The hexagon. 19. The octagon. 20. The triangle. In that ant-hill, the body, there dwelleth the serpent of the senses. That His liegemen be not bitten by it, hath He taken this labour of placing these amulets there. [These geometrical figures are commonly employed in India as amulets. Cf. Crooke, op. laud., 208.]

16. The fish. 17. The spot. Rāma-candra placed these upon His foot as subjugating talismans. Thus they who meditate upon the feet of Rāma subjugate the hearts of all men. [The fish is the ensign of Kāma-dēva, the God of Love, and therefore the subjugator of the whole

world. The spot is the *bindī*, or spangle, worn between the eyes of a woman, just over the nose. It is considered a great enhancer of beauty, and thus is looked upon as subjugating men's hearts. The corresponding mark worn by men is nowadays known as the *tilak*. Cf. Crooke, op. laud., 202.]

18. The upward line. Who can cross, by his own efforts, the shoreless ocean of existence? Therefore by the upward line He signifieth the causeway which He hath built for His liegemen from this world to the next. [It is hardly necessary to point out that here we have a reference to Adam's Bridge, the causeway which Rāma is said to have built between India and Ceylon.]

21. The rainbow. When He placed the bow upon His foot, He destroyed the grief of those who meditate upon Him. For with his bow He smote the pride of the proud, whereof Rāvaṇa and others are witnesses. [With His bow Rāma slew the demon Rāvaṇa. So also will He slay all the enemies of the Faithful.]

22. The man. When thou hast heard the beautiful reason wherefor He placed the man upon his foot, earnestly desire thou Rāma. Saith He: "The man who, pure in heart, pure in word, and pure in action, meditateth upon Me, him will I put, like this mark, in My foot (*pada*)."
Be a man never so full of wisdom, be he never so full of the nectar of the wealth of Rāma's form, still let him ever meditate in his heart on the marks on the LORD's feet and carry His name upon his lips. [The word *pada* has two meanings, viz., "a foot" and "a position". Hence when Rāma puts a servant in His *pada* the words may mean either that the servant has the high honour of being allotted a place at Rāma's feet, or that he will have a position near Him in a future life, "forever with the Lord."]

All the above, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the marks on the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

IV. THE BHAGAVATA NISTHĀS

The word *niṣṭhā* means literally "position" or "attitude", and as a Bhāgavata technical term implies the special characteristic of a particular saint, as it strikes the observer from the point of view of a devotee. In the various catalogues of saints they are often grouped or classed according to the particular *niṣṭhā* which distinguishes each. A saint may have many visible characteristics, and can thus belong to many *niṣṭhās*. In such a case he is classed under the characteristic that most prominently strikes the devotee. For instance, Bh. refers to Brahmā, who is reckoned amongst the Vaiṣṇava saints (see verse 7 below) in the following terms:—"Although he is most excellent and chief in all *niṣṭhās*, he is nevertheless most suitably included in the second, or *dharma-pracāraka-niṣṭhā*, for he was the leader of the deputation that approached the ADORABLE, and induced Him to become incarnate." Again, a saint may change his *niṣṭhā*. Thus Alī Bhagavān (*Bhakta-māla*, 94) at first belonged to the 24th, or *prēma-niṣṭhā*, but was finally included in the 9th, or *līlānukaraṇa-niṣṭhā*.

Each *niṣṭhā* is sacred to one or other of the twenty-four incarnations described in the preceding article, and is also associated with one of the marks on the ADORABLE'S feet, as detailed above. The following is a list of the various *niṣṭhās*, together with the corresponding incarnations and footmarks. After each of the incarnations and footmarks I have added the serial number in Nābhā's lists:—

<i>Name of Niṣṭhā.</i>	<i>Corresponding Incarnation.</i>	<i>Corresponding Footmark.</i>
1. <i>Dharma</i> . Morality, the Performance of good actions, which must be entirely <i>niṣkāma</i> , or disinterested, i.e. actions (<i>karma</i>) not done for the sake of reward in a future life.	The Fish (1).	The Elephant-goad (1).

<i>Name of Niṣṭhā.</i>	<i>Corresponding Incarnation.</i>	<i>Corresponding Footmark.</i>
2. <i>Dharma-pracāraka.</i> The Spreading of the Bhāgavata gospel of Faith.	The Vyāsa (11).	The Thunderbolt (3).
3. <i>Sādhu - sēva</i> and <i>Sat - saṅga.</i> Attendance on, and consorting with the Saints.	The Boar (2).	The Vestment (2).
4. <i>Śravaṇa.</i> Hearing the Word.	Kapila (23).	The Lotus (4).
5. <i>Kīrtana.</i> Psalmody, Singing of hymns.	Dattātrēya (22).	The Barley-corn (5).
6. <i>Vēṣa.</i> Dress and Sectarian marks.	Yajña (16).	The Banner (6).
7. <i>Guru.</i> Teachers.	Pr̥thu (12).	The Cow's Foot-print (7).
8. <i>Pratimā-arcā.</i> Worship of images of the ADORABLE.	The Swan (14).	The Conch (8).
9. <i>Līlānukaraṇa.</i> Devotion to the earthly acts of the ADORABLE.	The Tortoise (3).	The Discus (9).
10. <i>Dayā-Ahiṃsā.</i> Tenderness and Mercy.	Dhanvantari (20).	The Svastika (10).
11. <i>Vrata-Upāsa.</i> The Performance of difficult vows and Asceticism.	The Man-Lion (4).	The Pitcher (12).
12. <i>Mahāprasāda - mahimā.</i> Reverence for the sacramental meal.	Hayagrīva (18).	The Rose-apple (11).
13. <i>Bhagavaddhāma-mahimā.</i> Reverence for places where the ADORABLE lived on earth.	The Dwarf (5).	The Half-moon (14).
14. <i>Bhagavadnāma-mahimā.</i> Reverence for the name of the ADORABLE.	Paraśu-rāma (6).	The Hexagon (15).
15. <i>Jñāna-Dhyāna - mahimā.</i> Reverence for, or mightiness in, Knowledge and Contemplation.	Sanatkumāra (24).	The Fish (16).
16. <i>Vairāgya-Śānti.</i> Passionlessness and Resignation.	Nārāyaṇa (21).	The Spot (17).
17. <i>Bhagavat-sēvā.</i> Service of the ADORABLE.	The Buddha (9).	The Upward Line (18).
18. <i>Dāsyatā.</i> Obedience.	Ṛṣabha (17).	The Full Moon.

<i>Name of Niṣṭhā.</i>	<i>Corresponding Incarnation.</i>	<i>Corresponding Footmark.</i>
19. <i>Vātsalya</i> . Tender Fondness for the ADORABLE, as that between parents and children.	Hari (11).	The Rainbow (21).
20. <i>Sauhārda</i> . Affection for the ADORABLE, as that between friends.	Kalki (10).	The Octagon (19).
21. <i>Śaranāgati</i> . Taking refuge in the ADORABLE, Self-abandonment.	Manvantara (15).	The Umbrella and the Fly-whisk.
22. <i>Sākhyā</i> . Personal regard or friendship for the deity (higher than No. 20).	Dhruva's Boon-Giver (19).	The Diadem.
23. <i>Mādhurya</i> . Passionate Love, as that of a damsel for her beloved, or as that of the herd-maidens for Kṛṣṇa.	Kṛṣṇa (8).	The Triangle (20).
24. <i>Prēma</i> . Perfect Love.	Rāma (7).	<i>Hṛdaya</i> , the Heart.

In the above, while the list of incarnations corresponds to Nābhā's, the list of footmarks differs somewhat. Nābhā's Lake of ambrosia (13) and Man (22) are omitted, and there are five which are not in his list. Of these five, four, the full moon, the umbrella, the fly-whisk, and the diadem, are in the larger list given on p. 88, and one, the heart, is not recorded in any other list of footmarks which I have seen. The connexion between these incarnations and footmarks on the one side, and the *niṣṭhās* on the other, is clear enough in one or two instances, but in most cases it is quite obscure to me. Doubtless there is some mystic meaning in each case.

The 16th, 18th, 22nd, 19th, and 23rd *niṣṭhas*, viz., *Śānti*, *Dāsyatā*, *Sākhyā*, *Vātsalya*, and *Mādhurya*, are the five *rasas*, or Flavours, of *bhakti*, as explained on p. 611 of JRAS. for 1909. They represent ascending grades, in the order here given, of the faith which is experienced by a holy man. *Śānti* is *bhakti* in its simplest form—a mere resignation. In *dāsyā*, it takes a more active

form in the obedience which the devotee takes upon himself, and so on for the others, as explained in the table. See also Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, i, 163.

V. THE TWELVE MIGHTY IN THE FAITH

The seventh verse of Nābhā's text, and the third in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

TEXT.

Chappai.

(7) (3). (1) Brahmā, (2) Nārada, (3) Śiva, (4) Sanaka and his Brethren, (5) Kapila, (6) the royal Mann, (7) (Prahlaḍa) the Liegeman of the Man-lion, (8) Janaka, (9) Bhīṣma, (10) Bali, (11) Śuka, and (12) the Righteous One (Yama). He who knoweth, and he who telleth, of these most intimate followers of the LORD that sing His fame, obtaineth blessings from the beginning unto the end. Know thou the tale of Ajāmila as the ascertainment of the worth of the Supreme Duty. These twelve are the Chiefs. Moreover, by their mercy do all others gain understanding.

Notes.

Nābhā next celebrates the twelve *Mahābhaktas*, or those Mighty in the Faith, who are considered to be the founders of the *Bhāgavata* religion. Authorities are at variance as to whom the author intended as the twelfth. Some take the word *Dharma-svarūpa*, which I have translated "the Righteous One", as merely an epithet of Śuka, and count Ajāmila as the twelfth. I have followed the explanation of Bh., who makes *Dharma-svarūpa* the equivalent of *Dharma-rāja*, i.e. Yama. He is the supreme judge of the value of duties performed, or not performed, in this life, and, if he is the twelfth in Nābhā's list, he is quoted on account of the story of Ajāmila, for which see below. The word *prasāṅga*, which I have translated "tale", is a technical term in these Vaiṣṇava works, and is equivalent to what lawyers would call a leading case.

Parama-dharma, which I translate by the "Supreme Duty", is a synonym for *Bhāgavata-dharma*. Ajāmila's case is a typical instance of the valuelessness of works (*karma*) as compared with faith (*bhakti*). So far as works went he was a gross sinner, but the accidental utterance of the name of the ADORABLE at the moment of his death was an act of faith, albeit a small one, and the ADORABLE, in His infinite mercy, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered, destroyed the sequence of all his evil works, and saved him.

We see here the same distinction between faith and works that exists in Christendom. I have dealt with this question at length in an article on *The Modern Hindū Doctrine of Works*, on pp. 337 ff. of the Journal of this Society for 1908, and I do not repeat what I said on that occasion.

The following are the particulars regarding these twelve Mighty in the Faith:—

1. *Brahmā* (properly *Brahmán*). As explained above, on p. 94, he is classed in the second, or *dharma-pracāraka niṣṭhā*. A good deal has been already said about him on p. 637 of the article on Incarnations. Whenever any offence (*viḡhna*) occurs in the world, it is *Brahmā* who moves the ADORABLE to become incarnate in order to remove it. For the part taken by *Brahmā* in the creation of the universe, see *Bhg. P.*, III, viii–xii. It should be observed that, although a *dēva*, *Brahmā* is a finite being. According to the *Bhāgavatas*, there is only one eternal God—the ADORABLE.

2. *Nārada*. The well-known *dēvarsī*, and chief of the heavenly musicians. For a full account of his important position in the *Bhāgavata* hierarchy, see pp. 637 ff. of the article on Incarnations. Although he can appropriately be classed under the second (*dharma-pracāraka*), or under the third (*sādhū-sēvā*), or under the fifth (*kīrtana*), or under the twelfth (*mahāprasāda-mahimā*), he most

peculiarly belongs to the fourth (*śravaṇa*) *niṣṭhā*. This is owing to his attentive listening to the conversations of saints in a former birth, as described in the former article.

3. *Siva*. He is fully dealt with on pp. 639 ff. of the article on Incarnations. As the founder of the *Rudra-saṁpradāya*, he is classed in the second (*dharma-pracāraka*) *niṣṭhā*.

4. *Sanaka and his Brethren*. These have been already dealt with on pp. 634 ff. of the article on Incarnations. Like the thousand sons of Dakṣa, who learnt the Sāṅkhya philosophy, and hence begat no children (*MBh.*, I, lxxv), they, too, had no offspring (*Bhg. P.*, III, xii, 4). Priyā-dāsa is here silent regarding them.

5. *Kapila*. Priyā-dāsa is also silent here about him. He is described in the article on Incarnations (p. 634). He is classed as one of the Mighty in the Faith, as being the original teacher to men of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The *locus classicus* for Kapila is *Bhg. P.*, III, xxiv ff. He was son of Kardama and Dēvahūti. This would make him a Kṣatriya by caste, for Dēvahūti's father was the Rājaraṣi Manu Svayaṁbhava (III, xxi, 26). It may seem strange that followers of so strongly monotheistic a cult as that of the Bhāgavatas should attach such great importance to the name of Kapila, making him actually an incarnation of the ADORABLE, for the Sāṅkhya is a system of pure atheism. The fact is explained by noting that what is really meant is the Yōga development of Sāṅkhya, usually attributed to Patañjali, but really much older. This is theistic, and it is worthy of note that while Patañjali calls his Īśvara, or Supreme Deity, a *puruṣa-viśeṣa*, in *Bhg.*, I, iii, 1, care is taken to state that the ADORABLE took the form of *Puruṣa* before he became incarnate as Kapila. The Sāṅkhya philosophy also calls what is the nearest thing to a deity in its system by the same name. In the *Bhg. P.* and in the *Bhakta-māla* Patañjali's name is not mentioned, and Kapila is everywhere referred to as the founder of the

Yōga system. In the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahā-bhārata* (XII, cccxxvi–cccliii), while the intimate connexion between the Sāṅkhya-Yōga and Bhāgavata systems is over and over again insisted upon, the author of the Yōga system is said to have been Hiranyagarbha “and no other” (13,703). In *Bhg. P.*, III, xxv ff., this system, with alterations to make it harmonize more closely with the *bhakti*-cult of the Bhāgavatas, is explained at some length, the speaker being said to be Kapila himself. In the course of several chapters Kapila first explains what *yōga*, or concentration, means, and in the following chapters describes *bhakti*, and explains that it is the same as *yōga*, the ADORABLE, or Bhagavat, being the same as the Īśvara of that system of philosophy. *Yōga* is divided into two kinds, action (*karma-yōga*) and contemplation (*jñāna-yōga*). The Deity is given a much more important part in the system than in that of Patañjali. All this closely follows the teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

In Lōkācārya's *Artha-pañcaka*, which is a summary of the doctrines of Rāmānuja, five *Upāyas*, or methods of salvation, are mentioned, viz., *karma-yōga*, *jñāna-yōga*, *bhakti-yōga*, *prapatti-yōga*, and *ācāryābhīmāna-yōga*. The last is a resort for the weaker brethren, and need not concern us here. *Karma-yōga* is purification by ritual, followed by active methods of concentration. This concentration leads to *jñāna-yōga*, which consists in fixing the mind on the Deity. This leads to the highest stage, or *bhakti-yōga*, which consists in seeing nothing but the Deity. *Prapatti-yōga* is absolute self-abandonment to the Divine mercy and love, and is prescribed for those who find the active exercise of devotion (*bhakti*) too difficult.

Cf. M. Senart's *Origines Bouddhiques*, pp. 21 ff., for a luminous account of the manner in which the religion of the Bhāgavatas became mixed up with *yōga*. Also the Introduction to Professor Garbe's German translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

6. *Manu*. This is the well-known Svāyambhuva Manu, the son of Hiranyagarbha, to whom, as we have just said, the *MBh.* attributes the origin of the Yōga system of philosophy. He was a *Rājarsi* (*Bhg. P.*, III, xxi, 26), which connects him with the Kṣātriya caste. According to Tulasī-dāsa,¹ his and his wife Śatarūpa's *mantra* was *ōm namō Bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya*. Their devotion was so intense that the ADORABLE revealed Himself personally to them under the form of Hari and blessed them, promising that Manu should be reborn as Daśaratha, and that He Himself would become his son in the person of Rāma.

7. *Prahlāda*. He belongs to the 18th, or *dāsyatū niṣṭhā*. His story is told in *Bhg. P.*, VII. Jaya and Vijaya were *Pārśadas* of the ADORABLE, being gatekeepers of Viṣṇu's heaven. One day they refused to allow Sanaka and his Brethren (No. 4, above) to enter. They were misled by their perpetual youth into thinking that they were children who had no business there. The saints cursed them each to be reborn three times as Asuras. Jaya was first reborn as Hiranyākṣa, and Vijaya as his brother Hiranyakaśipu. Then they were reborn as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, and, finally, as Śiśupāla and his brother Dantavakra. Further information about Jaya and Vijaya will be found in the notes to verse 8. Cf. also *Bhg. P.*, III, xv ff.

When the ADORABLE, in his Boar incarnation, had killed Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakaśipu, warned by experience, performed austerities, and obtained from Brahmā the boon that he should not die at the hand of any being of Brahmā's creation; or in or out of doors; or by night or by day; or by weapons; or on the earth or in the sky; or by man or by beast; or by things with breath or by things without breath; or by gods, or by Asuras, or by Nāgas. His son, Prahlāda, was devoted to Viṣṇu, and was in consequence cruelly persecuted by his father. Prahlāda

¹ *Rām.*, I, dō. 148 ff., q.v. for the whole story.

recited to his father long arguments in favour of the Bhāgavata religion, which are duly recorded in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. When Hiranyakaśipu was about to slay his son, Viṣṇu took the form of the Man-Lion incarnation (neither man nor beast) and seized Hiranyakaśipu, took him to the doorway of the palace (neither inside nor outside), set him on his (the Man-Lion's) thigh (neither on the earth nor in the sky), and tore him asunder with his nails (not with weapons), in the twilight hour (neither by night nor by day).

Prahlāda was a devotee of the ADORABLE, because his mother, when she was pregnant with him, fell under the instruction of Nārada. Prahlāda's favourite utterance is said to have been "Śrī-Sitā-Rāma", which is an anachronism, as Rāma was a much later incarnation than the Man-Lion. His story is so well known that I have omitted details.

8. *Janaka*. Janaka is remembered by Bhāgavatas, not only as being the father of Sitā, but also as being in a special way a master of *yōga*. Śukadēva, the narrator of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (see No. 11, below), paid a visit to him, and was astonished at his powers in this direction. The *Bhakti-prēmākara*, in its commentary to this passage, gives a long account of the visit. The same visit is described in *MBh.*, XII, cccxxvi-vii, where Janaka is even represented as teaching Śuka. This is quite in accordance with other Bhāgavata authorities, for his name is not only intimately connected with the origins of Yōga philosophy, but is also frequently associated with the Bhāgavata religion. Even in the earliest books of the sect he is mentioned as one of the old teachers (e.g. *Bhg. G.*, iii, 20). He belongs to the 20th, or *Sauhārda*, *niṣṭhā*, owing to his having been Rāma's father-in-law.

9. *Bhīṣma*. The well-known hero of the *Mahābhārata*. Owing to the many occasions on which he followed the rules of Duty, he belongs to the 1st, or *Dharma*, *niṣṭhā*. It is sufficient to explain here that he is counted as one of

the twelve *Mahābhaktas*, because he recited the *Nārāyaṇīya* and other *bhakti* sections of the *Mahābhārata*, while lying on his arrow death-bed.

10. *Bali*. He was Prahlāda's grandson (see No. 7), and, like Bhīṣma, is included in the 1st, or *Dharma*, *niṣṭhā*. He conquered earth and heaven, and, at the intercession of Aditi, the ADORABLE took the Dwarf incarnation, and asked Bali for the famous three steps of land. Although a Daitya, Bali was, as became Prahlāda's grandson, a pious *bhakta*. He refused to listen to the objections of Śukra, his *guru*, and readily gave the area asked for. When the ADORABLE covered Heaven and Earth with the two first steps, there was nothing left for the third step, and so He condemned Bali to reign in Hell, as a punishment for not fulfilling his promise. At the same time he promised that, in his next birth, Bali should reign in Heaven (*sura-pura*).

In acting as he did in the Dwarf incarnation, the ADORABLE committed the serious offence of cheating a *bhakta*. He therefore condemned Himself to become Bali's doorkeeper in Hell, in the shape of the Dwarf, thus, not only punishing Himself, but also giving Bali the bliss of having ever present to his view one of the ADORABLE'S incarnations. The story of Bali will be found in *Bhg. P.*, VIII, xv ff.

Bali's claim to be entered on the list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas* is based on the theory that he was not taken in at all by the Dwarf, whom he recognized from the first as an incarnation of the ADORABLE. So great was his *bhakti* that he refused to heed the words of his *guru*, and at once knowingly gave up to Him all that he had.

11. *Śuka*. He was son of the Vyāsa, and belongs to the 5th, or *Kīrtana*, *niṣṭhā*. One account of his birth, taken from *BhK.*, pp. 107 ff., is that he was originally a parrot (*śuka*) in Śiva's paradise. One day Śiva was occupied in telling to Pārvatī in strict privacy the mystery

of the name of Rāma. While he was telling her, Pārvatī fell asleep, but Śiva did not notice it, for, by the will of the LORD, the young parrot was there, and kept saying at intervals, in Pārvatī's voice, "Yes, yes" (*hũ, hũ*). Owing to his hearing the story of the mystery of the name of Rāma,¹ he became filled with the supreme wisdom, and, at the same time, immortal. After a time Śiva discovered that it was the bird that was saying "Yes, yes", and in his anger tried to kill him, but he escaped and took refuge in the womb of Vyāsa's wife. There he remained hidden for twelve years, but at length, being entreated by the gods and *R̥sis*, he consented to be born from her as Śuka-dēva. Directly he was born² he began to wander about in the forest. His father, Vyāsa, ran after him crying "My son, my son", but he would not stop or give reply. Then the trees³ of the forest cried out to Vyāsa that he was forgetting that there was really no distinction between the "I" and "thou", happiness and unhappiness, father and son, all being but forms of the One, the ADORABLE. Vyāsa, convinced by these arguments, returned home, but, still wishing to find his son, taught a number of lads to recite the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and sent them repeating it into the forest in which Śuka was roaming. Śuka heard one of the lads reciting the *ślokas*, describing the forgiveness and salvation of the witch Pūtana,⁴ who attempted to poison Kṛṣṇa.

¹ Tulasī-dāsa refers to this story as illustrating the power of the sacred Name in *Rām.*, I, xxvi, 2.

² According to *Bhg. P.*, I, iv, 8, he never stayed in one house longer than the time occupied in milking one cow. He was so pure in thought that though he was naked the nymphs who were bathing as he passed by did not trouble even to blush, much less to put on any apparel. On the other hand, when Vyāsa, his father, passed by with all his clothes on in pursuit of his son, they hurried on their garments as fast as they could.

³ Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, ii, 2. The trees were inspired by Śuka's spirit.

⁴ *Bhg. P.*, X, vi, 35—

Pūtana loka-bāla-ghnī rākṣasī rudhirā-śanā |
jīghāmsayā 'pi Harayē stanam datvā- 'pa sadgatim'

He was so struck by the infinite grace shown by this merciful and forgiving act of the Deity that he asked the boys where they had learnt it. They referred him to Vyāsa. He went to his father, who taught him the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. He then, for the salvation of the world, taught it to King Parīkṣit.

MBh. XII, cccxxiv-xxxiv, gives a different account of the birth of Śuka, and adds a long story of his wanderings and of his final emancipation.

Śuka's claim to be included in the list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas* rests on the fact that it was he who narrated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

12. *Yama*. He is the ruler of the nether world, and sinners are his prey for torture after death. His title to be inserted in the list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas* is based on his readiness to forego his claim to carry off sinners, on hearing, at the time of their death, merely the name of the ADORABLE. The "leading case" on this point is the story of Ajāmila, given in *Bhg. P.*, VI, i, ii. In iii, Yama recites a long account of the glory of the ADORABLE. P., who gives no particulars regarding any of the *Mahābhaktas* after Śiva, gives the following account, the translation being amplified, as usual, by the explanation of Bh. G. and K. :—

Ajāmila was the son of a Brāhmaṇa. His parents gave him the name of "Ajā-mēla", which was a true name for him. For he became united to Ajā,¹ and abandoned his lawful wife of good Brāhmaṇa caste. He had taken to drinking wine, and therefore he seized his wisdom (i.e. his wife) and flung it far away. He joined his body

¹ According to Bh., "Ajā" here means "Māyā" or "illusion" in the person of a harlot. K. simply says that "Ajā" means "harlot". G. takes "ajā" as meaning "she-goat", and says that he became the servant of a butcher, and was associated with the offal of the slaughtered she-goats. K. adds that he was expelled from the town by the king, and lived in a hut outside the town on the earnings of the harlot.

to a woman that was a sinner whom he had taken to himself.

It chanced that holy men (*sādhu*) came to his village and asked where they should abide for the night. Some wicked fellows, as a joke, sent them to Ajāmila's house. When Ajāmila saw them his native wisdom returned to him, and instead of treating the holy men with contumely, he hospitably received them. As they departed in the morning, he laid his pregnant slave girl before their feet, and asked them to bless her. The leader of the holy men blessed her in the name of the Lord Rāma. He promised that the child within her womb should be a son, and commanded Ajāmila to call his name "Nārāyaṇa". When her time came, a son was born, and so he named him.

While he remained bound in the illusion of love for his mistress and her son alone, his fated hour came, and it was the time for him to die. Terrible demons, messengers from Yama, did he see around his bed, waiting to carry off his soul to torment. In his agony he called for that very son who had been given to him by the mercy of the saints. "Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa," he cried in terror. The ADORABLE'S¹ archangels (*pārṣada*), who ever wander hither and thither on their Master's business, heard a poor human being calling in distress upon "Nārāyaṇa", and rushed to his aid. They tore open the nooses which Yama's demons had cast around him. When these demons asked them why they had released so great a sinner, they told them the glories of the name of the ADORABLE and drove them away. The demons hastened to Yama and complained, but he, when he had heard their tale, condemned them. "May the thunderbolt fall upon you," said he. "Hear ye me. No matter how great a sinner a man may be, go ye not near him if ye hear issuing from

¹ One of the ADORABLE'S names is Nārāyaṇa.

his mouth, even though it be in error, the Holy Name of the LORD.”¹

NOTE ON THE POWER ATTRIBUTED TO THE NAME OF THE DEITY IN
THE BHĀGAVATA RELIGION.

The sacredness and mystic power of the Name of the Deity, mentioned here by Yama, is much dwelt upon by Bhāgavata writers, and finds interesting parallels in ancient and mediaeval Christian compositions. Origen himself (*Contra Celsum*, i, 6) says that the power of exorcism lies “in the Name of Jesus, which is uttered as the stories of His life are being narrated”. He talks of a secret “science of names”, which confers powers upon the initiated. “The Name of Jesus,” he adds, “comes under this science of names.” Growse, in his translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasī-dāsa (I, xxv), quotes several parallel passages from later theologians, viz., “The holy utterance, short to read, easy to retain, sweet to think upon, strong to protect” (*Thomas à Kempis*). (*P. Pelbart*) “By His most holy Name, which consists of five letters, He daily offers pardon to sinners.” (*S. Bonaventura*) “No one can devoutly utter Thy Name without profit,” and again, “Glorious and wonderful is the Name. Those who keep it, will have no fear when at the point of death.” (*Ricardus de S. Laurentio*) “The Name alone is sufficient for healing; for there is no plague so obstinate that it does not inevitably yield to the Name.” (*S. Bridget*) “Evil spirits flee, as if from fire, when they hear the Name,” and “All demons honour this Name and fear it. When they hear it, they at once release the soul which they have been holding in their talons”. (*Honorius*) “The Name is full of all sweetness, and of divine relish.” There are traces of this reverence for the name in modern Christian hymns.

So Tulasī-dāsa, like Thomas à Kempis, praises (*Rām.*, I, xxiv) “these two gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world, and felicity in the next”. With Oriental hyperbole he (xxv) even maintains that the Name is greater than the substance. “The form is of less importance than the Name, for without the Name you cannot come to the knowledge of the form; if the very form be in your hand, still, without knowing the Name, it is not recognized; but meditate on the Name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion.” Again, Nānak says:—

sabhi japa sabhi tapa sabha caturāṁ | ujharī bharamē rūhi na pāi ||
bina sūjhē kō thāi na pāi | nāma bikhūṇē matthē chāi ||

All prayers, all austerities, all wisdom, are wandering in the waste and finding no way. Without the (true) vision man has no abiding place; for bereft of the Name, he hath but ashes on his head (i.e. he is a castaway).

¹ Cf. S. Bridget's words quoted in the following paragraph.

VI. THE SIXTEEN ARCHANGELS

The eighth verse of Nābhā's text, and the sixth in *chappai* metre, runs as follows :—

Chappai.

(8) (6). May the thoughts of my mind ever there dwell where the Archangels abide at the feet of Nārāyaṇa. (1) Viṣvaksēna, (2) Jaya, (3) Vijaya, (4) Prabala, and (5) Bala, the givers of benison; (6) Nanda, (7) Sunanda, (8) Subhadra, and (9) Bhadra, the destroyers of the disease of the world; (10) Caṇḍa and (11) Pracāṇḍa, the humble; (12) Kumuda and (13) Kumudâkṣa, the abodes of compassion; (14) Śīla, (15) Śuśīla, and (16) Suśēṇa, the protectors of the loving Faithful,—all skilled in giving pleasure to the Lord of Lakṣmī, the friends of the Faithful who delight in adoration.

The Author now celebrates the sixteen *Pārṣadas* or Chief Attendants on the ADORABLE. Gōvindâcārya well calls them "Archangels". They all belong to the 17th, or *Bhagavat-sēvā*, *niṣṭhā*. Of these Viṣvaksēna, Jaya, and Vijaya are the best known. The word "Viṣvak-sēna" (He whose hosts are ubiquitous) is also used as a name of the ADORABLE Himself (e.g. *MBh.*, VI, 2944, and *Bhg. P.*, I, ii, 8; III, xiii, 3). As one of the archangels he is mentioned as their chief in *Bhg. P.*, V, xx, 40. In VIII, xxi, 16, he is mentioned with Jaya, Vijaya, Prabala, Nanda, Sunanda, Kumuda, and Kumudâkṣa as leading the heavenly armies against the troops of Bali. Jaya and Vijaya will be referred to more particularly below. In *Bhg. P.*, X, lxi, 12, 17, they are referred to as sons of Kṛṣṇa. Prabala, Nanda, and Sunanda also appear in *Bhg. P.*, II, ix, 14. In *Bhg. P.*, X, vii, 15, Bala and Prabala are mentioned as sons of Kṛṣṇa. Nanda and Sunanda appear in *Bhg. P.*, IV, xii, 24, as the messengers of the ADORABLE to tell Dhruva of his elevation to the Pole. In I, xiv, 32, they are referred to as prominent Sātvatas in attendance on the mortal Kṛṣṇa. In the preceding line Suśēṇa is mentioned as Kṛṣṇa's son.

Bhadra and Subhadra are mentioned as sons of Kṛṣṇa in *Bhg. P.*, X, lxi, 14, 17. Sunanda again appears, this time with Kumuda, in *Bhg. P.*, VII, viii, 39, where they hymn the Man-Lion after he has killed Hiranya-Kaśipu.

P.'s commentary is to the following effect : The sixteen chief archangels are saved by Nature¹ and store up service to Nārāyaṇa, the Lord of Śrī, like wealth in the treasuries of their hearts. Very skilled are they in doing His pleasure. They meditate upon Him, and are devoted to protecting His servants as surely as the eyelid protects the eye.

Such joy have they in fulfilling the commands of their Master, that, when Sanaka and his brethren (see note 7 to the preceding verse) cursed Jaya and Vijaya to be born three times as Asuras², and when He Himself appeared to them and commanded them to accept the curse as though they were drinking nectar, so obedient were they to His command that they gave up the joy of His service, and gladly accepted a state which was hostile to Him.

¹ Ordinary beings are divided, according to the *Artha-pañcaka*, into four grades, viz. :—

- (1) *Baddha*, those who are tied to the things of this world, and are not on the way of salvation ;
- (2) *Mumukṣu*, those who desire salvation, but have not yet become fit for it ;
- (3) *Kēśala*, the pure in heart, who are devoted to the ADORABLE alone, and who are thus on the way of salvation ;
- (4) *Mukta*, the saved.

To these is added a fifth class—those who have never entered into the round of transmigration, but are saved (*mukta*) from the moment of their creation and for ever (*nitya-mukta*). This class includes the Pūrṣadas, as stated above, Garuḍa, and other semi-divine persons.

² For a full account of this, and of the birth of Jaya and Vijaya in the womb of Diti, see *Bhg. P.*, III, xiv–xix.

(To be continued.)

THE BABAR-NAMA DESCRIPTION OF FARGHANA

BY ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE

[THE following article contains a revised translation of Bābar's account of Farghāna, a passage discussed and quoted by many writers on Turkistān. Some mistaken inferences have been drawn from it as it stands in the *Memoirs* and *Mémoires*, because these both lacked a pure textual basis and modern local knowledge. I regret that, obeying a Turk in his Turkī, an autobiographer in his style, my wording departs from Mr. Erskine's. The speech of some Englishmen can go straight into Turkī: out of Turkī, Bābar's should go straight into theirs. They are not schooled, nor was he. Neither blurs meaning by complex statement; neither throws "and" into the pause between two thoughts. Mr. Symonds' rule gathers force from the clearness of the mould of Turkī speech: "A good translation should resemble a plaster cast, the English being *plaqué* upon the original, so as to reproduce its exact form, although it cannot convey the effects of bronze or marble which belong to the material of the work of art."]

[fol. 1b¹.]

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

²I became ruler ³ in the country of Farghāna, in my twelfth year, in the month Ramzān, at the date 899.⁴

Farghāna is of the fifth climate.⁵ It is situated on the limit of settled habitation. It has Kāshghar on the east, Samarqand on the west, the mountains of the Badakhshān border on the south. On the north, though there may once have been towns,⁶ such as Ālmāligh, Ālmātū, and

Yāngi which (*kīm*) in books they write Ūṭrār, all is now desolate; there remains no settled population whatever, because of the Mughūls and the Ūzbegs.⁷

Farghāna is a small country, abounding in grain and fruit. Round about it are mountains; to the west there are none, that is,⁸ towards Khujend and Samarqand. During the winter an enemy can come in only from that side.⁹

The Saihūn River (*daryā*), commonly known as the Khujend Water [fol. 2], coming in from the north-east, flows westward through¹⁰ the country. After passing Khujend on the north and Fanākat,¹¹ now known as Shāhrukhia, on the south, it turns straight towards the north and goes to Turkistān. It does not join itself to any sea (*daryā*),¹² (but) sinks into the sand a good way below Turkistān.

Farghāna has seven separate townships,¹³ five on the south of the Saihūn, two on the north. Of those on the south, one is Andijān which (*kīm*) has a central position and is the capital of the country. It produces much grain, fruit in abundance, excellent grapes and melons. In the melon season, to sell the fruit up at the beds is not the custom.¹⁴ Better than the Andijān *nāshpātī* there is none.¹⁵ Its walled town (*qūrghān*) is the largest in the Māwarā'u'n-nahr after Samarqand and Kesh. It has three gates; its citadel (*ark*) is on its southern side. Into it water goes by nine channels; out of it, it is strange that none comes at even a single place.¹⁶ Along the outer side of its ditch¹⁷ runs a gravelled highway; the width of this same road separates the town from its surrounding suburbs.

Andijān has good fowling and hunting. Its pheasants [fol. 2b] become so extremely plump that it is rumoured four people could not finish one they were eating with its stew.¹⁸

The Andijānīs are all Turks—not a person in town or its bāzār but knows Turkī. The speech of its people is

correct for the pen ; hence, though Mir 'Alī Shīr *Nawā'ī*¹⁹ was bred and grew up in Herī,²⁰ his writings are one with their dialect. Good looks are common amongst them. Khwāja Yūsuf who (*kīm*) is famous in music, was an Andijānī.²¹ There is malaria (*'ufūnat*) in the air ; people generally get fever in autumn.²²

Again, there is Ūsh, to the south-east inclining to east of Andijān and distant 4 *yīghāch* from it by road.²³ It has a fine climate ; running water abounds²⁴ ; its spring season is very beautiful indeed. Many traditions have their rise in its excellencies.²⁵ To the south-east of the walled town is a symmetrical hill, known as the Barā Koh.²⁶ On its summit, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān built a retreat (*ḥajra*), and on its shoulder, lower down, in 902 (1496), I built one, having a porch. Though his lay the higher, mine was the better placed, all the town and suburbs being at its feet [fol. 3].

The Andijān torrent²⁷ goes to Andijān after passing through the suburbs of Ūsh. Garden-plots (*bāghāt*)²⁸ lie along both its banks ; all the Ūsh gardens (*bāghlār*) overlook it. Their violets are very fine ; they have running waters and in spring are most beautiful with the bloom of many tulips and roses.

There is a mosque, called the Jauzā Masjid, on the skirt of the Barā Koh²⁹ ; between this and the town a large canal flows from the direction of the hill ; below its outer court is a shady and pleasant clover-meadow where every passing traveller rests. If anyone fall asleep there, it is the joke of the ragamuffins of Ūsh to let water out of the canal upon him.³⁰ In 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā's latter days, a very beautiful stone, waved red and white,³¹ was found on the Barā Koh ; of it they make knife-handles and the clasps of belts and many other things.

For climate and pleasantness, no township in all Farghāna equals Ūsh.

Again, there is Marghīnān, 7 *yīghāch*³² by road to the west of Andijān. It is a fine township, full of good things; its grapes and pomegranates are most excellent. They call one kind of pomegranate, the Great Grain (*dāna kalān*); its sweetness has a little of the sub-acid of the apricot and it may be preferred [fol. 3] to the Semnān.³³ Again, there grows an apricot which they dry after stoning it and putting back its kernel; they (then) call it *subhānī*³⁴; it is very palatable.

Marghīnān has good hunting and fowling; *āq kīyīk*³⁵ are found close by. Its people are Sārts,³⁶ boxers, noisy and turbulent. Their pugnacity is known all over Māwarā'u'n-nahr; most of the noted bullies (*jungralār*) of Samarqand and Bukhārā are Marghīnānis. The author of the Hidāyat³⁷ was from Rushdān, a village of Marghīnān.

Again, there is Asfara, in the hill-country (*koh pāya*)³⁸ 9 *yīghāch*³⁹ to the south-west of Marghīnān. It has running water, beautiful small gardens⁴⁰ and many fruit-trees, but in its gardens mostly almonds. Its people are all Persian-speaking Sārts.⁴¹ Amongst the low hills, a *shar'ī* (*circa* 2 miles) to the south of Asfara (town), is a piece of rock called the Mirror Stone.⁴² It may be about 10 *qārī* (arms'-lengths) long; it is as high as a man in some places, up to his waist in others. Everything is reflected in it as in a mirror.

The *wilāyat* of Asfara is (in) four hill-country divisions (*balūk*). One is Asfara, one Warūk, one Sūkh, one Hushyār. When Shaibānī Khān had defeated Sultān Maḥmūd Khān and Alacha Khān, and taken Tāshkent and Shāhrukhīa,⁴³ I went into the Sūkh [fol. 4] and Hushyār hill-country and there, after nearly a year spent in great misery, I decided for Kābul.⁴⁴

Again, there is Khujend,⁴⁵ 25 *yīghāch* by road to the west of Andijān and 25 *yīghāch* by road to the east of Samarqand.⁴⁶ It is one of the ancient towns; of it were

Shaikh Maṣlahat and Khwāja Kamāl.⁴⁷ Fruit grows well there; the excellence of its pomegranates is well known; people talk of a Khujend pomegranate as they do of a Samarqand apple. Just now, however, Marghinān pomegranates are much more met with.⁴⁸

The walled town of Khujend is on high ground, the Saihūn flowing to the north of it at the distance perhaps of an arrow's flight. To the north of both the walled town and the river is a range called Munūghul;⁴⁹ they say turquoise and other mines are to be found there; it has many snakes.

The hunting and fowling grounds of Khujend are first-rate; *āq kīyīk*,⁵⁰ *būghū*, *marāl*,⁵¹ pheasants and hares are all had in great plenty.

The climate of Khujend is very malarious; in autumn there is much fever;⁵² they rumour that the very sparrows get fever. The cause of the malaria, they say, is the hill lying on the north.

Kand-bādām⁵³ is a dependency of Khujend; though not a township (*qaṣba*), it makes rather a good approach to one (*qaṣbacha*). Its almonds are excellent, hence its name [fol. 4b]; they all go to Hormuz and Hindūstān. It is 6 or 7 *yīghāch*⁵⁴ to the east of Khujend.

Between Kand-bādām and Khujend lies a waste, known as Hā Darwesh. Here there is always (*hamesha*) wind; wind goes always (*hamesha*) from it to Marghinān which is to the east of it; wind comes continually (*dā'im*) from it to Khujend which is to the west of it.⁵⁵ It has violent, whirling winds (*tund yīllār*). They say, some darweshes having met with this wind in this desert (*bādiya*), and not being able to find one another again, kept crying: "Hāy Darwesh! Hāy Darwesh!" All perished, and from that time forth people have called the waste "Hā Darwesh".

Of the townships to the north of the Saihūn Water, one is Akhsī. This in books they write Akhsikī; hence the

poet Aṣīru'd-din is known as *Akhsikīti*.⁵⁶ After Andijān, Akhsī is the largest township in Farghāna;⁵⁷ it is 9 *yīghāch*⁵⁸ by road to the west of Andijān. 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā made it his capital. The Saiḥūn River flows by below the walled town (*qārghān*). This stands above great (*buland*) ravines. It has deep (*umīq*) ravines in place of a ditch. 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā when he made it his capital, in several instances (*martaba*) cut other ravines from the outer ones.⁵⁹ No walled town in Farghāna is so strong as Akhsī [fol. 5].

The suburbs of Akhsī extend a *shar'ī* (*circa* 2 miles) beyond the walls (*qārghān*).⁶⁰ The proverb, "Where is the village? where are the trees?" they seem to have said of Akhsī.⁶¹ Its melons are excellent; one kind they even call Mir Timūri; it is not known to have its equal in the world.⁶² The melons of Bukhārā are famous; I had some brought from there and some from Akhsī when I took Samarqand; they were cut up at an entertainment and nothing compared with those from Akhsī.

The Akhsī fowling and hunting are very good indeed. In the waste on the Akhsī side of the Saiḥūn *āq kīyīk* abound; in the jungle on the Andijān side are to be had many *būghū*,⁶³ *marāl*, pheasants and hares, all in very good condition.

Again, there is Kāsān, rather a small place to the north of Akhsī. The water of Akhsī comes from it in the way the water of Andijān comes from Ūsh.⁶⁴ Kāsān has excellent air and beautiful garden-plots. These, because they all lie along the bed of the torrent,⁶⁵ they call *postīn pesh barah*.⁶⁶ There is rivalry between Kāsānīs and Ūshīs about the beauty and climate of their townships.

In the mountains round Farghāna are excellent pastures. There and nowhere else grows the *tabalghā*,⁶⁷ a tree (*yīghāch*) with red bark [fol. 5b]. They make staves of it,

they make whip-handles of it, they make bird-cages of it, they scrape it into arrows ;⁶⁸ it is an excellent wood (*yīghāch*) and is taken away to distant places as a rarity.⁶⁹ Some books write that the mandrake⁷⁰ is found in these mountains, but for this long time past nothing has been heard of it. A grass called the heating (*īq*) grass and having the qualities of the mandrake, is heard of in Yiti Kint ;⁷¹ it seems to be the mandrake under another name. There are turquoise and other mines in these mountains.

¹ The foliation marked in the text of this article is that of the Haidarābād Codex of the *Bābar-nāma*.

² In the Hai. and Elphinstone MSS. the text begins here ; in Kehr's MS. an invocation precedes.

³ *Pādshāh*. To translate *pādshāh* by "king" or "emperor", as if part of the style of any Tīmūrid, previous to 913 A.H. (1507), is an anachronism, because till that date even a ruling Tīmūrid was styled *Mirzā* (fol. 215), and then first did Bābar change his title. The word *pādshāh* (it is hardly necessary to say) occurs frequently as a common noun in the writings of Bābar's circle. He himself says, e.g., that his father was an ambitious *pādshāh*, i.e. ruler (fol. 5b) ; it was proposed to make Jahāngīr *Mirzā pādshāh* (ruler) in Farghāna (fol. 24b) ; Haidar *Mirzā* writes of Yūnas Khān as *pādshāh* in Mughūlistān, i.e. having chief authority (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Elias & Ross, p. 74). Gul-badan Begam writes of an amīr who was *pādshāh*, i.e. commandant, in Bhakkar (*Humāyūn-nāma*, trans., p. 148). I have seen an instance of its use for a chief boatman. In the *Tuzkīrātūl-būghrā* the word *pādshāh* is part of the style of a Mughūl nomad, Sātūq-būghrā Khān *Ghāzī Pādshāh* and, it would seem, implies his supremacy amongst the Mughūl Khāns. Perhaps Bābar's assumption of it as a title in 913 A.H. asserted his then supremacy amongst living Tīmūrid *Mirzās*.

⁴ Bābar was born on Saturday, February 15, 1483 (Muḥarram 6, 888 A.H.), and died December 26, 1530 (Jumāda i, 6, 937 A.H.). His father, 'Umar Shaikh whom he succeeded in Farghāna, died on June 4, 1494 (Ramzān 4, 899 A.H.), "the year of Charles VIII's expedition to Naples" (Erskine). Bābar was born nine months before Luther (b. November 10, 1483).

⁵ See *Āin-i-akbarī*, Jarrett, pp. 44 ff.

⁶ *Shahrlār bār ikān dūr*. The modern term suiting Central Asian towns is "Garden Cities". Ālmālīgh (lit. "apple-like") was the old capital of Kulja ; Ālmātū (var. Ālmātī, named also from the apple) is the Russian Vierny ; the now ruined Ūṭrār is on the Sīr, somewhat below its intake of the Aris (var. Urus). "In the days of Tīmūr, Otrār was a place of great note ; he died there" (807 A.H., 1405 A.D.) "while preparing for his expedition to China" (Erskine).

⁷ Of the clause here noted, there have been the following translations:—Hai., Elph., and Kehr's MSS., "*Mughūl u Ūzbeg jihat dīn*;" *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī* (i.e. Pers. trans.), I.O. MS. 217, "*az jihat 'ubūr Ūzbeg*;" Erskine (*Memoirs of Babar*, p. 1), "In consequence of the incursions of the Ūzbegs;" De Courteille (*Mémoires de Baber*, i, 1), "Grace aux ravages commis par les Mongols et Ūzbegs." The Persian '*ubūr*' may be thought to improve on Bābar, since the towns mentioned lay in the tide-way of nomad passage between east and west, but they are a departure from his words. The Persian text, here as elsewhere, has caused Mr. Erskine to diverge from Bābar. It may be said (though not in this instance) that some part of the deviation found in the French translation, deviation both from the true Turkī text and from Erskine's, is the sequel of defect in Kehr's earlier and Persified pages. (Cf. JRAS., January, 1908, art. Bābar-nāma, for specimens of this Persification. For Erskine's comments on the peculiarities of the Persian text see his Preface, p. viii.)

⁸ *kīm* (*Samarqand u Khujend*) *būlghātī*. This frequent phrase of Bābar I do not find mentioned in the Turkī grammars; it always, I think, expresses apposition; "that is to say" may be its meaning.

⁹ Following the Persian trans. Abū'l-faẓl and Erskine omit Bābar's seasonal limitation here (*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., i, 85, and trans. H. Beveridge, i, 221). For a description of the passes into Farghāna see Kostenko's *Turkistān Region*, trans. Simla, 1882, vol. i, sect. i, cap. 2 and 3.

¹⁰ *Wilāyat nīng ichkāri bīla*; perhaps "through the trough of the country" (de Meynard, *ichkāri*, creux).

¹¹ "A town in Māwarā'u'n-nahr, also called Shāsh, and in modern times Tāshkent" (Rieu, i, 79). Bābar does not identify Fanākat (var. Benākat, Fiākat) with Tāshkent; he does so with Shāhrukhīa. As he distinguishes between Tāshkent, i.e. Shāsh, and Fanākat, i.e. Shāhrukhīa while Rieu identifies the two, it may be that Rieu's statement applies not to "modern" but to old Tāshkent which stood some 14 miles nearer to the Sīr than the newer town does. (Is its first syllable Ar. *fanā*, expressive of its bygone status?) Fanākat (Shāhrukhīa) is located by Bābar's and by Ḥaidar's narratives near the Sīr, perhaps near modern Chināz. For a discussion on the origin of the name Tāshkent see Von Schwarz's *Turkistān*, index s.n. Tāshkent; see too Kostenko, i, 320; Parker, *Asiatic Quarterly*, 1909, art. Samarqand, pp. 2, 74; JRAS., April, 1909, art. Bābar-nāma. Also Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-nāsirī*, index s.nn. Tāshkent, Fanākat, Shāhrukhīa.

¹² *Hech daryā gha qātīmās*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 1b), *hech daryā'i dīgar ham-rāh na shuda*. E. and de C. have understood Bābar to say that below Turkistān the Sīr is not tributary to any other river, but, although this is the fact, there is room for doubting if this is what he meant. He may preface his clear (but erroneous) statement that the whole Sīr sinks (*sīnkār*) into the sand by one denying an alternative end of its course, i.e. fall into a *daryā*, a larger body of water, presumably the Sea of Aral. His preposition is *gha* (to), and E.'s "other" is the translation of the gloss *dīgar* of his Persian source.

Bābar, it is evident, did not know the whole course of the Sīr. (See Schuyler, i, 550 ff., and Kostenko, i, 198, 218, amongst modern writers about it.)

¹³ *Qaṣbalūr*. Bābar's geographical unit is the township, or, more exactly, the village, the inhabited and cultivated oasis. Of frontiers he says nothing.

¹⁴ "i.e. passengers eat them gratuitously" (Leyden). Klaproth, "all ein es ist streng verboten sie zu verkaufen ehe sie reif geworden sind" (*Archiv für Asiatische Litteratur*, pp. 101 ff.); cf. T.R. trans., p. 425. See Timkowski's *Travels of the Russian Mission*, i, 419.

From this point there is a gap of two folios in the Elph. MS.

¹⁵ One kind of melon is called the *nāshpātī*, but as Bābar has not mentioned the pear, *nāshpātī* here may mean this fruit. See *Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, p. 6; Kostenko, i, 251; von Schwarz, p. 361.

¹⁶ *Tāqaz tar nau sū kīrār, bū 'ajab tūr kīm bīr yīr dīn ham chīqmās*. Pers. trans., I.O. 217, fol. 2: *nuh jūy āb dar qila' dar mī āyid u īn 'ajab ast kah hama az yak jā ham na mī bar āyid*. Erskine (p. 2, using Mr. Metcalfe's MS., see Rieu, p. 244), "The water-courses of the mills by which the water enters the city are nine, and it is singular that they all issue from the same place;" Erskine (p. 2 n. using his own MS., see Rieu, l.c.), "Nine streams of water enter the fort, and it is singular that they do not all come out at the same place;" de Courteille (i, 2), "Neuf canaux entrent dans la ville, et il y a cela d'étonnant qu'ils ne sortent par aucune issue." Mr. Erskine had here only the Persian translation to guide him, there being still a gap in the Elph. MS. As he translated in India, the words *tar nau* took on their technical Indian meaning of channels or pipes serving mills. Bābar's meaning is, I think, that all the water brought into the town of Andijān by nine artificial channels was consumed there, leaving no surplus to come out at even one place.

¹⁷ *Khandaq nīng tāsh yānī*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *dar kinār sang bast khandaq*. E. (p. 2), "On the edge of the stone-faced ditch;" de C. (i, 2), "sur le bord extérieur du fossé." There can be little doubt that the Persian trans. is wrong in its *sang bast*, both on the ground of the Turkī wording and because Bābar's point is the unusual circumstance of a road round a ditch; also because Andijān is built on loess and of loess.

¹⁸ *Qirghāwal āshkina sī bila*. *Āshkina* is allowed by dictionaries to be the rice and vegetables commonly served with the bird. Erskine (p. 2) writes "broth" and adds, in a note, "a sort of stew, or rather, jelly-broth." Ilminsky prints *iskana*, whence de Courteille (i, 3), "quatre personnes ne peuvent venir à bout d'en manger une cuisse." Klaproth (p. 104), "so fette Adler dass vier Menschen von einem ausgewachsenen satt werden können." For a recipe likely to be *āshkina* see Kostenko, i, 287.

¹⁹ b. 1440; d. 1500.

²⁰ *Heridā nashū u namā tābīb tūr*. M. de Courteille applies these words to *Nawā'īs* writings: "quoique publiées à Herat, sont conçues dans cet idiom" (i, 3).

²¹ See Daulat Shāh's *Memoirs of the Poets*, E. G. Browne, pp. 350, 351. Yūsuf was with Bāysanghar Mīrzā; he may be one with Yūsuf Badī'ī of Farghāna (fol. 181).

²² *Gūzlār il bīzkāk kūb būlūr*. The Pers. translator has read *Turkī gūz*, autumn, to be *Turkī goz*, eye, and adds (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *ashūb chashm u waram ān bisyār mī shud u ītibbā ānrā qirrat mī gūyand*. There is no Turkī basis for the above gloss. For statistics of autumn fever in Turkistān and for a novel febrifuge, see von Schwarz, index s.n. Fieber, and also Kostenko, i and iii, Table of Contents.

²³ Pers. trans. *farsang*. Ujfalvy (*Expédition Scientifique*, ii, 179). "L'igadj ou le *farsang* vaut environ 6 kilomètres." Cf. von Schwarz, p. 124. From de C.'s Dict. s.n. *yīghāch*, may be quoted what shows the variable length of this measure: "Trois fois la distance à laquelle un homme, placé entre deux autres, peut se faire entendre d'eux, soit un farsang, soit un mille." I cannot bring Bābar's statements of distance in *yīghāch* to agree with the *farsang* of about 4 miles. They work out more nearly to 8 miles per *yīghāch*. Here if the *yīghāch* equal the *farsang* of 4 miles, the distance from Ūsh to Andijān would be 16 miles, but Kostenko gives it (ii, 33) as 50 versts. i.e. 33 m. 1½ fur.

²⁴ *Āqār sū*, the irrigation channels on which in Turkistān all cultivation depends. Major-General Gérard writes (*Report of the Pamir Boundary Commission*, p. 6), "Osh is a charming little town, resembling Islamābād in Kashmīr,—everywhere the same mass of running water, in small canals, bordered with willow, poplar and mulberry." He saw the Āq Būra, mother of all these running waters, as a "bright, stony, trout stream"; Dr. Stein saw it as a "broad tossing river" (*Buried Cities of Khotan*, p. 45). Cf. Réclus, vi, cap. Farghāna; Kostenko, i, 104; von Schwarz, index under related names.

²⁵ *Ūsh nīng fazīlatīdā khailī ahādīṣ wārid dār*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *Fazīlat Ūsh ahādīṣ dar wārid ast*; E. (p. 3), "The excellencies of Ūsh are celebrated even in the sacred traditions;" de C. (i, 2), "On cite beaucoup de traditions qui célèbrent l'excellence de ce climat." Many and various legends have gathered round Ūsh; cf. e.g. Ujfalvy, ii, 172. It may be celebrated, as Mr. Erskine says, in the Sacred Traditions, because of places near it honoured of Musalmāns; it is open to question if Bābar's *fazīlat* should be restricted, as M. de Courteille restricts it, to climate only. Ūsh has been distinguished for many centuries by its traditions, is a place of pilgrimage still and has revered objects of presumed curative power.

²⁶ A good deal has been written about the position of the Barā Koh (e.g. Ritter, v, 432, 732; Réclus, vi, 540; Schuyler, ii, 43; and the references of the first and second. Also, Timkowski, ii, 49). It seems safe to identify it with the Takht-i Sulaimān Ridge, as e.g. Ujfalvy and Schuyler's personal observations led them to do; but some considerations lead me to suggest that by Barā Koh Bābar does not mean the whole ridge, but one only of its four marked summits, i.e. the one shown in Madame Ujfalvy's sketch of it as the highest and as being symmetrical (Bābar's *manzūm*). "Il y a quatre sommets dont le plus

élevé est le troisième comptant par le nord" (Ujfalvy, i, 96). Madame Ujfalvy's sketch would seem to be taken from the north, because its third summit is the highest (*De Paris a Samarcand*, p. 330). A permissible meaning of the words Barā Koh is Pointed Hill; this meaning suits her sketch and Bābar's *marzūn*; it also helps out the identification of her third summit as the Barā Koh, since only this third is well-shaped and definite. There is this in favour of limiting the name Barā Koh; Bābar must have known that Takht-i Sulaimān was the name of the whole isolated rocky ridge. It would clear up a good deal of confusion about names and location, written of by Ritter, Réclus, Schuyler and others, if the name Barā Koh be taken as limited in the way I mention. (A suggestion made (i, 3 n.) by M. de Courteille that Barā Koh should be Bālā (high) Koh has no support in the MSS.)

²⁷ *Rūd*, a precise word, since the Āq Būra, issuing as the Tūrūq from the Kordun Pass (13,400 feet), falls, after creating the Little Ālāi Valley, to Ūsh (3040 feet) through a canyon 1000 to 2000 feet deep; and thence again to Andijān (1380 feet). Kostenko, i, 104; Huntingdon, in Pumpelly's *Explorations in Turkistan*, p. 179; French Military Map of 1904.

²⁸ When Bābar uses a word twice, once with the Arabic plural *ār*, once with the Turkī *lār*, as here, or as elsewhere, *begūt u beglār*, he seems to mean "all, of every degree". Hence I translate *bāghūt* here by "garden-plots", not intending, however, to give it when it stands alone the meaning of *bāghcha*, small garden, but taking it as the complement of the closely following *bāghlār*, with the meaning of "gardens of all sorts". The point is small, but one does not follow Bābar's words without receiving the impression that it is safest to give each weight. He wastes none. Ujfalvy mentions that Ūsh "est situé sur le versant d'une montagne; presque toutes les rues sont en pente" (i, 96). Perhaps this explains why all the gardens were on the torrent and why Bābar mentions that they were so.

²⁹ Madame Ujfalvy has sketched its probable successor. Schuyler found two mosques at the foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān, perhaps Bābar's Jauza (Twin) Mosques. (Klaproth takes Jauza Masjid to mean "Nuss-tempel.")

³⁰ *Aūl shāh jūy dīn sū qūyār-lār*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), *az īn shāh* (var. *shah*, *sih*) *jūy āb mīnuzārānd*; Erskine (p. 3) tentatively, "carry across three streams;" de C. (i, 3), "verser de l'eau du torrent sur quiconque," etc.

³¹ Ribbon jasper, presumably.

³² Kostenko (ii, 30), 71 $\frac{3}{4}$ versts, i.e. 47 m. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ fur., Postal Road.

³³ "A town between Khurāsān and 'Irāq, near Damghān" (Erskine).

³⁴ The Persian translator inserts *maghz-i bādām*, almonds, in the apricots, a fashion well known in *khubānī*, bought in India, but the Turkī words allow the return to the fruit of its own stoned kernel. Mr. Rickmers tells me that in the Zar-afshān Valley he has often met with apricots so stuffed. Steingass gives "*jauz-āghand*, a peach stuffed with walnut-kernels". My husband has shown me that Nizāmī seems

to allude in the following passage from the *Haft Paikar*, to the practice of inserting almonds in fruits :—

“I gave thee fruits from the garden of my heart,
Plump and sweet as honey in milk ;
Their substance gave the lusciousness of figs,
In their hearts were the kernels of almonds.”

³⁵ Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), *ahū-i varāq*, “said to be the *arkali* described in many books of Natural History. See *Voyages de Pallas*, iv, 325” (Erskine). If, however, as is done by some travellers, the *arkali* (*arkhara*) be identified with *Ovis poli*, it cannot be Bābar’s *āq kīyīk* (white or light-coloured deer or sheep) found at the level of the Sīr, *circa* 2000 feet (cf. fol. 5), unless, indeed, the habitat of *Ovis poli* has changed. Parts of the Marghīnān and Khujend *wilāyat* are high enough for the present limit (10,000 feet) of *Ovis poli*, running back as they do up the northern face of the Kok Sū and Khūtūr which, moreover, have their southern slope to the Pamirs, a haunt of the great sheep. Perhaps the *āq kīyīk* found at Akhsī were *Ovis Karelīni*; the *āq* of the name not needing to be taken as pure white, light and whitish being common meanings of the word. Cf. Curzon’s *Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, p. 26; Shaw’s *Voc.* s.n. *kīyīk*; Atkinson’s *Amur*, index under related names.

³⁶ Pers. trans. Tājīk. Bābar describes the Asfara people as Persian-speaking Sārts. Modern opinion distinguishes the Sārt as a settled resident, usually of mixed descent. This modern view would allow Bābar’s Marghīnānī Sārts to be Turkī-speaking, settled Turks, and his Asfara Sārts to be Persian-speaking Tājiks. Cf. Shaw’s *Voc.* s.n. Sārt; Schuyler, i, 104 and note; Nalivkine’s *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p. 45 n.; von Schwarz, index s.n.

³⁷ Shaikh Burhānu’d-dīn ‘Alī Qīlich, b. *circa* 1135, d. 1197 (b. 530 A.H., d. 593 A.H.). See Hamilton’s *Hidāyat*.

³⁸ Asfara town is in the foot-hills of the Turkistān Range; Asfara *wilāyat* runs back too far upon this for “foot-hills” to apply. Wārukḥ (4170 feet) lies 34 miles back from Asfara town, Hushyār (Curzon, Ushiyār; French Map, Outchyār) about as far. “Hill-country” suits for both Sūkh and Hushyār.

³⁹ Measured on the French Military Map, the direct distance may work out at some 65 miles, but the road makes a *détour* round mountain spurs. To the word *farsang* of his source, Mr. Erskine here attaches an elaborate note concerning Indian measurements which, valuable as it is in itself, is made the less applicable here by the uncertain length of the *yīghāch*.

⁴⁰ *Bāghcha*. Cf. n. 28.

⁴¹ Hai. MS. *Fārsī gūy*, the word *Fārsī* being entered, apparently by the scribe of the MS., over the line, as if at first omitted. [The lacuna of the Elph. MS. still continues.] Kehr’s MS. has *kohī*, but its earlier pages are Persified; the Pers. trans. (I.O. 217) has also *kohī*, hence the “mountaineers” and “montagnards” of E. and de C. The *Fārsī* of the H. MS. would have been useful to Ritter (vii, 733-4) and to Ujfalvy (ii, 175).

⁴² Of this stone neither Fedtchenko nor Ujfalvy could get news.

⁴³ Here Bābar distinguishes between Tāshkent and Shāhrukhiā. Cf. fol. 2, n. 11.

⁴⁴ In 908 A.H. (first half of 1503). He left the hill-country above Sūkh in Muharram, 910 A.H. (mid-June, 1504).

⁴⁵ For an interesting account of Khujend see Kostenko, i, 346.

⁴⁶ Kostenko, ii, 29-31. Andjān to Marghinān, 47 m. $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur.; Marghinān to Khokand, 56 m. $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur.; Khokand to Khujend, 83 m. $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur.; total, 187 m. 2 fur. from Khujend to Andijān. By help of the time-table of the Transcaspian Railway, the distance by rail from Khujend to Samarqaud can be pieced out as 154 m. $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur.

⁴⁷ Both are still honoured in Khujend. See Kostenko, i, 348. For Khwāja Kamāl's Life and *diwān* see Rieu, ii, 632, and Onseley's *Persian Poets*, p. 192.

⁴⁸ *Kūb ārtūq dūr*. Perhaps this means that the fruit was the more taken to India where Bābar wrote. Pers. trans., *bisyar bihtar*; Erskine, "greatly excelled;" de Courteille, "beaucoup plus en vogue."

⁴⁹ Hai. MS., M()nūh()l; Pers. trans. and Erskine, Myoghil; Ilminsky, M()tūgh()l; de C., Mtoughuil; Réclus and Schuyler, Mogul Tau; Nalivkine, "d'après Fedtchenko," Mont Mogol; French Map of 1904, M. Muzbek; Kostenko, Mogol Tau. This is, says Kostenko (i, 101), the western end of the Kūrama Range (Kendir Tau) which comes out to the bed of the Sir. It is $26\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and rises to 4000 feet. Von Schwarz says it is quite bare; various writers ascribe climatic evils to it.

⁵⁰ Pers. trans. *ahū-i aṣṣīd*, a variation of its rendering (fol. 3b) by *ahū-i warāq*.

⁵¹ The *marīl* is frequently mentioned by Atkinson who takes it to be the red or fallow deer. Von Schwarz mentions it (index s.n.), and Kostenko (i, 57, and iii, 70) writes of the export of its fresh horns to China and of the value of its skin. Under the word *būghū* there stands in the Hai. MS. (fol. 4) *gazawan-kohī* and (fol. 5) *tika-kohī*. De Courteille (i, 7) takes *būghū marīl* to mean "cerf et biche", and this they could do if it were not open to give them the fuller meaning of two kinds of game. A precise parallel of the double meanings of these two words is found in von Schwarz's list of Turkistān game, where stand together *Hirsch Damhirsch*, stag and hind, or two varieties of deer.

⁵² Here in the Pers. trans. recurs the misreading of "eye" for "autumn" noticed in n. 22.

⁵³ "The Village of the Almond." See Schuyler, ii, 3, and note.

⁵⁴ Schuyler (ii, 3), 18 miles.

⁵⁵ Hai. MS. *Hamesha bū desht tā yil bār dūr*. *Marghinān ghā kīm sharqī dūr, hamesha mündin yil bārūr*; *Khujend gha kīm gharībī dūr, dā'im mündin yil kilūr*. Bābar seems to say that the wind goes always east and west from the steppe as from a central generating point. E. and de C. have given it alternative directions, but in saying that wind goes east or west in a valley hemmed in on north and south there is little point. Bābar's statement is limited by him to the steppe in the contracted mouth of the Farghāna Valley (*pace* Schuyler, ii, 51) where special climatic conditions rule. Of these, roughly put, are difference

of temperature on either side of the Khujend narrows, draughts resulting from this difference, the heating of the narrows by reflected sun-heat from the Mogol Tau and inrush of north-west wind through the pass near Mirzā Rabāt. Bābar calls the wind of Hā Darwesh a whirling wind and so modern travellers have found it. Thinkable at least it is that a strong westerly current (the prevailing wind of Farghāna) entering over Mirzā Rabāt and becoming, on the hemmed-in steppe, the whirlwind it does become—perhaps by conflict with the hotter indraught from the Khujend narrows—might force that indraught back into the narrows, in the way e.g. that one Nile forces back the other. Local observation only can guide the translator; the directness of Bābar's words compels belief in their significance and this most so when what he says is unexpected. The manuscript sources agree in having "to (*gha*) Marghinān" and "to (*gha*) Khujend". It is somewhat strange that Bābar should take for his eastern wind-objective a place so remote and sheltered as Marghinān. Makhrām, where, moreover, there is a "cleft" to which evil climatic influence is attributed would suit his context better, but it finds no mention in the *Bābar-nāma*. Cf. Réclus, vi, 547; Schuyler, ii, 51; Cahun, *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p. 28; Sven Hedin's *Durch Asiens Wüsten*, index s.n. *burūn*.

⁵⁶ i.e. Akhsī Village. Kehr, Akhsīkit; Ilminsky, Akhsīkiş. Dr. Ethé mentions that in I.O. 1909, the *dirwān* of Aşīrū'd-dīn, the place-name is written clearly Akhsīkes, the form to which Ilminsky has departed from Kehr. The ancient name of Akhsī was Akhsī-kīnt; the three dots which have been taken as those of *ṣū'i ma-sallaḥa* might be those of the *nūn* and the *tā* in *kīnt*.

⁵⁷ See Rieu, ii, 563; Daulat Shāh, l.c., p. 131; Ethé, I.O. 1909.

⁵⁸ By measurement on the map the distance seems to be about 80 kilometres, i.e. 50 miles.

⁵⁹ Modern information about the oasis towns of Turkistān allows Bābar's description of Akhsī to be better understood than it has been either by earlier translators or by the numerous writers who have drawn inferences from their words.

1.—The Turkī passage is as follows: H., Elph., Kehr's MSS. (Ilminsky, p. 6), *Saiḥūn daryā sī qūrgḥānī astūdin āqār. Qūrgḥān baland jar austūdā wāqī' būlūb tūr. Khandaqī nīng ārunīgha 'umīq jārār dūr. 'Umar Shaikh M. kīm mūnī pāy-takht qīldī, bīr ikī martaba tāshrūq dīn yana jārār sūldī.*

Of this the translations are as follows:—

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 3b), *Daryā-i Saiḥūn az pāyhā qīlā'-i o mī rezad u qīlā'-i o bar jar balandī wāqī' shuda ba jāy khandaq jārḥā-i 'umīq uftāda. 'U. S. M. kah ānrā pāy-takht sākhta, yak du martaba az bīrūn ham bāz jārḥā andākht.*

(b) Erskine (p. 5, translating from the Persian), "The river Saiḥūn flows under the walls of the castle. The castle is situated on a high precipice, and the steep ravines around serve instead of a moat. When 'U. S. M. made it his capital he, in one or two instances, scarped the ravines outside the fort."

(c) De Courteille (i, 6, translating from Ilminsky's imprint), p. 6, "Le Seihoun coule au pied de la forteresse qui se dresse sur le sommet d'un ravin, dont les profondeurs lui tiennent lieu de fossé. 'U. S. M. à l'époque où il en avait fait son capitale, avait augmenté à une ou deux reprises, les escarpements qui la ceignent naturellement.'"

2.—The key to Bābar's meaning is provided by the word *jar*, taken in the sense, common in Turkistān, of a ravine cut by water or by man, in the loess of oases, below the general level of the land. Writing of Tāshkent, Kostenko (i, 321) says of one subdivision (in which is *Jar Kūcha*, Ravine Lane) that it is on level ground and is divided by a deep ravine. Of another he says that it is cut by deep ravines (Bābar's '*umīq jarlār*'). These statements, together with the information given by Kostenko and von Schwarz, about the plan of towns, the creation of oases and the characteristics of loess, allow Bābar to be understood as saying of Akhsī in the fifteenth century what Kostenko says of Tāshkent in the nineteenth, namely, that its *qūrgān* stood above the ravines, natural or artificial, of the Kāsān Water and not on a precipice washed by the Saihūn.

3.—Wanting this modern light on the word *jar*, Bābar's meaning has not been clearly understood; of this there is sign in Erskine's location of Akhsī on a precipice with its walls washed by the river, and in his and de C.'s uncertainty as to the nature of the work done by 'Umar Shaikh. It is now clear that what the Mīrzā did was not escarpment but the excavation of water-channels, whether for the completion of a pseudo-moat or to meet the needs of a population augmented by his residencee.

4.—Wanting modern information, again, it has been thought that the walled town abutted on the river, and it has been inferred that Bābar's father, 'Umar Shaikh, met his death by falling into the Saihūn (er. fol. 6b). Bābar's words, however, when taken with other available information, do not demand to be understood as locating the walls on the river's bank. If Akhsī, i.e. the *qūrgān*, stood back (as it seems to have done) up the riverain slope, the Saihūn might be said to flow beneath it as the Thames flows below Richmond.

Circumstantial testimony is merely accessory to Bābar's plain statement that Akhsī stood above ravines; the Saihūn did not flow in a cleft near Akhsī; it could have been no part of the pseudo-moat. Circumstantial only, but weighty, since the permanent influence of the Kāsān Water fixes the site of Akhsī both in the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, is Yāqūt's statement that Akhsī had gardens through "a whole parasang" and entered from every gate. So too is Bābar's that the Akhsī suburbs stretched about 2 miles beyond the town (see *infra*, n. 61).

5.—It can be only in the passage under discussion that General Nalivkine found testimony by Bābar to what he sets forth in the following extract (*Histoire du Khanat de Khokend*, p. 53):—"L'emplacement que cette ville occupait alors était un lieu escarpé, assez élevé au-dessus du fleuve, par les eaux duquel il était constamment miné. Aussi la ville, au témoignage du sultān Bābar, recula-t-elle successivement vers le nord, ce qui obligea d'en reporter dans la même direction et à plusieurs reprises,

les murs et les fortifications. Il est très possible que cette destruction progressive du rivage par les eaux ait été l'une des causes qui firent abandonner l'antique capitale du Farghanah, réduite aujourd'hui à l'état de *kichlak* (*qīshlāq*, winter quarters) insignifiant. Le site de celui-ci est à quelque distance de la berge, qui a cessé d'être affouillée par le fleuve, depuis qu'il s'est formé là un grand banc de sable."

An obvious objection to the theory that erosion has led to the retreat and dwindling of Akhsī, lies in the fact that the Kāsān Water does not yet fall into the Saihūn. If in the fifteenth century the Saihūn was undermining the very walls of Akhsī, a town which in the twelfth century was, Yāqūt says, one parasang from the mouth of the Kāsān Valley, how is it that land on which it stood remains?

Against this objection it might be urged that the water issuing from the valley may have become less and less in volume, whether by general desiccation or because of increased cultivation on the higher reaches of the stream. These points raise problems requiring scientific adjustment between (supposed) erosion, lessened rainfall and increase of cultivation.

6.—Mr. Pumpelly has posited the search for the site of old Akhsī as an archaeological task of the future. Approximately, that site is fixed by the Kāsān stream and its offtakes. Perhaps the importance of Akhsī bulks too large in literature through the haze of imperfect information; the town was on and of loess; the valuables of past, as of present Turkistān, were movables; treasures of art or architecture are not to be looked for. Akhsī town in the fifteenth century was a small place; the measure of its gardens is the measure, not of its walled town, but of the oasis lands redeemed from the waste by the help of the Kāsān Water. It became a "capital" by the caprice of one man; it ceased to be one because the boy Bābar's advisers stayed in Andhjan.

7.—Cf. p. 114 for distances which would be useful in locating old Akhsī if Bābar's *yīghāch* were not variable. Ritter, vii, 3, 733 ff.; Réclus, vi, index s.n. Farghāna; Ujfalvy, ii, 168 ff., and his references to Yāqūt; Nalivkine, pp. 14 ff. and 53; Schuyler, i, 324; Kostenko, Tables of Contents, for cognate general information, and i, 320, for Tashkent; von Schwarz, index under related names and especially p. 345 and plates; Pumpelly, pp. 18 and 115.

The maximum time during which Akhsī could have been his capital is twenty-eight years, i.e. from his appointment to the Farghāna Government, as a child, to his death (870 A.H. to 899 A.H.).

⁶⁰ *Maḥallātī qūrgān dīn bīr shar'ī yarāq rāq tūshūbtūr*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 3b), *maḥallāt o az qila' yak shar'ī dūrtar uftūda*. From these passages E. and de C. have understood that the suburbs of Akhsī were a *shar'ī* (circa 2 miles) from the walled town. The Turkī wording is against this, however, (1) in its comparative *dīn . . . yarāq rāq*, i.e. further than; (2) in its verb, *tūshūbtūr*, denoting extension; (3) in its use of *maḥallāt*, suburbs. It is far to go to Yāqūt for support of what Bābar says of Akhsī in the fifteenth century, but as in his century also the gardens depended on the Kāsān Water, it is useful to know that Yāqūt describes all the gates of Akhsī as opening on gardens and waters which stretched a whole parasang (Ujfalvy, ii, 180,

who refers to Yāqūt, i, 162). For its *maḥallāt* not to adjoin a town would be not only a misnomer, but against the uniform plan of the oasis towns of Turkistān (cf. von Schwarz, pp. 133 ff.).

⁶¹ I do not see the point of the Persian proverb Bābar quotes. As suits with his reading that the suburbs of Akhsī were 2 miles from their town, Erskine takes the questions as asked by a person coming out of town and looking for the suburbs. De Courteille (i, 8) translates by, "Ne me parlez plus de village ! Ne me parlez plus d'arbres !" If with Erskine, he had not understood the suburbs to be 2 miles from Akhsī, he might be thought to express the fatigue of one making for the walled town and wearying of the long suburban road. As he has not translated accurately, his varied wording suggests that he knew the proverb elsewhere. His rendering supports my location of the suburbs rather than his own.

(N.B. The lacuna in the Elph. MS. ends before the *rūq tūshūbtūr* of the passage under discussion.)

⁶² *Andāq qawūn ma'lūm imās kīm 'ālamdā būlghāi*, a characteristic idiom.

⁶³ Pers. trans. *gawazn*. So too H. MS. beneath the word *būlghā*. Cf. fol. 3b and note, fol. 4 and note.

⁶⁴ *Sā*, here and in some earlier instances seeming to be a common noun. It is used in Turkistān as we use "water" in "Allan Water" and "Water of Leith".

⁶⁵ *Sā'i*. Leyden (B.M. MS. trans.) and Erskine have read this as Pers. *sāya*, and have translated by "entirely in the shade" and "are sheltered along the banks of the stream". I.O. 217, fol. 4, l. 4, has *sā'i*.

⁶⁶ This Persian phrase has been found difficult of interpretation. It has been taken as follows :—

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 4), *postīn pesh b()rah*.

(b) Pers. MS. quoted by E. (p. 6 n.), *postīn-i mīsh burra*.

(c) Leyden's MS. translation, "a sheep-skin mantle for five lambs."

(d) Erskine (p. 6), "a mantle of five lambskins."

(e) Klaproth (p. 109), "*pustīni pīsch breh*, d.h. gieβden vorderen Pelz."

(f) Kehr (p. 12), *postīn bīsh b()rah*.

(g) De Courteille (i, 9), "fourrure d'agneau de la première qualité."

(h) Pers. annotator of Elph. MS. under the *pesh* or *bīsh*, *panj*.

(i) Ilminsky (p. 6), *postīn bīsh b()rah*.

Erskine's five lambskins carry on the notion of comfort started by his previous *sāyah*. De Courteille also lays stress on fur and warmth, but flowery gardens bordering a torrent seem less likely to prompt a phrase emphasizing warmth and textile softness than one bespeaking ornament and beauty. If the phrase might be read as *postīn pesh-perā*, what adorns the front of the coat, or as *postīn-pesh-i burāh*, the fine front of the coat, the gardens would be allowed to recall the gay, embroidered border of a leathern *postīn*. Cf. von Schwarz's plate, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Shaikh Sulaimān (Konos) explains this as the tamarisk ; if this it be, it seems likely to be the *Tamarix gallica* (Brandis, *Indian Trees*, p. 45, and Balfour's *Cyclopædia*). Shaw (*Vocabulary*), "a mountain bush ;" Redhouse, (a) a tree of the buckthorn tribe, (b) the red willow, *Salix purpurea* or *Salix rubra*, (c) sappan-wood, the wood of the

Cesalpinia sappan. A rod-like plant such as the red willow would suit the several uses of it mentioned by Bābar. "*Tabalghū* has the same meaning as *tabarkhūn* or *tabarkhūn*. See Vullers, i, 420b, and Meninski, i, 1030, and ii, 3084, s.n., who quotes the *Lughat Ḥalīmī* and the *Lughat Nīmatu'l-lāh*. See, too, Rieu, *Turkī Cat.*, pp. 137, 142. It is the Hyrcanian willow" (H. Beveridge).

⁶⁸ Erskine (p. 6), "They also cut it into forked tops of arrows;" de Courteille (i, 9), "On la taille aussi en flèches." Stengass, s.n. *giz*, "a sort of arrow or dart without wing or point, the two ends being small, the middle thick," a description allowing the scraping (*tarāsh*) of the Turkī text. Bābar distinguishes the *tir-giz* from the *uug*.

⁶⁹ *Tabarruklūq bīta yarāq yīrlār kā ilālār*. Erskine (p. 6), "It is carried to a great distance as a rarity much in request;" de Courteille (i, 19), "On le transporte au loin, où il trouve un débit avantageux." The text allows the statement that the trees (*yīghāch*) are carried afar, and this would allow the word *yīghāch* to be translated all through the passage by "tree" instead of both by "tree" and "wood". But if the *tabalghū* were rod-like, a statement about its wood would slip easily into the plural form. The *Burhūn-i qūtī* includes the *tabarkhūn*, the uses of which suit the *tabalghū*.

⁷⁰ *Yabrājū's-sannam*, "the mallow consecrated to idols" (Leyden). "The plant called mandragora or mandrake. See the *Ufuz Udwīgh* or *Materia Medica* of Noureddin Muh. Abdalla Shirazy, published with a translation by Gladwin, Calcutta, 1793. The name *atikoti* is derived from the Turkī "(qy. Arabic)" word *ayek*, vivacity, and (Turkī) *ot*, grass. *Mehergiāh* seems to be merely the Persian translation of the name, from *meher*, affection, and *giāh*, grass. It is, however, called *atikoti* or dog-grass, a name which comes from the way in which it is said to be gathered. They have a fancy that any person who plucks up this grass dies; on which account they are said to dig round its roots, and when these are sufficiently loosened, tie it to the neck of a dog, who, by his endeavours to get away, pulls it out of the earth. See D'Herbelot, art. Abrousan and Astefrenk. The same story is still told."

The *mīhr-giyāh* (*Mandragora officinarum*, love-apple) is mentioned in the *Ḥādīqatū'l-aqālīm* of Murtazā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī (Pers. lit. ed., p. 426). Cf. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January and April, 1900, art. Garden of Climes, H. Beveridge. Worldwide superstitions have prevailed and still prevail about the mandrake; some are preserved in English villages. Cf. Genesis xxx, 14, and Song of Solomon vii, 13. De Courteille translates *tq-ōtī* by "l'herbe aux ours" and *mīhr-giyāh* by "l'herbe d'amour" (i, 9).

⁷¹ Seven Villages. Mr. Ney Elias has discussed the location of this place (T.R., p. 180 n.). He mentions that it is placed in Arrowsmith's map of 1878 as a district of Kurāma, in the elbow of the Sir. The *Bābar-nāma* narrative where Yitī Kint is mentioned allows of Arrowsmith's location. Other names of similar form suggest, like this one, that the numeral in them denotes so many villages served by the same water. Biskent which is in the neighbourhood assigned to Yitī Kint, may mean Five Villages.

VI

BUDDHIST NOTES

VEDANTA AND BUDDHISM

BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

THERE is much to support the opinion of Rāmānuja, Dr. Thibaut, and many others, that Śaṃkara's doctrine of "illusion" is a biassed rendering of the old Vedānta, Bādarāyaṇik as well as Aupanishadic. If that be granted, it is by no means self-evident that Buddhism has been without influence on Śaṃkara's speculation; and the last writer on the subject, Vasudev Anant Sūkhtankar, a very able pupil of Professor Jacobi, does not conceal his opinion, or his surmise, that Śaṃkara is indebted to Nāgārjuna.¹ That may be true, but I would object that we really know little or nothing about the history of Vedānta, and that conclusions based on philosophical parallels are by no means definitive. Autonomous developments—autonomous if not absolutely independent—are admissible. Nāgārjuna (or his predecessors, the anonymous authors of the oldest Mahāyānasūtras), by the very fact that he proclaims "voidness" to be the real nature of things, was prepared to distinguish the relative truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) and the absolute one (*pāramārthika*); and his nihilism coupled with "idealism" might lead to the Vijñānavāda: "existence of pure non-intelligent (?) intellect." On the other hand the Aupanishadas, from their main thesis (*tat tvam asi*, etc.),² could derive the distinction of the

¹ *The Teachings of Vedānta according to Rāmānuja* (Inaugural Dissertation, Bonn, August 12, 1908; Wien, Druck von Adolf Holzhausen, 1908).

² I think that no unprejudiced reader will admit Rāmānuja's interpretation of the old pantheist or monist sayings of the Upanishads. Against Vasudev Anant Sūkhtankar (p. 13), I adhere to the opinion of Dr. Thibaut: "The fundamental doctrines of Śaṃkara's system are manifestly in greater harmony with the essential teaching of the

two *brahman*s, of the two *vidyā*s. Both developments are natural enough; the conception of the universal void (o) and the intuition of the infinite (∞) are convergent, in the end; but parallel and convergent as they are, these developments do not lose their primitive tinge. The *qualis ab incepto* is true of every evolution, political (as M. de Kérallain has proved¹) or doctrinal: the *saṃvṛtisatya*, "erroneous truth," of Nāgārjuna is really "untruth"; the *vaiyavahārika satya*, "practical truth," of Śaṃkara is truth, provisory indeed, but truth *quand même*. *Māyā* is. Śaṃkara's "magic play" is caused by a magician, and this magician is a Lord. Nāgārjuna's *saṃvṛti*, the Buddhist counterpart of the Vedāntic *māyā*, is like the son of a barren woman: it is not, it cannot be. But the two systems bear *un air de famille*, which has been taken into account more than once and from both sides.

This problem is of paramount importance in the history of Indian thought. It would not be imprudent to say that as long as we have not ascertained the chronological relations between primitive Buddhism and the Aupaniśhadic-Śaṃkhya theories, between the system of Nāgārjuna and that of Śaṃkara, between Dignāga and "orthodox Nyāya",² we cannot boast of even having traced the cardinal lines of the spiritual and intellectual history of India.

It is not my present object to discuss the claims of

Upanishads than those of other Vedantic systems" (S.B.E., xlv, p. cxxiv). The "essential teaching" of the Upanishads is not their spiritual undogmatic or polydogmatic enthusiasm (the chief part from the point of view of the history of religion), but their ontological surmises.

¹ M. de K. is the French translator of Sumner Maine, Sir Frederick Pollock, and Sir Alfred Lyall. One will find in the *Études sur les mœurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrême Orient* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1908) a splendid translation of the *Asiatic Studies* of Sir Alfred, with many notes, illustrations, and appendices of no small interest.

² It is a pity that M. Th. de Stcherbatskoï is writing in Russian.

Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja to Aupanishadic orthodoxy, or to unravel the problem of the relations of Buddhism to Śaṅkara's monism, to specify the possible or probable loans on both sides. I only intend to give a few references, some of which are already well known.

I

The common opinion of the Dvaitavādins or "dualists" (Sāṃkhyas, Viśiṣṭādvaitavādins) is that the Māyā-doctrine is not Vaidic, i.e. Aupanishadic: *māyāvādam avidikam*, says Śiva; *na . . . tad Vedāntamatam*, argues Vijñānabhikṣu. This doctrine is "Buddhism in disguise", a doctrine of "crypto-Bauddhas" (as says Dr. Thibaut)—

*mayāvādam asac chāstraṃ pracchannaṃ bauddham
eva ca.*

The theologians who maintain the "Neo-illusionism" (*ādhunika māyāvādu*) and style themselves Vedāntin (*Vedāntibruva*) are, in fact, Buddhists; more precisely, they belong to that branch of the Buddhist school which is named Vijñānavādins, "who maintain the sole existence of thought" (*bauddhaprabhedāḥ, Vijñānavādyekadeśitayā*). They assimilate the "data" of experience, merit, and demerit, etc., to the "data" of a dream, and, using the (Buddhist) phrase *sāṃvṛtika* (erroneous) as the exact connotation of the "particular", they admit that the world, the whole of the "knowable" (*prapañca*) is produced by Ignorance. Therefore they ought to be styled *Nāstikas* (miscreants, or Buddhists). Thus Vijñānabhikṣu.¹

Yamunācārya, too, the *guru* of the *guru* of Rāmānuja,

¹ See *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya*, edited and translated by Professor Richard Garbe, index *sub voc.* bauddha, pracchannabauddha, vijñānavāda. With I, 22 (p. 16, 6-7), compare the readings of *Padmapurāṇa* (xliii) apud. Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxoniensis*, p. 14: "māyāvādam asac chāstraṃ pracchannaṃ bauddham ucyate, mayaiva kathitaṃ devī kalau brāhmaṇa-rūpiṇā . . . parātma-jīva-ayor aikyaṃ mamātra pratipādyate, brahmaṇo 'sya paraṃ rūpaṃ nirguṇaṃ vakṣyate mayā, sarvasya jagato 'py atra mohanāya kalau yuge."

clearly refers to Dharmakīrti in his *Siddhitrayam*,¹ when he compares a thesis of the "avowed Buddhists" (*prakatāḥ saugatāḥ*), with the formula of the "Buddhists in disguise".

The first say—

"Although the pure intelligence is free from differences, it is understood, by people whose view is troubled, as multiple : object of knowledge, subject of knowledge, knowledge."²

The second say—

"The pure reality is not the cause of the development [of names and forms, of the intellectual contingencies], because it ceases not to be [what it is, pure] : therefore it is Illusion who is the mother of this distinction, knower, knowable."

It is only just to say that Rāmānuja could hardly avoid the reproach of dualism, and may be styled "Sāṃkhya in disguise".

II

Whilst Brahmin nihilists (*māyāvādins*) are charged with the crime of Buddhism, Buddhist monists (*viññānavādins*) have to apologize for their "Brahmic" speculations.³

As has been said in this Journal (1908, p. 889), Buddhists are aware of the close relation between Vedāntism and some of their systems. The Viññānavāda, at least in some of its ontological principles, is very like

¹ Chowkhamba S.S. (No. 36), p. 19. For this reference I am indebted to Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, p. 19, who also refers to Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣya*, ii, 2. 27.

² This line occurs in *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, p. 16 (Bibl. Indica, 1858), and elsewhere ; it is extracted from the *Pramāṇavinīścaya* of Dharmakīrti (see *Muséon*, 1902, and *Bouddhisme d'après les sources brahmaniques*, p. 34 ; add reference to Śuklavidaśanā). It runs as follows : *avibhāgo 'pi buddhyātmā viparyāśitadarśanaḥ, grāhyagrāhakasaṃvittibhedavān iva lakṣyate* (or *kalpyate*). Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar understands *buddhyātmā* : the Buddhist attributes the false distinction . . . to *buddhi*, as the Pseudo-Buddhist attributes the same distinction to *māyā*. I prefer my translation.

³ Śākyamuni has condemned Viññānavāda-Vedānta, *Majjhima*, i, p. 329 : *viññāṇaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbatopabhaṃ*.

Vedāntism in disguise, or, to be more exact, it is likely to be understood in a Vedāntic sense : as Mahāmāti said to Buddha in so many words. We cannot forget that Vijñānavādins are divided into several schools, which are not without analogy with the schools of Vedānta. Some of them believe that the prime spirit or thought remains pure, untouched by the development of contingencies [*prapañca*, i.e. *manas*, *manovijñāna* (= *nāma*, *nāma-rūpa*)] : does not this resemble *vivartavāda* ? Others will admit that the development is real : does not this resemble *viśiṣṭādvaita* ?

I will not miss this opportunity of avowing that I have been perhaps unfair in my review of my friend Suzuki's book, *Outlines of Mahāyāna* (see Journal, 1908, p. 885). The claim of the Buddhists to be *sūnyatāvādins*, "doctors of the voidness," not *brahmarāvādins*, cannot be set aside : philosophers must be credited with the opinions they profess to cherish. And I have strong objections, as an historian, to the Buddhist modernism of the Japanese scholars, of P. L. Narasu, etc. But there may be some slight portion of truth in Modernisms (they may develop old, unconscious ideas : much that is believed to be modern is old),¹ and, as a matter of fact, *sūnyatā* turns out to

¹ I have just read a good book, written from the "intellectualist" point of view, but very "matter of fact", *Pragmatisme, Modernisme, Protestantisme* (Paris, Bloud, 1909 ; by A. Leclère, Dr. es-Lettres, Prof. agrégé à l'Université de Berne). The author says, p. 217, note—"Il vaudrait la peine, après avoir rapproché le modernisme catholique du Protestantisme libéral moderne ou modernisme protestant, d'étudier le modernisme israélite et le modernisme mahométan. On sait qu'il s'est récemment formé à Paris une association israélite en vue de mettre le Judaïsme, en le simplifiant, à la hauteur de la pensée contemporaine ; ce mouvement a déjà une littérature ; il s'est constitué par un minimisme assez analogue à ceux que nous avons signalés. D'autre part, le Babisme, si tangent chez ses meilleurs représentants avec la pure religion naturelle, et si bienveillant à l'égard de toutes les religions positives, qu'il prétend dépasser, modernise avec ardeur le vieil Islam. Autant de dissolutions des formes positives de la religion. L'écart est moins grand qu'on ne le pense généralement entre celles de ces dissolutions où on a l'illusion d'approfondir l'esprit de la doctrine qu'on

be very like *brahma*, and *nirvāṇa*, "translated" as it is by *bodhi* or **buddhabhūya*, has the same religious import as *brahmabhūya*.

III

One cannot read the Gaudapāḍakārikās without being struck by the Buddhist character of the leading ideas and of the wording itself. The author seems to have used Buddhist works or sayings, and to have adjusted them to his Vedāntic design ; nay more, he finds pleasure in *double entendre*. As Gaudapāda is the spiritual grandfather of Śaṅkara, this fact is not insignificant.¹

The fourth chapter bears a distinctly Buddhist tinge. It has been happily summarized by Professor A. A. Macdonell : " It is entitled *Alātaśānti*, or ' Extinction of the firebrand (circle) ', so called from an ingenuous comparison made to explain how plurality and genesis seem to exist in the world. If a stick which is glowing at one end is waved about, fiery lines or circles are produced without anything being added to or issuing from the single burning point. The fiery line or circle exists only in the consciousness (*viññāna*). So, too, the many phenomena of the world are merely the vibrations of the consciousness, which is one." ² One could add that, really, knowledge (*jñāna*) or *brahman* is free from the threefold determination ; knower, knowable, and knowledge. If we are not to rest on syllables—*appamattakaṃ kho paṇ 'etaṃ yaḍ idañ byañjanaṃ ! mā āyasmanto appamattakehi vivādaṃ āpajjittha* ³ —

transforme [as it is apparently the case with Nāgārjuna, with Śaṅkara], et celles où l'on a conscience d'évoluer tout à fait en dehors de la tradition." (Neo-Buddhists ought to be aware that they are pouring new wines, and, alas ! sophisticated alcohols, into old bottles.) A historical study of Neo-Buddhism would be very interesting, as an episode of the intellectual conquest of the East by the West and vice versa.

¹ The following notes are by no means exhaustive.

² *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 242.

³ *Majjhima*, ii, p. 240. " Syllables are of little importance : do not, O monks, dispute on mere trifles."

this transcendent knowledge is like the absolute blank of the Vijñānavādins.

The simile of the firebrand circle occurs in *Maitry-upaniṣad*, iv, 24: "He beholds Brahman flashing like the circle of a whirling torch, in colour like the sun . . .";¹ but it can also be traced in Buddhist books as one of the numerous symbols of unreality,² namely, in the *Laṅkāvatāra*³—

tadyathā Mahāmate acakram alātacakram bālais cakrabhāvena parikalpyate na paṇḍitair, evam eva Mahāmate kuḍṛṣṭītirthyāśayapatitā ekatvānyatvobhaya-trānuhayaivatvaṃ parikalpayiṣyanti sarvabhāvotpattau :

"The firebrand circle is not a circle, and is wrongly supposed by the ignorant, not by the wise, to be a circle. In the same way, heretics will suppose that beings originate from themselves, from others, from both, without both."⁴

¹ Cowell's translation. *Alātacakram iva sphurantam ādityavarṇam . . . brahma . . . apaśyat.* (Comm.: *tasya brahmana ātmābhedatva-khyāpanāya punḍrīṅgair viśeṣanair viśinasti.*) *Id est*, the unreal qualifications of *brahman*, "flashing like a firebrand circle," are in the masculine "to show the identity between the neuter *brahman* and the masculine soul", says Rāmātīrtha (and also to spare the undenotability and the unconcern of the Absolute). As a matter of fact, *Brahman* does not flash into unreal solar protuberances, but it appears, it appears to itself, to be flashing. Cf. vi, 17: *Brahma . . . eko`nantaḥ*.

² *Mahāyānopatti*, § 139, 21.

³ Buddhist Text Society, p. 95.

⁴ The simile of the firebrand is also of use in the Sautrāntika school, to explain the *quomodo* of the "compound perceptions". See Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, p. 284 (312): "The forms of the object penetrate one after the other into the understanding: the illusion of simultaneity is caused by the swiftness of this proceeding. Just so an arrow passes through the eight leaves of a flower, as it were, at the same time, and firebrand appears as a circle."

From another point of view it is evident that any compound perception (i.e. every perception) is "born from imagination", or subjective: "The notion of a cloth or a straw mat is gradually produced: therefore this notion has for real object the parts of the cloth or straw mat, and as such, as cloth or mat notion, it results from imagination. As in the case of a firebrand. The notion of a firebrand circle has for real object a firebrand which obtains successively different places owing to a rapid

Nevertheless, the title of the fourth chapter of the Kārikās cannot be said so far to be Buddhist (the phrase *alātaśānti* has not been traced in Buddhist books); but the main idea that there is no birth, production, *jāti*, *utpāda*, that causation is impossible since the cause cannot be identical with, nor different from, the effect, since neither being, nor nonbeing, nor being + nonbeing, can originate, is thoroughly Madhyamaka. Gauḍapāda maintains *ajāti* (once *anutpatti*), and denies *uccheda*, with the same emphasis as Bhagavat in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* or in the *Laṅkāvatāra*; and he supports his thesis by Nāgārjuna's or Buddhapālita's favourite arguments:—

II, 32. *na nirodho na cotpattir na baddho na ca sādhanakāḥ
na mumukṣur na vai muktā ity eṣā paramārthatā*

"There is no destruction, no birth, no bound, no endeavouring [for release], no desiring release, no released: such is the real truth."¹

Or again—

IV, 59. *yathā māyāmuyād bījaj jāyate tanmayo 'nikuraḥ
nāsau nityo na cocchedī tadvad dharmeṣu yojanā*

"From a magical seed is born a magical sprout: this sprout is neither permanent nor perishing. Such are things, and for the same reason."

It is the *śūnyebhya eva śūnyā dharmāḥ prabhavanti dharmebhyaḥ*, "from void things, void things are born," each

motion. Just so. Argument: cloth is not real, because the grasping of it depends on the grasping of its parts, as is the case with the fire-brand circle"—*yasmāt krameṇa paṭabuddhīḥ kaṭabuddhīr vā tasmād avayaveṣu eva paṭāvayaveṣu kaṭāvayaveṣu vā tadbuddhīḥ paṭabuddhīḥ paṭabuddhīr vā vikalparaśād bhavati. alātacakravat. yathālāte śighra-samcārāt tatra tatrotpadyamāne 'lātacakrabuddhīr bhavati, tadvat. sādhanam cātra: na dravyasat paṭo 'rayavagrahaṇasāpekṣagrahaṇatvād, alāta-cakravat* (*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, MS. Soc. As., fol. 267a).

¹ Quoted more than once by Vijñānabhikṣu; see Garbe's indexes. Madhyamaka, xvi, 5: *na badhyante na mucyante*.

according to its causes, for "illusion is manifold, being produced by manifold causes".¹

As concerns the wording, let us compare—

1. Gauḍapāda, ii, 38²—

*tattvam ādhyātmikaṃ dṛṣtvā tattvaṃ dṛṣtvā tu bāhyataḥ
tattvībhūto tadārāmas tattvād apracyuto bharet.*

COMM. bāhyaṃ pṛthivyādi tattvam ādhyātmikaṃ ca dehādilakṣaṇaṃ
rajjusarpādivat svapnamāyādivad asat; ātmā ca sabāhyāntaro hy ajo
. . . nirguṇo niṣkalo niṣkriyas tat satyaṃ sa ātmā . . . evaṃ
tattvaṃ dṛṣtvā . . .

Bhagavat (quoted *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 348)³—

*ṣūnyam ādhyātmikaṃ paśya paśya śūnyaṃ bahirgatam
na vidyate so'pi kaś cid yo bhārayati śūnyatām.*

2. Gauḍapāda, iv, 1—

*jñānenākāśakalpena dharmān yo gaganopamān
jñeyābhinnena sambuddhas taṃ vande dvīpadām varam*

COMM. ayam eveśvaro yo Nārāyaṇākhyas taṃ vande . . . dvīpadām
varam dvīpadopalakṣitānāṃ puruṣānāṃ varam pradhānaṃ puruṣottamam
ity abhiprāyaḥ . . . jñānajñeyajñātrībhedarahitam paramārthatattvadar-
śanam . . .

It is probable that this śloka is a Buddhist one: the excellent biped is Śākyamuni.

3. Gauḍapāda, iv, 7—

prakṛter anyathābhāvo na kathaṃ cid bhaviṣyati.

Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamaka*, xv, 8 (*Madhyamakavṛtti*,
p. 271)—

prakṛter anyathābhāvo na hi jātūpāpadyate.

4. Gauḍapāda, iv, 17, 18—

*aprasiddhaḥ kathaṃ hetuḥ phalam utpādayiṣyati ?
yadi hetoḥ phalāt siddhiḥ phalasiddhiś ca hetutaḥ
katarat pūrvanīspannaṃ yasya siddhir apekṣayā ?*

¹ *Sāpi nānāvidhā māyā nānāpratyayasambharā*, Bodhicaryāvatāra,
ix, 12.

² Ānandāśrama edition.

³ *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamaka*, x, 8 (Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 207)—

*yadīndhanam apeksyāgnir apeksyāgnim yadīndhanam
katarat pūrvanispānam yad apeksyāgnir indhanam?*

5. Gaudapāda, iv, 19—

evam hi sarvathā buddhair ajātiḥ paridīpitā.

COMM. *evam* hetuphalayoḥ kāryakāraṇabhāvānupapatter ajātiḥ sarvasyānutpattiḥ paridīpitā prakāṣitānyonyāpekṣadoṣaṃ bruvadbhir vādibhir buddhaiḥ paṇḍitair ity arthaḥ.

Laṅkāvatāra (p. 78)¹—

anutpannāḥ sarvabhāvāḥ.

Satyadvayaavatārasūtra (quoted Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 375)—

*evam eva devaputra . . . saṃsāro' py paramārthato
'tyantānutpādatā yāvan nīrvāṇam api paraṃārthato
'tyantānutpādatā.*

6. Gaudapāda, iv, 22—

*svato vā parato vāpi na kiṃ cid vastu jāyate
sad asat sadasad vāpi na kiṃ cid vastu jāyate.*

Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamaka*, i, 1 (Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 12; cf. i, 6-7, p. 82)—

*na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpy ahetutāḥ
utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kva cana ke cana.*

7. Gaudapāda, iv, 93—

*ādisāntā hy anutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva sunīrvṛtāḥ
sarve dharmāḥ samābhinnā ajam sāmyam viśāradam.*

COMM. *ādisāntā* nityam eva *śāntā* . . . *ajās* ca prakṛtyaiva suṣṭhūparatasvabhāvāḥ . . . *sarve dharmāḥ samās cābhinnās* ca . . . *ajam sāmyam viśāradam viśuddham ātmatattvam yasmāt tasmāc chāntir mokṣo vā nāsti kartavya ity arthaḥ.*

Mādhyamikas, too, maintain that *nīrvāṇa* or *śānti* or *mokṣa* is not to be acquired, as says Bodhisattva Sarvaṇīvaraṇaviṣkambhin in

Ratnameghasūtra (quoted Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 225)—
ādiśāntā hy anutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva ca nirvṛtāḥ
dharmās te vivṛtā nātha dharmacakrapravartane.

8. Gauḍapāda, iv, 98—

alabdhāvaraṇāḥ sarve dharmāḥ prakṛtinirmalāḥ
ātau buddhās tathā muktā budhyanta iti nāyakāḥ.

COMM. alabdhām aprāptam āvaraṇam avidyādinibandhanam yeśāṃ te dharmā alabdhāvaraṇā bandhanarahitā ity ārthaḥ. prakṛtinirmalāḥ svabhāvasuddhā ātau buddhās tathā muktā yasmān nityasuddhabuddha-muktasvabhāvāḥ. yady evaṃ katham tarhi budhyanta ity ucyate. nāyakāḥ svāmīnaḥ samarthā boddhūṃ bodhaśaktimatsvabhāvā ity ārthaḥ. yathā nityaprakāśasvarūpo 'pi savitā prakāśata ity ucyate yathā vā nityanirvṛttagatayo 'pi nityam eva śailās tiṣṭhantīty ucyate tadvat.

Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 104—

sattvāḥ prakṛtyā parinirvṛtāḥ.

Pañjikā ad ix, 108—

sarvadharmāḥ . . . anutpannāniruddhasvabhāvāt
ca prakṛtiparinirvṛtā ādiśāntā ity ucyante.

Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 151—

nirvṛtānirvṛtānām ca viśeṣo nāsti vastutaḥ.

COMM. nirvṛtā ye sarvadharmāvaraṇaprahāṇād vinirmuktasarvabandhanāḥ. anirvṛtā ye rāgādikleṣapāśāyattacittasamṭatayaḥ saṃsārācārakāntargatāḥ. teśāṃ ubhayeśāṃ api viśeṣo bhedo nāsti na sambhavati . . . vastutaḥ paramārthataḥ sarvadharmānām niḥsvabhāvatayā prakṛtiparinirvṛtatvāt. nirvṛtaḥ svabhāvasūnya tvād utpādanirodharahitaḥ. paramārthena paramārthasatyataḥ prakṛtinirvāṇatayā 'diśāntatvāt.

Laṅkāvatāra (p. 80)—

prakṛtiprabhāsavaraviśuddhyādiviśuddha . . . tathāga-
tagarbha.

Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā (p. 47)—

ādiśuddhatvād ādipariśuddhatvāt sattvasya.

9. Gauḍapāda, iv, 99—

kramate na hi buddhasya jñānaṃ dhurmeṣu tūyinaḥ
sarve dharmās tathā jñānaṃ naitad buddhena bhāṣitam

COMM. yasmān na hi kramate buddhasya paramārthadarśino jñānaṃ viśayāntareṣu dharmeṣu dharmaśamsthāṃ savitarīva prabhā. tūyinaḥ,

tāyo 'syāstīti tāyī, saṃtāyavato¹ nirantarasyākāśakalpasyety arthaḥ, pūjāvato vā prajñāvato vā. sarve dharmā ātmāno 'pi tathā jñānavad evākāśakalpatvān na kramante kvacid apy arthāntara ity arthaḥ. yad ādāv upanyastam jñānenākāśakalpenetyādi² tad idam ākāśakalpasya tāyino buddhasya tadananyatvād ākāśakalpaṃ jñānaṃ na kramate kvacid apy arthāntare. tathā dharmā iti. ākāśam ivācalam avikriyaṃ niravayavaṃ nityam advitīyaṃ asaṅgaṃ adṛśyaṃ agrāhyaṃ aṇanāyādyatītaṃ brahmātmatattvaṃ "na hi draṣṭur dṛṣṭer viparilopo vidyata" iti śruteḥ, jñānajñeyajñātrbhedarahitaṃ paramārthatattvaṃ advayaṃ. etan na buddhena bhāṣitaṃ. yady api bāhyārthanirākaraṇaṃ jñānamātrakalpanā cādvyavastusāmpīyam uktam, idam tu paramārthatattvaṃ advaitaṃ vedānteṣv eva vijñeyam ity arthaḥ.

"The knowledge of an Awakened (*Buddha*), *id est* of a seer of reality, does not bear on things, *id est* on any extraneous object; it resides on things itself, as does light in the sun. Awakened = *Tāyin*. The Awakened one is, indeed, homogeneous (*tāyin*), *id est* endowed with homogeneity, possessed of continuity, without interval or difference, space-like. *Tāyin* can also be understood in the meaning of Adorable or Sage. Such are all the things, *id est* all the souls; just as the knowledge [of a Buddha], they are space-like, and do not bear on anything outside themselves. What has been said at the beginning of this treatise (*Gauḍapāda*, iv, 1), 'by a space-like knowledge,' that space-like knowledge of a space-like homogeneous Awakened who is nothing else than this knowledge³ does not bear on anything outside. Such are [also] things [whatever they are]. This [knowledge] space-like, immovable, unmodifiable, without parts, fast, sole, free, not to be seen, not to be grasped, beyond hunger and the like, essence of *Brahma-ātmā*, according to the Scripture 'there is not discontinuity of seeing to the seer' (*Bṛhat*. iv, 3, 23), free from the opposition knowledge-knowable-knower, reality, non-duality, has not been taught by (*Śākyamuni*) *Buddha*. When denying the existence of the external world and supposing the sole existence of knowledge, he came very near the essential non-duality: but this non-dual reality can only be learned in the *Upanishads*."

As a matter of fact, this knowledge, without "knowable-knower-knowledge", is the knowledge of a *Buddha*, according to the *Mahāyāna*. And a Buddhist may say *naitad buddhena bhāṣitaṃ*, "This doctrine has not been taught by *Buddha*," for *Buddha* does not teach anything.

¹ Editor has *tāpi(yi)naḥ tāpo(yo) saṃtānavato*; MSS. *tāpī, tāyī, tāpo, tāyo, saṃtāpavato*—see M.W.²; *tāy* = to spread, to proceed in a continuous stream or line, *Dhātup.*, xiv, 18. See *Mahāvīyutpatti*, 1, 15: 96, 6; *Nāmasaṃgīti*, = *trāitar*; Burn., *Intr.*, p. 227; Kern, *ad Lotus*, i, 73, ii, 47 (mighty, able, clever), iv, 40 (strenuous); Pāṇ. i, 3, 38, *kramate, tāyante*), ix, 4 (mighty saint); Speyer, *ad Dirgāvadāna*, Wien Z. xvi, p. 349.

² See above, p. 137, No. 2.

³ *tadananyatvāt* (?).

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION A

In view of some remarks which have been made to me, it seems desirable to give a note, which did not seem necessary when I edited the record (this Journal, 1909. 1087), on the term *Kāsīputa*, which we have as the metronymic of king Bhāgabhadra.

Dr. Bloch, whose unexpected death has removed a promising worker in the field of Indian epigraphy, took the vowel of the first syllable as a damaged *ō*, and read *K[ō]sīputasa*, which he interpreted as meaning "of the son of a lady belonging to the Kautsa *gōtra*". To that, however, there is, even apart from the point that the reading is distinctly *Kāsīputasa*, the following substantial objection.

It is the case that there are various words in which *ts*, and the *chchh* which results from *t* + *ś*, become *ss*, and sometimes *s* with lengthening of a preceding short vowel; e.g., *ussagga* = *utsarga*, *ussukka* or *ussumka* = *uchchhulka*,¹ *vasantūsava* = *vasantōtsava*, *sūsāsa* = *sōchchhvāsa*: see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 327a. But that change takes place only in compounds, when *t* is the final letter of a syllable. That is not the case in *Kautsa*. And from the feminine *Kautsī* we could only have, with the usual change of *ts* to *chchh* (op. cit., § 327), *Kochchhī*, which in the Bēsnagar inscription would have been written *Kochhī*. This is, in fact, the established corruption: we have it in the instrumental, written *Kochhiye*, in the Mathurā inscription of the year

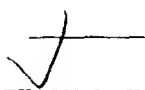
¹ The word *ussukka*, *ussumka*, 'free from customs', comes from the Kalpasūtra, ed. Jacobi, § 102. The same passage gives also *ukkara* = *utkara*, 'free from taxes'. This is worth noting in connexion with *ubalike* = *udbalika*, 'free from the *bali*', in the Rummindēi inscription: see this Journal, 1909. 467, 760.

72 (EI, 2. 199, No. 2), and in the metronymic, written *Kochhiputa*, in the Kuṭā inscription No. 20 (ASWI, 4. 87).

Dr. Bloch would seem to have been misled by a belief, not confined to him, that in a metronymic formed with *putra* the first member must be necessarily the feminine form of the name of a *gōtra*. But that is not the case. It is sufficient to cite the well-known metronymic of king Ajātaśatru; namely, Vēdēhiputta = Vaidēhīputra, "son of a lady of the Vaidēha (Vidēha) people", or "son of a daughter of a king of the Vaidēha people": e.g., Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, this Journal, 1875. 49; Vinayapiṭaka, Chullavagga, 11. 1. 8. But we can also point to other such metronymics in which the first component is probably not the name of a *gōtra*: for instance, one of the Pabhōsā inscriptions gives us Tēvaṇīputra and Vaihidarīputra (EI, 2. 243): as regards the first of these terms, there was, indeed, an ancient teacher named Traivaṇi; but the name Traivaṇa, fem. °ṇī, seems, according to the Gaṇa and comments under Pāṇini, 4. 1. 112, to be derived from Trivaṇa as a substitute for Trivēṇī, a well-known name of a place.

The *Kāsīputasa* of our text stands quite naturally and regularly for *Kāsīputrasa*. And king Bhāgabhadra is described as "son of a lady of the people of Kāśī, Kāśī (Benares)", or as "son of a daughter of a king of Kāśī".

J. F. FLEET.



A SECOND NOTE ON THE RUPNATH EDICT

In this Journal for 1909, pp. 728-30, I proposed to take the word *pakama* of the Rūpnāth edict (for which the Sahasrām version reads *palakama*) in the sense of the Buddhistic term *pabbajjā*. This is, however, hardly admissible; for, as stated by Dr. Fleet in his recent article on "The Last Words of Aśoka" (p. 992 above), the sixth and tenth rock-edicts distinctly employ the word *parākrama* as a synonym of *appamāda*, 'diligence.'

In this way my suggested explanations of *vivāsayati*, *vyuṭha*, and *sata-vivāsa*, lose their main support, and the view that the figures 256 mark the number of years elapsed since Buddha's renunciation falls to the ground. While thus confessing to have gone astray, I would like to submit a few additional remarks on the ambiguous word *satu* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict, and on the meaning of *chhavachhare* at the beginning of it.

In my previous note, I proposed to take *satu* = Pāli *mahāsatta* or *bodhisatta*. Dr. Fleet (loc. cit., p. 1007) explains it as standing for *saṁta* = *śānta*, 'tranquil.' It must be granted that this rendering is equally possible. Dr. Fleet would find this very form *saṁta* = *śānta* in a passage of the eighth rock-edict, where he takes the words *saṁto ayāya saṁbodhiṁ* of the Gīrnār version to be a quotation from some verse (loc. cit., p. 1008). But the Kālsī text reads *saṁtaṁ nikhamiṭhā saṁbodhi*, which is not metrical; the Dhauli version omits *saṁto* altogether; and—last not least—none of the different versions exhibits after the supposed quotation the particle *iti*, which is elsewhere used for marking the end of a quotation. Consequently, *saṁto* has to be explained here quite simply as the Prākṛit form of the present participle *san*, and has to be construed with the preceding nominatives.

The preamble of the Rūpnāth edict was originally translated by Bühler as follows (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 156):—"The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus: (*It is*) more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer (*of the law*), and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community (*of ascetics*), and that I have exerted myself strenuously." Professor Oldenberg showed that, instead of "thirty-two years and a half", the original has actually "two years and a half". M. Senart's

translation (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 165) runs :—"Thus saith the (*king*) dear unto the Dēvas :—During two years and a half was I an *upāsaka* (Buddhist layman), and did not display great zeal. A year has passed since I visited the Saṅgha (the monastic community), and I displayed great zeal." Bühler's revised text of the same edict (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 299) introduced a fresh complication. He believed to recognize in the Sahasrām version the form *sadvachhale*, and this reading seemed to support the form *chhavachhare*, 'six years,' of the Rūpnāth edict, which he had previously corrected to *saṁvachhare*, 'a year.' Mr. Rice's discovery of the Mysore versions brought two further variants: the insertion of the three words *husaṁ ekaṁ savachharam* after *pakarānte*, and the use of *saṁvachhare* instead of *chhavachhare*. Naturally enough, Bühler considered the former to be an equivalent of the latter and translated now (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 140) :—"The Beloved of the gods issues (*these*) commands :—More than two years and a half (*have elapsed*), since I (*became*) a lay-hearer; but, indeed, I did not exert myself strenuously. One period of six years,—but, indeed, more than a period of six years, (*has elapsed*), since I have entered the community of the ascetics (*and*) have strenuously exerted myself." Dr. Fleet has quite appropriately objected to the translation of *ekaṁ savachharam* by 'one period of six years', and has translated "one year, but, indeed, a period of six years and somewhat more" (above, 1909, p. 1001).

To all the above renderings, besides the very first one, the following points may be raised in objection :—

(1) In the Aśōka inscriptions the particle *tu* is invariably the second word of a fresh sentence. Hence the two words *ekaṁ savachharam*, before which Bühler introduced a full stop, may rather be expected to form part of the preceding sentence.

(2) As *ekaṃ savachharaṃ* cannot reasonably be made to mean anything but 'one year', those who continue to translate the word *saṃvachhare* of the next sentence by 'six years' are forced to assume that Aśoka propounded a riddle to future generations, by employing in the second case the word *vatsara* instead of *saṃvatsara*, and using the compound *śaḍvatsara* in the sense of *ṣaṭsaṃvatsara*, though its Prākṛit form is identical with that of the preceding *saṃvatsara*.

(3) Bühler's first translation correctly renders the word *sumi*, in the second sentence of the inscription, by 'I am'. In all subsequent translations it has been tacitly changed into 'I was' or 'I became'. If we adhere to the literal translation of *sumi*, it follows that the 2½ years of Aśoka's *upāsakatvam* do not precede the second period, but include it. This point was already recognized by M. Senart in 1892 (*Journal Asiatique*, sér. 8, vol. xix, p. 481).

Thus I would now translate the opening part of the Rūpnāth edict as follows:—

"Devānāmpiya speaks as follows:—More than two and a half years (*have passed*) since I am a lay-hearer. But [the Mysore edicts insert: I had] not exerted myself strongly [the Mysore edicts add: for one year]. But more than a year (*has passed*) since I have joined the clergy and exerted myself strongly."

This would imply a period of somewhat more than 2½ years, to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period.

But there still remain two difficulties: the reading *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, and the supposed *śaḍvachhare* at Sahasrām. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Thomas (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 23) in considering the former a clerical mistake for *savachhare*. But I would explain its origin differently: the engraver may have at first left

out the two symbols *sava*; he found out this omission after engraving the *chha* and added *va* after it, intending to correct the preceding *chha* into *sa*, but forgot to make the required alteration. Regarding *sadvachhale*, it will be best to wait for a mechanical copy of the Sahasrām rock: I see no trace of the *ḍ* of the supposed *ḍva* on the published plate (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 299), though Professor Bühler found a basis for it in the estampage supplied to him with the impression from which that plate was made.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE (SAALE).



REMARKS ON THE ABOVE NOTE

On the points that the Dhauli text, in its version of the *saṃto ayāya sambōdhiṃ* of the Gīrnār text, omits the word *saṃto*, or at any rate appears to do so, and that the Kālsī text presents, instead of *ayāya*, a word which gives one syllable too many for the metre, I have already made my observations in this Journal, 1909. 1008, note 2. I would only repeat that the word *saṃto*, in the sense of *san* in apposition with *abhisito* = *abhishikṭaḥ*, is not found in any of the other passages, fifteen in number without reckoning duplicates, in which it might have been used, and add that such use of it would be unnecessary and, in fact, bad. The absence of an *iti* after *sambōdhiṃ* to mark the three words as a quotation, or rather, in this case, to state a fact as a reason for what follows, does not appear to me to be of any importance: various instances could be cited from the edicts, in which the adverb stands in some of the texts, to fulfil several purposes, but was omitted from other recensions of the same passages. The want of an *iti* here is well supplied by the *tēna*, 'therefore', which follows the three words. Moreover, if those words are not a quotation and from a verse, why does the verb *ayāya* stand before its

accusative?: in the preceding clause, *ñayāsu* occupies the usual position for prose, after the accusative which is governed by it.

The Mysore texts introduce also a third variant in the opening sentences of the Last Edict: they omit *sumi*, 'I am', after *upāsake*. It is this omission, coupled with their use of *husam*, 'I was', in the next clause, which has led me to follow M. Senart and practically Professor Bühler, and to regard *sumi* as the historical present; as indeed, did Professor Hultsch himself in his previous note on this record.

The word *tu*, 'but', may introduce a subordinate clause of a sentence, quite as much as an entirely new sentence. On the other hand, in support of what Professor Hultsch argues, it may be remarked that in *ekaṃ savachharam* we can find an accusative (of the duration of time) quite as well as a nominative, if not, indeed, better.

But the important point is this. Can we get rid of the *ḍv* which gives us *saḍvachhale* in Sir A. Cunningham's lithograph of the Sahasrām text, and was found by Professor Bühler in the impressions used by him in 1893? As long as that reading remains, we can only take the *chhavachhare* of the Rūpnāth text in its straightforward meaning of 'six years', and treat the Brahmagiri text on that understanding. In support of the possibility of amending it, we may observe that the supposed *ḍv* stands in such a position that the *v* is on the line of the writing, instead of lying below it in the place which it would occupy better as a subjoined letter.

To dispose of that detail either way, we must await fresh impressions of the Sahasrām text; or better still, if we should ever be so fortunate, the discovery of yet another recension of the record. Meanwhile I may say this. If the Sahasrām reading can be reduced to *savachhale*, then there will probably be no reason to decline to follow Professor Hultsch, and to take the

chhavachhare of the Rūpnāth text as a clerical mistake for *savachhare*, made in the circumstances suggested by him. In that event, we would accept all that results; altering our rendering of the passage in the Mysore texts to match.

To this, as I have previously remarked (this Journal, 1908. 819, note), there is no chronological objection. The position would simply be changed as follows. Instead of Aśōka becoming a formal convert to Buddhism, and assuming the status of an Upāsaka about half-way through the 30th year after his anointment to the sovereignty, he did that about half-way through the 35th year. He abdicated, and passed into the religious life soon after the end of the 37th year (as already laid out in this Journal, 1909, 28). And his dying speech was delivered some eighteen months after that, in (as already laid out) the course of the year 256 expired after the death of Buddha. But, as I have indicated, this rearrangement of details is only hypothetical at present.

If, on the other hand, this record does contain anything so ambiguous as to amount to a riddle, it is by no means unique in that respect amongst early Indian inscriptions: and we may attribute the feature, not to any intention on the part of Aśōka, but to clumsy drafting by those who reduced his words to writing, coupled with a generally prevailing great laxity in the matter of orthography. The record is, indeed, in any case enigmatical. It says that Aśōka became an Upāsaka, joined a Saṃgha, displayed application or diligence, and established the falsity of gods who had previously been held to be true gods. But it does not tell us who those gods were; nor even the nature of the Saṃgha which Aśōka joined: and the Jains had a Saṃgha and Upāsakas, just as the Buddhists had. It leaves us entirely dependent on other clues. For the knowledge that it was the Buddhist Saṃgha that Aśōka joined, we have to turn to the Bhabra edict: and

even from that record we learn the fact, not so much from its mention of Aśōka's respect and favour for "Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha",—so far, the record might be Jain quite as much as Buddhist, since "Buddha" was an appellation or epithet of Mahāvīra as well as of Gautama,—as from its mention of certain texts which are identified as Buddhist texts. In the Last Edict, however, there is absolutely nothing to disclose any sectarian nature, except the statement at the end, dating it, somewhat obscurely, 256 years after the death of the founder of Buddhism.

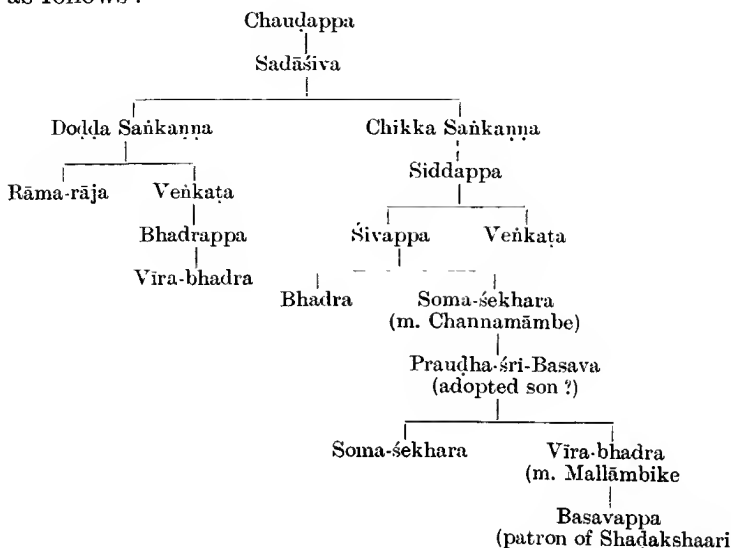
J. F. FLEET.

THE KELADI RAJAS OF IKKERI AND BEDNUR

In 1908 was published at Mysore, in the *Vīra-śaiva-grantha-prakāśikā* Series, the *Vīra-śaiva-dharma-śīromaṇi* of Shaḍakshari Mantri. This worthy was a minister of Basavappa Nāyaka, the Raja of Bednūr, and has prefixed to his book a metrical pedigree of his patron's family. As this account in some respects differs from the details given by Mr. Sewell in his *List of Antiquities, Madras*, vol. ii, p. 177, it may be worth while to summarize it here.

Shaḍakshari mentions two sons of the elder Saṅkaṇṇa, Rāma-rāja and Veṅkaṭa, as having reigned successively; Mr. Sewell does not appear to know of the former. Shaḍakshari gives the name of Veṅkaṭa's grandson and successor as Vīra-bhadra; in Mr. Sewell's list he is Bhadrappa, which is really his father's name. According to Shaḍakshari, the younger Saṅkaṇṇa had a son Siddappa, whose son Śivappa succeeded Vīra-bhadra; in Mr. Sewell's list Śivappa is the brother of Siddappa. Shaḍakshari states that Śivappa was succeeded by his younger brother Veṅkaṭa, who is omitted in Mr. Sewell's pedigree. Shaḍakshari gives the name of Soma-śekhara's consort as Channamāmbā, Mr. Sewell as Doḍḍa Chinna-māji. The son of this pair was Praudha-śrī-Basava, who,

according to Mr. Sewell, was adopted by them; but Shadākshari explicitly calls him the *tunūja* of the queen. The whole pedigree as given by Shadākshari is accordingly as follows :—



The additional information derivable from this list is of some interest. A considerable amount of historical literature exists in Mysore which is hardly known in Europe, and it is much to be desired that a critical scholar like Mr. Narasimhachar should publish a digest of it in English or Kannada.

L. D. BARNETT.

NOTES ON THE DYNASTIES OF BENGAL AND NEPAL

I. The chronology and names of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal are still far from being definitely settled.¹ A small fact may be gathered from the colophon of the MS. Or. 6902 in the British Museum, a beautiful copy of

¹ Some additional information from Tibetan sources has been recently collected by Mahāmahopādhyāya Satīśchandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa in Appendix B of his *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*. Reference may also be made to an article by Mr. V. Smith in *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, 233 ff.

the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The words in question are as follows :—*parameśvaraparamabhaddāraka-paramasaugutamahārājādhirājaśrīmadgopāludevapruvar-dhamānakalyāṇarījayarājyetyādi samvat 15 usmine* [sic] *dine 4 śrīmadvikramaśīludevavilāre likhiteya*[ṇ] *bhagaratī*. Now this volume very closely resembles the MS. Or. 3346, especially in its colophon. The latter was written in the reign of Vighraha-pāla, whom Mr. Bendall with great probability identifies with the second king of that name. Accordingly we may conclude that the king mentioned in MS. Or. 6902 is Vighraha-pāla's immediate predecessor, Gopāla II.

II. The MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 6903 is a calligraphic copy of the Pañcha-rakshā, which, according to its colophon, was written at the Maṇi-saṅgha Vihāra of Khatmandu by the Vajrācārya Jinachandra in the Nepal Saṃvat 624 (A.D. 1504). It was a gift of a certain Jīvarāja Siṃha, and its colophon, with barbarous grammar, informs us that it was written under the joint reign of Jayaratna Malla and Yaksha Malla :—*rājādhirājaparameśvaruparamabhaddārakau śrīśrījayaratanamalladevasya śrīśrījakshendra-malladevasya rāje*.

L. D. BARNETT.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

I. *Bhū* WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

There are a few cases in which *bhū* appears to govern the accusative, and which are perhaps worthy of a little consideration. The *St. Petersburg Dictionary*¹ cites, besides some passages from the Epic, three distinct cases of its use in Vedic texts, to which no addition appears to have been made elsewhere.²

¹ v, 318.

² Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* and Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* add nothing. The occurrence of *bhū* with accusative is specifically denied by Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, and no example is cited by Gaedicke, *Der Accusativ im Veda*, or by Speijer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, i, 13, occurs: *yo vai bhavati yaḥ śreṣṭhatām aśnute sa kilbisaṃ bhavati*, which is rendered "der geräth (leicht) in Verfehlung"; in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, i, 7, 7, 4, there is: *Prthir Vainyo 'bhyasicyata | sa rāṣṭram nābhavat | sa etāni pārthāny apaśyat | tāny ajuhōt | tair vai sa rāṣṭram abhavat | yat pārthāni juhōti rāṣṭram eva bhavati | Bārhaspatyaṃ pūrveṣāṃ uttamaṃ bhavati | etc.*; in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* there occur several passages of the type, ii, 4, 3, 1: *te* (the gods and Asuras) *'manyanta | yatarān vā iyaṃ* (the Gāyatrī) *upāvartsyati ta idaṃ bhaviṣyuntīti* | So also *ibid.*, vi, 1, 3, 1; 6; 2, 7, 1, which are held to give the sense "Glück haben". Further, in a considerable number of cases from the Epic and Kāvya,¹ *bhū* with an accusative of an abstract noun forms a periphrastic perfect.

The examples are of interest, but not conclusive. Those of the periphrastic perfect we can safely discard, for not one can be cited from the Vedic literature. The form was originally made with the perfect (*cakāra*, *cakre*) of the root *kṛ*, and *āsa* appears merely very sporadically in the later texts of the Vedic literature,² when no doubt the precise sense of the compound had ceased to be felt, just as by Pāṇini's time³ the real origin of the second future had been forgotten.

The examples with *idaṃ bhaviṣyanti* or *bhaviṣyati* are surely cases of the simple nominative. He will, or they will, become all this, i.e. will have the highest place. Mere good fortune is not in point; the question at stake is

¹ Cf. Böhtlingk, *Dictionary*, iv, 272; Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, pp. 46, 47.

² See Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², § 1073. The example from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 17, occurs in the later portion of that work, and, even assuming that it is genuine, no conclusion can be drawn as to the lateness of the *Aitareya* as a whole. Moreover, a sporadic case is no good proof of date, as the linguistic possibility of such a case is always present; cf. Whitney, *JAOS.*, xi, p. cxlvii; Liebhich, *Pāṇini*, pp. 80, 81.

³ See Whitney, *AJP.*, xiv, 184; Böhtlingk, *Sächs. Ber.*, 1893, pp. 7-9; *Gurupūjākāumudī*, pp. 18 seq.

existence, and literally the phrase means that the one side or other will be reality, the world. This is, I think, preferable to Delbrück's suggestion,¹ that the *idam* is adverbial, "der wird hier—in dieser Welt—gedeihen." though, of course, this view is quite possible, and *idam* is sometimes adverbial² in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. On the other hand, it can often be taken as meaning "this universe", e.g. in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 4, 1: *ātman vā idam eka evāgra āsīt*, where "the Ātman was formerly alone, composing the universe", is good sense, though the transition to the adverbial use is easy.

If *idam* is a nominative, we may compare *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, xx, 14, 2: *Prajāpatir vā idam eka āsīt | tasya vāg eva svam āsīt | vāg devitīyā | sa aikṣatēmām eva vācam viśṣjā iyaṃ vā idam sarvaṃ vibhavanty eṣyatīti* | Here *idam* is again doubtful, but *svam* is clearly a nominative neuter, and *idam sarvaṃ* seems to be a nominative; indeed, the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*³ appears to take it as such. Lévi's version,⁴ "se transformant en toute chose," is ambiguous. In *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 1, in Mantras we have:

*mana ivāpūrvaṃ vāyur iva ślokaḥbhār bhūyāsām | and
ahar iva svaṃ rātrir iva priyo bhūyāsām |*

But in these cases attraction of the predicate to the object of comparison is an adequate explanation.⁵

Sa kilbiṣaṃ bhavati now presents fewer difficulties, and it is fair to accept Delbrück's suggestion that *kilbiṣaṃ* is a nominative, "he becomes a reproach." Compare e.g. *Iliad*, xvi, 498: *σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ . . . κατηγορεῖν καὶ ὀνειδος*, while Sophokles, *O.T.*, 1494, makes Oidipous call his daughters *τοιαῦτ' ὀνειδῆ*, or *Iliad*, iv, 235: *οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ*

¹ *Vergl. Synt.*, i, 370-2.

² A good example is *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, 4, 8; cf. *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, xx, 14, 5.

³ v, 332.

⁴ *La doctrine du sacrifice*, p. 23.

⁵ Delbrück and Speijer ignore the usage, it seems. Cf. cases in Latin like *Corioli oppidum captum*, *Livy*, ii, 33, 9.

ψευδέσσι¹ πατήρ Ζεὺς ἔσσει' ἀρωγός. Another possibility, but for the presence of the other examples, *sa* or *ta idam bhaviṣyati* or *bhaviṣyanti*, would be to find here the adverbial *sa* seen in *sa yadi* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and elsewhere,² but the usage, though it goes to examples as strange as *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 6, 3, 3; *sa yat soma-pānam* (head) *āsa tataḥ kapīñjalāḥ samabhavat*, seems yet not to be found thus except with *yat*, *yadi*, *ya*, *yāvat*, and similar expressions.³ This is natural, for the history of the case is simply that of an anacoluthon: the sentence begins with the logical subject, but in the course of its development the whole form is changed, and the *sa* remains in the air, with the result that in some cases *sa yadi* becomes a mere meaningless phrase.

There remains *sa rāṣṭram nābhavat*, followed by *tair vai sa rāṣṭram abhavat*, and *rāṣṭram eva bhavati*. I have little doubt that in the absence of the context the last sentence would be taken by any scholar as "the kingdom becomes (his)", nor do I think that even in the context this is wrong. *Bhavati* occurs twice in the remainder of the section in its normal sense and construction, and there is no need to doubt the sense. But the two remaining sentences can only be explained by assuming a slight textual corruption. I would read in the second *sa rāṣṭram ābhavat*, an easy and no doubt an old error, and

¹ There seems no need to alter the accent as suggested by Aristarchos' reading. The word is concrete here and not abstract (cf. Leaf, ad loc., with Monro, *Homeric Grammar*², p. 105). So in *Iliad*, iv, 242, we have ἐλέγχεα, "ye reproaches"! And cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 1, 3, 7: *ārur vāi puruṣaḥ*, "the man is a wound"; Wackernägel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, 1, p. 5.

² Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 215, 216, stated that the use could only be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, from which instances were cited by the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*. Caland, *Ueber das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 46, adds examples from that Śrauta Sūtra, and reiterates Delbrück's assertion. But see my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 246, and for a similar development in Early English, Kellner, *English Syntax*, pp. 68 seq.

³ See a list in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, vii, 452.

then take the verb as *ābharati*. Then all is in order, and *ābharati* naturally governs an accusative, as in *Rgveda*, x, 153, 3: *sū rīśrū bhāva ābharah*, and in prose *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 3, 7: *atha kena rūpeṇemaṇi lokam ābharatī* ३ ऋ. The accusative has the sense necessary through the preposition as Gaedicke¹ has sensibly pointed out, and the same sense is usually given by *abhisamabharati*, as in the passage immediately preceding the last citation from the *Aitareya*, and often in the Brāhmana style.²

Whether the construction with the accusative has any real existence is doubtful. The instance, *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*, vi, 10, referred to by Hopkins,³ is one of the accusatives of specification, *indriyārthān pañca svādāni bharanti*, and even if correct—which I do not believe, for we know that the text of the Upaniṣads is often wrong⁴—is no parallel to the construction assumed in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*. Hopkins⁵ ignores the two Epic examples (one a v.l.) given by the *Dictionary*, but cites *bhūmīr bharati bhūmidam*, *Mbh.*, xv, 62, 30, but this is from the pseudo-epic, and stands on the same footing of honour as *drśyate 'drśyate cāpi*, *ibid.*, xiii, 14, 160, though that has the dignity of a Vārttika⁶ to conceal its demerits. Such an accusative is merely bad Sanskrit and of no syntactical value, any more than the extraordinary productions of later Sanskrit, like the *Pañca-daṇḍachattraprabandha*.⁷

¹ *Der Accusativ im Veda*, p. 94.

² *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, v, 338.

³ *Greek Epic of India*, p. 473; cf. *JAOS.*, xxviii, 286.

⁴ Cf. my *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. xiv, and the absurd *upanīśasāsāda* in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 2, 3; Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, i, p. lxxxii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁶ On Paṇini, vi, 3, 73, see Aufrecht, *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 993. The Epic passage remains, so far as I know, the earliest certain example in Sanskrit. The passages from the Vedānta referred to by Franke, *ZDMG.*, xlviii, 84, are disposed of by Thibaut, *ibid.*, 540. The Pāli and Prākṛit passages are all late, and some doubtful.

⁷ Weber's ed., pp. 2 seq.

II. THE CONDITIONAL.

The use of the conditional in Vedic presents some interesting traces of a tendency to develop a natural form of indirect speech, as compared with the clumsy expedient of repeating the form of the direct speech usual in Vedic and Sanskrit. It is well known that in Homer¹ the indirect is expressed, not by the artificial present or future tenses of Attic syntax, but by the more natural pasts, and in the case of the future by a periphrasis with μέλλω, as in the *Iliad*, οὐδέ τὸ ἤδη ὁ οὐ πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. Now in the Vedic for this use we find a precise parallel in the use of the conditional, and the disappearance of the use is due to the same facts which prevented the growth of a regular system of indirect speech in Sanskrit.

In R.V., ii, 30, 2, we have: *yo Vṛtrasya sinam atrā-bharīṣyat pra tan janitrī viduṣa uvāca* | The sense is doubtful,² but the *abharīṣyat* is clearly a past of a *bharīṣyati* in the mouth or mind of the *janitrī*. I do not think that the example shows the proper and original sense of the conditional³ as denoting that something was going to be done. It seems to me no more than a past form of *bharīṣyati*. This appears very clearly from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 7, 3, 1: *ciraṃ tan mene yad vāsaḥ paryadhāsyata* | The sense "was going to" is quite impossible, and it is equally impossible to treat this as conditional, as does Whitney. The idea in Purūravas' mind was *paridhāsyāmi*; in the past that becomes *paryadhāsyata* by a natural analogy. Quite similar are *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, i, 8, 1; 9, 3: *sa tad eva nāvindat Prajāpatir yatrāhoṣyat*; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 11, 8, 7:

¹ Monro, *Homeric Grammar*², p. 245.

² Ludwig takes the mother as Indra's mother; the natural sense is Vṛtra's mother. Cf. Oldenberg, *Rigveda*, p. 211.

³ So Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 339; cf. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 365-7. If this theory of the origin of the conditional were correct, it would be very strange that there should be such a very limited use of the form in that sense.

sa vai tam nāvindat yasmai tam dakṣiṇām aneṣyat ; and the same principle—and not the conditional or “was going to be” sense—explains *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 7, 3, 1 : *na ha vā etasmā agre paśavaś cakṣamire yad annam abhaviṣyan* ; viii, 6, 2, 1 : *na haiṣo 'taḥ purā tasmā alam āsa yac chriyam adhārayiṣyat* ; in either case a future is before the mind of the subject of the main clause ; the same principle explains *ibid.*, iii, 7, 3, 12 : *ete etasmā ādhrīyantu yad havir abhaviṣyan*.

The transition in sense to a conditional proper is a natural one, and notoriously that use—of a past unreal condition—is the only abiding use of the conditional. But its real origin as a reflected future is neatly illustrated by the alternative form used in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, iv, 1, 9 : *te vai devās tam nāvindan yasmin yajñasya krūrāṇ mārksyāmahā*¹ *iti*. In the face of that example the force of the conditional as a future thrown into the past can hardly be denied. Accordingly I do not regard the *akarīṣyam* of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 33 : *śatāyuṇ gām akarīṣyaṇ sahasrāyuṇ puruṣam*, as does Whitney, as a case of “was going to”, but with Delbrück I prefer to take it as a conditional with suppressed protasis : the suppression is very natural, as the immediately preceding words make it plain, *apehi alaso 'bhūr yo me vācam avadhīh*, and in the *Gopatha* it is actually supplied (*prāgrahīṣyaḥ*).

There remains *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 4, 2, 3 : *tata evāsyā bhayaṇ vīyāya kasmād hy abheṣyat*. That may be interpreted either as *bheṣyāmi* (a common use in questions²) thrown into the past, or as a conditional proper. In *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vi, 1, 3, *uta tam ādeśam aprākṣyaḥ*, Speijer³ reads *aprākṣyaḥ*, and renders “Would

¹ So emended by Whitney and Delbrück from *ārksyāmahā* of von Schroeder's text.

² Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 seq.

³ *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 60.

that thou hadst asked the instruction", but I agree with Böhtlingk¹ in rejecting this rendering.

The use of the conditional in the case of present unreal conditions is not primitive, but follows naturally from the use in past conditions, just as probably the use of the imperfect subjunctive in present unreal conditions in Latin is derived from the use in past conditions, which necessarily are unreal. In many cases the transition is very easy: if in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5, 3, 13, *yad evaṃ nāvaksyo mūrdhā te vy apatisyāt* occurs, the sense "If thou hadst not spoken so, thy head would have fallen" passes by a natural development into "If thou wert not to speak so, thy head would fall",² and even in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature the *Śatapatha* has the use; see vi, 7, 3, 9; viii, 3, 3, 7. In many passages of the later literature either sense will do quite well, e.g. in the passage of the *Śakuntalā*,³ *kiṃ vābhariṣyād Aruṇas tamasāṃ vibhettā taṃ cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri nākarīṣyāt*, the sense may be equally "How could Aruṇa have become the destroyer of the darkness?" or "How could Aruṇa now be?"

The transfer of the use to the present leads naturally to confusion with the optative, as an expression of a possible condition, and the optative on its part becomes transferred to the unreal condition. a function which it has not in the Vedic language, so that instances⁴ like *Mbh.*, viii, 70, 27, *bhrātaram jyeṣṭham adya yadi hanyāh kim uttaram akariṣyah*,⁵ or vii, 72, 71, *yady evam aham*

¹ ZDMG., xli, 187.

² Indeed, Whitney, op. cit., p. 339, cites the passage in this sense from the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.

³ Cited by Whitney, loc. cit.

⁴ Cf. Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, pp. 36, 37; Böhtlingk, ZDMG., xli, 187.

⁵ Cf. Manu, vii, 20 (Böhtlingk, *Sächs. Ber.*, 1896, p. 250), *yadi na pranayed rājā daṇḍam daṇḍyeṣv atandritah | śūle matsyam ivāpakṣyaṃ durbalaṃ balavattarāḥ* (so Medhātithi and Govindarāja, with the v.l. *ivāhimsyuh*), where the condition is possible.

ajñāsyam aśaktān rakṣaṇe mama putrasya Pāṇdu-pāñcālān mayā gupto bhavet, which are present and past conditions respectively, are found, and the conditional can alternate with a decidedly future form, as in v, 48, 55, *yadā draṣṭā . . . tadā yuddham Dhārtarāṣṭro 'nvatapsyat*.

Holtzmann cites also two strange examples from the *Mahābhārata* where an aorist replaces a conditional, viz., viii, 68, 5, *idaṃ yadi Draitarane 'py acakṣaḥ-rayam tataḥ prāptakālam . . . upaiśyāma*, and xiii, 1, 12, *ahaṃ samare gamitaḥ śatrubhiḥ kṣayam abhaviṣyam yadi purā na tvām evaṃ suduḥkhārtam adrākṣam*. Neither case seems to me very probable: in the latter *adrakṣyam* presents itself as irresistible, for the error to *adrākṣam* was inevitable,¹ and then a facile conjecture would bring *adrākṣam*. In the former case, *acakṣyaḥ* is palæographically very easy: it is true that the form *cakṣyati* is not found and is irregular, but *rakṣye* occurs in *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 61, 19: *rakṣyāmi* in *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, ii, 2, 2, 241; *īkṣyati* in *Rāmāyaṇa*, iv, 40, 39, and cf. *didhaksyāmi*, *ibid.*, iii, 68, 27,² and I have little hesitation in reading *acakṣyaḥ*. It is true that past tenses (imperfect and pluperfect) have a marked force in similar conditional sentences in Latin, but the evidence in Vedic or Sanskrit is inadequate to support such a usage in them.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM "BHAGAVAT".

The word "Bhagavat" is the principal name applied by Bhāgavatas to the Supreme Deity. It is by origin an epithet, and has a number of allied meanings. Monier-Williams' Dictionary gives the following: "possessing fortune, fortunate, prosperous, happy; glorious, illustrious, divine, adorable, venerable; holy."

¹ See references in my *Āitareya Aranyaka*, pp. 245, 246.

² See Michelson, *JAOS.*, xxv, 135, 142.

As a name of the Deity the question arises whether it should be treated as a proper name, and not translated, or whether it should be treated as an adjective, and translated. Most writers on the subject follow the latter alternative. Thus, in their translations of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Cockburn Thompson uses "The Holy One", Telang "The Deity", Barnett "The Lord", and Garbe "Der Erhabene". Only Gōvindācārya employs "Śrī Bhagavān".

All native writers use the word with an underlying consciousness of a meaning contained in it. I think, therefore, that those who translate follow the right course. The question accordingly arises as to what is the best translation. We should consider, not what is in our opinion the true meaning of the word, but what the word, as an epithet, connotes to a Bhāgavata—not what it *ought* to mean to him, but what it *does* mean to him. Now the meanings fall into two groups. These deal with it, respectively, as qualifying the Deity either subjectively or objectively. If He is qualified subjectively, then the word must mean "Blissful", "Holy", or something of that kind. If He is qualified objectively, then it must mean "He Who is blessed by others", or "He Whom others consider as Holy", and so on. I think that Indian ideas all follow this latter interpretation, and therefore, in dealing with the Bhāgavatas, after much consideration and much vacillation, I have taken to using "THE ADORABLE" as the equivalent of "Bhagavat". The reason for my adopting this translation is that the word is etymologically connected with *bhakta* and *bhakti*, and that Bhāgavatas are aware of this and lay stress upon it. For numerous examples from Bhāgavata Sanskrit literature see the *Śabdakalpadruma* s.v. *Bhagavadbhakta*. That the root idea of the word "Bhagavat" is "Some one to be adored" is borne out by that work and also by the *Vācaspatya*, both of which, after quoting the verse *aiśvarasya*, etc., reproduced below, give as the equivalent

or sum of all the meanings catalogued *pūjyaḥ*. Similarly, in the 45th chapter of the *Dēvī-purāṇa* (quoted in the *Vācaspatya*), Dēvī is called Bhagavatī because—

śrīyatē yā suraiḥ surraiḥ tām caī 'ra bhajatē yataḥ
dhātur bhajē 'ti sērāyām, "Bhagavaty" ēva sā smṛtā.

A full account of what the word "Bhagavat" means to a Bhāgavata will be found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (VI, v. 69 ff.). Most of the text is printed in the notes to Wilson's translation, and it is curious that attention has not been more directed to this important passage. The essential part, quoted by all Bhāgavatas, is—

aīśvarasya samagrasya dharmasya yaśasah śrīyaḥ,
jñāna-vairāgya-yōś caī 'ra saṃmān "bhaga" itī 'nyanā.

This is based on an absurd comparison of *bhaga* with *bha-ga*, but it is valuable as expressing what a Bhāgavata thought the name implied. In the 71st verse it is said that the word "Bhagavat" is used in worship (*pūjāyām* "Bhagavac" *chabalāḥ kriyatē hy aupacārikāḥ*). In the 77th verse it is specially said to be "the general denomination of an adorable object" (*pūjya-padārthōkti-paribhāṣāsamanvitaḥ*), "used in a special signification with reference to the Supreme," i.e. as a proper name of the Supreme. Ratnagarbha's commentary on this passage makes the meaning quite clear.

For these reasons I do not think that any adjective signifying merely a condition, such as "Blissful" or "Happy", indicates correctly the idea felt by Bhāgavatas in applying the word "Bhagavat" to the Supreme. I think we must use some adjective implying worship, or adoration, due to be paid to Him, and hence, as at present advised, I think "ADORABLE" is the most suitable word. If, however, a better one is suggested, I shall be ready to adopt it. These remarks are put forth to invite criticism. The point is not unimportant, and it would be well if all scholars could agree upon the same translation.

The word "Bhagavat" is also employed in Buddhist theology, but, as this lies outside the region of my studies, I do not venture to make any suggestion in regard to its use in that religion. "Buddha" itself is also, of course, an adjective, but in Europe its use as a proper name is now so firmly established that it would be hopeless to advocate its translation wherever it occurs. But the general remarks made in regard to "Bhagavat" apply with equal cogency to it.

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November 11, 1909.

THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN POLITE IMPERATIVE.

The origin of the so-called "Polite Imperative" of Hindōstānī and other cognate languages has never yet been definitely determined. It usually ends in *iyē*, as in *māriyē*, please to kill; but sometimes in Hindōstānī, and almost always in the western languages, in *jīyē*, *jē*, or some similar termination commencing with a *j*, as in H. *dījiyē*, please to give; *hūjiyē*, please to become, and so on. Lassen (*Inst.*, pp. 355 ff.) and Trumpp (*Sindhī Grammar*, p. 268) doubtfully attribute the forms to the Sanskrit Precative, and in this they are followed by Beames (*C.G.*, iii, p. 111). Hoernle (*G.G.*, p. 340) derives the *iyē* forms from the future, and the *jīyē* forms from the passive. There is no doubt that the latter is a possible phonetic equation. The Apabhraṃśa Prakrit form of *dīyatē* is *dijjai*, from which we can at once derive *dījē* or *dījiyē*.

A suggestion made some time ago by Dr. Konow has given me a clue which has led me to the conviction that Lassen's conjecture was right, and that both the *iyē* and the *jīyē* forms are derived from the Sanskrit Precative. A reference to p. 330 of Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*

will give all the necessary materials for coming to a conclusion.

The second person singular of the Sanskrit Precative ended in *yās*. Thus *bhūyās*, mayst thou be ; *dēyās*, mayst thou give ; *māryās*, mayst thou kill. In Apabhramśa this *yās* assumed two forms. Sometimes it became *jjahi* and sometimes *īahi*, so that we find forms such as *hojjahi* (from *bhūyās*), mayst thou be : *dejjahi*, mayst thou give ; and *māriahi*, mayst thou kill. From the first set are descended Hindōstānī forms such as *hūjiyē* and *dījiyē*, while, from the second, we have forms such as *māriyē*.

This explanation does not account for a few forms of common occurrence which are usually looked upon as polite imperatives with special idiomatic meanings. Such are Marāṭhī *mhaṇajē*, that is to say, videlicet ; *pāhiyē*, it is necessary ; Gujarātī *jōiyē*, it is necessary ; Hindōstānī *chāhiyē*, it is necessary ; and *jāniyē* in phrases such as *kyā jāniyē ki*, how does one know that ?

Here I think that Hoernle's explanation gives the right clue. These are not imperatives or precatives, but are simple present passives, the derivation of which offers no difficulty, while their modern forms happen by accident to coincide with those of the modern polite imperatives. These passives are common in Rājasthānī, and in the Aryan languages of the Himālaya, in the case of all transitive verbs. As passives :—

mhaṇajē means literally "it is said".

pāhiyē and *jōiyē* mean literally "it is looked after".

chāhiyē means literally "it is desired" ; and

kyā jāniyē ki means "what is known that" or "how is it known that" ?

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November 11, 1909.

INDONESIAN ALPHABETS

On p. 113 of the *Report of the Committee on the Organisation of Oriental Studies in London* (1909) I notice the statement that "the people of the Malay Archipelago invented nine different written characters before their general conversion to Mahomedanism".

This is a curious survival (or revival) of an exploded idea. Its original author, I believe, was John Crawfurd, who maintained it unswervingly, from the first of his works (*History of the Indian Archipelago*, 1820, vol. ii, pp. 75 seq.) to the last (*Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, 1856, *passim*). In this respect he was like the Bourbons, he learned nothing and forgot nothing.

As a matter of fact, the Indonesian alphabets are of Indian origin. Half an hour's study of Holle's *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten* (1882) and Kern's commentary thereon (*Eene Bijdrage tot de Palaeographie van Nederlandsch Indië, Bijdr. tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4^e Volgr., vi, p. 133 seq.) will suffice to convince anyone of the relationship of these scripts *inter se* and their common descent from an early South Indian form of alphabet.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF THE DHVANIKĀRIKĀS ?

The learned editors of the *Kāvyamālā*, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Durgāprasād and Mr. Kāshināth Pāndurang Parab, were the first to remark the distinction between the *Dhvanikāra* and the *Vṛttikāra* Ānandavardhana, which was not carefully noted or was even forgotten by writers like Jayaratha, the commentator on Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (p. 119, *Kāvyamālā* edition of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*). Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta generally distinguish carefully between the two. Dr. Jacobi of Bonn

has also taken up this important question in his Introduction to the translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 14-18); but he has not come to any conclusion as to who composed the *Kārikās*, although he thinks he may place the author of these *Kārikās* about 820 A.D., or more than a full generation after Udbhata Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Kāvyaśūkhīkāraśārasaṅgraha*, who in ch. vi, 17 of the same work pronounced Rasa to be the soul of poetry (कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम्). The writer of this note thinks that the author can be traced, as may be seen from the following considerations.

The *Dhvanyāloka* is otherwise called सहृदयालोकनामा काव्यालंकारः (MS. ग) and काव्यालोक (MS. क), as can be seen from the variants given in the footnotes of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 59, *Kāvyamālā*). Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* gives the additional title सहृदयहृदयालोक. Now we know that the titles of commentaries end in आलोक, प्रदीप, प्रकाश, दीपिका, etc., and they are explained as आलोक्यते अनेन इति आलोकः, प्रदीप्यते or प्रकाशते अनेन (or अनया) इति प्रदीपः or प्रकाशः or दीपिका, etc. This is quite natural, since the commentaries are considered as mediums of help (or "Hilfsmittel" as the German scholars call these). Can we explain these titles similarly, then ?

The third line in the penult. verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* runs thus : काव्याख्येऽखिलसौख्यधाम्नि विबुधोद्याने ध्वनिर्दर्शितः । which helps us to explain काव्यालोक and ध्वन्यालोक as काव्यं or ध्वनिः आलोक्यते अनेन इति । But how shall we explain सहृदयालोक ?

We find the last verse thus :—

सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसुप्त-
कल्पं मनःमु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत् ।
तद्वाकरोत्सहृदयोदयलाभहेतो-
रानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥

The third line of this verse, too, may solve the riddle,

which we find it does. We find that Ānandavardhana expounds the truth about (or nature of) good poetry (सत्काव्यतत्त्व) in order to make सहृदय rise (from obscurity) (lit. "to obtain rise" (from obscurity) for Sahrdaya). May not, then, सहृदयालोक mean "commentary which illumines the poet सहृदय" (i.e. his work, viz. the *Dhvanikārikās*, which Ānandavardhana reclaimed from death due to obscurity) ?

Further, we find that Abhinavagupta, the commentator on the *Dhvanyāloka*, is also not negligent in mentioning the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*. In his benedictory stanza—

अपूर्वं यदस्तु प्रथयति विना कारणकलां
जगद्भावप्रस्थं निजरसभरात्सारयति च ।
क्रमात्प्रख्योपाख्याप्रसरसुभगं भासयति तत्
सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयतात् (म) ॥

Abhinavagupta in this beautiful verse, which defines poetry as Shakespeare does in his play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling," etc.), makes a bow to the poet सहृदय (कविसहृदय), who was the first to propagate, or publish, the novel (or marvellous) truth about poetry (अपूर्वं यदस्तु प्रथयति). The concluding verse about the *Dhvanyāloka*, quoted above, shows that this truth flashed on the minds of those whose minds were ripe by consideration of poetry before the *Dhvanikāra*, but then it again disappeared (सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसुप्तकल्यं मनःसु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत्).

The word सहृदय in the title, as given by the valuable MS. ग, is very important, as it occurs not only in the title of Abhinavagupta's commentary, which is called सहृदयालोकलोचन, but also occurs in the title of Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka's work *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*, which Dr. Jacobi, on the authority of some MSS. perhaps, calls सहृदयदर्पण in his Introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 12). This work was shown to be a criticism on the *Dhvanyāloka*

in my paper on "What is the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*?" (JRAS., April, 1909). Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyaktiviveka* (ch. i, v. 4) refers to this work of Bhaṭṭanāyaka (अदृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः स्वालंकारविकल्पप्रकल्पने वेत्ति कथमिवावयम्), i.e. he feels unable to criticize the *Dhṛanyūloka* properly, since he has not seen the सहृदयदर्पण of Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

V. V. SOVANI.

IBRAHIM B. ADHAM

In continuation of Mr. Beveridge's note (JRAS., 1909, p. 751) my recent studies enable me to say that the subject of Colonel Hanna's picture, which had been erroneously interpreted as being "Angels ministering unto Christ", was quite a commonplace topic for the artists of the Indo-Persian or Mughal school, and was treated by them with considerable variation of detail.

I have noticed the following instances:—

B.M. Add. 11,747, folio 30.—Ibrāhim b. Adham is approached by four angels on foot bearing vessels of food, but there are no flying angels, and the discontented darvīsh is lacking. The scenery is among hills. The picture dates from the eighteenth century, and belonged to Sir Elijah Impey. The label is *Tuṣwīr Pādshāh Sulṭān Adham Nawāb Muzaffar Jang*.

Johnson Collection, I.O., Bk. vi, No. 5.—Here, too, the visiting angels are four in number. The darvīsh sits sulking at the mouth of a cave.

Ibid., Bk. xiv, No. 1.—Five angels standing, two flying, and the darvīsh in the right-hand corner.

Collection of C. Hercules Read, Esq.—Several variants, some with the saint's name appended.

In all cases the traditional likeness of Ibrāhim is preserved, and any picture dealing with the legend can be instantly recognized, whether labelled or not.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

November 13, 1909.

VASUDEVA OF PANINI IV, iii, 98

In Part IV of JRAS. for 1909 (p. 1122) Dr. Grierson, referring to a previous note of Professor Kielhorn (Part II of JRAS. for 1908, pp. 502 ff.), states the Professor's view to be "that Patañjali therefore implies that here the word 'Vāsudēva' is merely an ordinary proper name, and is not the name of a god". This does not appear to me to be quite what Professor Kielhorn says. For his words are "the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being". Professor Kielhorn, here, does not deny its applicability to a divine being; but it must be confessed that the trend of his argument is towards making out Vāsudēva to be an ordinary individual. For he says (Vāsudēva) "is the proper name of an individual called Vāsudēva . . . In either case the word, 'tatrābhavataḥ,' by which 'saṃjñāishā' is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being". Neither does it, I assert, suggest that he was not a divine being; and this is plain from Dr. Kielhorn's own statement that the word is *equally* applicable to a human being. "Equally" with whom? It must be "equally" with divine beings. And certainly the word "tatrābhavat" means "respected", "revered", "worshipful", and may be applied to men as well as gods. And in the very passage in Patañjali, with which Professor Kielhorn compares the Vāsudēva passage, "tatrābhavataḥ" is used of Prajāpati, who is called "Sarva", i.e. "all". Prajāpati can be "all" only in the sense that he is the material cause (उपादान) of all that exists. This sense is assigned to Patañjali's words "सर्वं प्रजापतिः" by Kaiyaṭa. Prajāpati therefore is the creator, and to him is applied the epithet "tatrābhavataḥ". Why not, then, may the same expression be understood to imply that Vāsudēva was a god or a divine being?

I do agree with Professor Kielhorn in thinking that the correct reading is "tatrabhavataḥ", and not "tatrabhagavataḥ", which I accepted on a former occasion on the evidence of the Benares edition. But "tatrabhavat" is applicable equally to gods and men, Patañjali himself having used it in the case of the god Prajāpati.

In all the passages, containing forms of the word "tatrabhavat" referred to by Professor Kielhorn, except three, the grammatical connexion gives the substantives which are qualified by the epithet "tatrabhavat". In two of these three, the wording of both of which is **संज्ञिषा तत्रभवतः**, the grammatical connexion does not bring out the substantive qualified by the epithet, and the sense is: "This is the name of the worshipful." Thus stated, the word "worshipful" indicates one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i.e. a god. In the passage under P. IV, ii, 25. Prajāpati is mentioned as equivalent to *ku*; but in connexion with another argument, and not with that which ends with "**संज्ञिषा तत्रभवतः**". And this mention enables us to determine in the manner indicated above who it is that is meant by the epithet "worshipful" not followed by any substantive. If the general epithet "worshipful" thus indicates a god in this passage, there is every reason for understanding that that expression indicates a god in the Vāsudēva passage (IV, iii, 98).

Vāsudēva is here associated with Arjuna, and in the whole literature in which they are so associated Vāsudēva is the name of a divine being. And the traditional interpretation of Patañjali's passage is that by "tatrabhavataḥ" is meant such a being. The instance from the Kāśikā, which I found out for myself when Professor Kielhorn's note first appeared, has already been given by Dr. Grierson. Kaiyata's explanation is "**नित्यः परमात्मदेवताविशेष इह वासुदेवो गृह्यत इत्यर्थः**" i.e. the sense is, Vāsudēva is to be understood as a certain eternal deity which is the supreme soul. The "tatrabhavataḥ" occurring in the

third passage is taken by Professor Kielhorn as used in an ironical sense. But even here, since it is used without a substantive, "tatrabhavataḥ" is understood by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa in his explanation of Kaiyaṭa's comment on Patañjali's text as equivalent to Īśvara or God. Īśvara is supposed to have taken upon himself the rôle of an opponent of the Vedas to delude the Daityas, and to have uttered the verse quoted by Patañjali.¹ Thus in all the three passages in which "tatrabhavataḥ" is not followed by a substantive, i.e. is itself used substantively, the sense is "of God, or a God", on the evidence of Patañjali himself, Kaiyaṭa, and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

Patañjali, for these reasons, and on his evidence Pāṇini also, may be safely taken to speak of Vāsudēva as a divine being. I understood them in this sense in an article I wrote formerly; and propose so to understand them in writing a work for the *Grundriss*, which I intend doing if my eyesight is restored.

R. G. BHANDARKAR.

VASUDEVA OF PANINI

When taking part in the joint discussion, which ensued in connexion with the papers which Messrs. Grierson and Barnett read at Oxford (September, 1908), at the Congress of "History of Religions", I mentioned what Dr. Grierson has now published in the JRAS. (1909, p. 1122). I quoted then from memory the two Sūtras, one relating to Bun and the other relating to Buñ, and cited the following line from *Kūśikā Vṛitti*: Na cātra Bun-Buñorviśeṣo vidyate kimartham Vāsudeva grahaṇam, etc.

¹ Pat. (Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 3): प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः । Kaiy. : प्रमत्तगीत इति । प्रमादेन विप्रतिपन्नत्वेन गीत इत्यर्थः । Nāg. : प्रमादेनेति । भावे क्लान्त इतिभावः । विप्रतिपन्नत्वेन वेदविषयविप्रतिपत्त्याश्रयत्वेन । तत्त्वं स्वस्मिन्नारोप्य दैत्यनाशाय पूज्यस्यापि भगवत ईश्वरस्य तथोक्तिरिति स न प्रमाणमितिभावः ।

Dr. Grierson was present at the aforesaid discussion. But I fear he soon forgot what I stated; and so it is that he has not mentioned in his note that I had pointed out that the Sūtra of Pāṇini referred to does not relate to Kṛṣṇa.

In the year 1905 (Āṣāḥ 1311 Beng. Era), I published an elaborate paper in the well-known Bengali Journal *Pravāsi* (pp. 111 et seq.) to establish the point that even in the middle of the second century B.C., Kṛṣṇa—a god of the Ābhīras—was not being worshipped as a deity by the high-class Aryans. The Sūtras referred to above have been fully discussed in that paper.

At the same time I must assert (as I did when I took part in the discussion I have spoken of at Oxford) that we can get enough material, even in the Vedas, to prove that “religion of love” has been in existence in India from the remotest antiquity. Besides the text I cited at Oxford from memory, I refer readers to those Riks of the *Rigveda*, where a god has been worshipped as a father, and has been stated to bear love towards the worshippers—the sons: e.g.—i, 1-9; i, 31-10; i, 31-14; i, 31-16; etc., etc.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

CALCUTTA.

November 10, 1909.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE

I regret that, when writing the note referred to by Mr. Mazumdar, I had no recollection of the remarks made by him at the Oxford Congress. Possibly this was due to my not immediately recognizing Pāṇini's suffixes under the forms *bun* and *buñ*. If I had remembered that he was referring to *run* and *ruñ*, I should certainly have taken an early opportunity of drawing attention to his observations, for the matter is of considerable importance in fixing the dates of the religious history of India. I have not had an opportunity of reading the

article in the *Pravāsī* mentioned by him, and must therefore leave its discussion in other, and more competent, hands.

I quite agree with Mr. Mazumdar that in the *R̥g Vēda* there are several hymns which contain sentiments that it is difficult to distinguish from *bhakti*. He will find this point discussed by me on p. 239 of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1908.

In conclusion, may I give voice to the satisfaction which will be felt by all students of the Bhāgavata religion at the news that Professor Bhandarkar looks forward to completing his long-promised contribution on the *Bhakti-mārga* to the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*. His paper read in 1886 at the Vienna Oriental Congress opened the way for all subsequent researches in the subject, and no one is so fitted to complete the edifice, of which the foundations were then so well and truly laid, as its learned and generous author.

GEORGE R. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 29, 1909.

BURMA SOCIETY

This Society has been in existence for some four years, but its aim and work are still but little known in this country or in Burma. Its objects are—

1. To form all Burmans in England, and all interested in Burma, into one united body ;
2. To provide a common meeting-place in London for members of the Society ;
3. To assist, with information and advice, all Burmans who may be in England, or about to come to England ;
4. To maintain a Magazine, to be called "The Journal of the Burma Society" ;
5. To further the interests of Burma generally.

Mainly through its instrumentality Pali has been substituted for Latin, for Burmese students, in the Previous Examination at Cambridge; and the Society has under its consideration at present the desirability of raising the question of the extension of University Local Examinations to Burma, as well as the establishment of a residential club for Burmese students arriving in England.

The first number of the Journal of the Society, dealing with educational and social movements, will be published shortly.

Information about the Society can be obtained from the President, Mr. E. J. Colston, I.C.S., 30 Clarendon Court, Maida Vale, W., or from the Treasurer, Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, Cecil House, Holborn Viaduct, E.C. All Burmese students, and English gentlemen on leave from Burma, or interested in Burma, are eligible as members of the Society.

NOTE. A communication from Professor Jacobi, in reply to his critics in the October Journal, was received too late for insertion. It will appear in the April Number.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

HISTORY OF INDIA FOR SENIOR CLASSES. Part I :
THE HINDU PERIOD. By E. MARSDEN. pp. 331.
Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Marsden's work claims respectful notice as a learned and most conscientious summary of modern knowledge concerning pre-Muhammadan India, in which a high standard of accuracy has been sought and attained. There are, of course, some slips, but no book of the kind ever can be immaculate, and the errors are remarkably few. Mr. Marsden avowedly writes "for schoolboys and not for scholars", being guided by the syllabus prescribed in slightly variant forms by the Indian Universities. He says that recently the standard has been raised considerably and the amount of detail required largely increased. His book seems to me to err in giving far too much detail, an amount beyond the carrying capacity of even a young Hindu's memory. Hardly anything is passed over, and had I the misfortune to be an Indian schoolboy I should feel very sorry for myself if I were expected to remember particulars about Kākatiyas, Eastern Gangas, and innumerable other local dynasties. But, supposing such detail to be demanded by some of the University authorities, the student attempting to master it will find a safe guide in Mr. Marsden. My second general criticism is, that there is rather too much speculative ethnology, a subject ill adapted, I think, for schoolboys.

As always happens, vowel-marks are frequently misplaced, and other small errors in spelling occur. Passing over such matters, it may be well to notice certain passages which will require correction in a new edition.

It is, I believe, a serious error (p. 26) to follow Sir H. Risley in placing Dravidians in Northern India. The Asoka inscriptions are not written in Pāli (p. 85), in the sense usually attributed to that term. It is not quite correct to write "Taxila or Taksha-sila (now Rawalpindi)" (p. 114). Pāṭaliputra stood on the Son, not on the Ganges (p. 123). Pushya-gupta was not "the king's brother-in-law" (p. 124). Professor Kielhorn corrected that translation. The names of the Kanauj kings were Chakrāyudha and Indrāyudha, compounds of *āyudha*, "weapon," and not Chakra-yuddha and Indra-yuddha (pp. 227, 232). I am not aware of any reason for regarding the Andhras or Āndhras as "an Aryan tribe" (p. 243). Chandragupta *Maurya* (p. 244) is an obvious slip. There is no authority for the assertion that "Bānāvasi is mentioned by Asoka in his inscriptions" (p. 254). The reference to the Vatsas (p. 269) is erroneous; the king conquered was Vatsarāja Gurjara.

A book which presents no mistakes worse than those noted deserves the highest commendation for its laborious accuracy. Even if it should prove to be too elaborate for schoolboys it will have permanent value as a scholarly short history for independent students.

V. A. S.

October 5, 1909.

DICTIONNAIRE DES FORMES CURSIVES DES CARACTÈRES CHINOIS. Par STANISLAS MILLOT, Lieutenant de Vaisseau. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1909.

"LUBIN. Oui, je sais lire la lettre moulée, mais je n'ai su apprendre l'écriture."

The importance of an acquaintance with the cursive forms of the Chinese written character was recognized at a comparatively early period. Already in Dr. Morrison's great dictionary of the Chinese language, the publication of which was completed before 1825, we find an extensive

collection of these forms. In 1861 R. J. de St. Aulaire and W. P. Groeneveldt, pupils of the well-known pioneer in Japanese studies, Dr. Hoffmann, brought out at Amsterdam *A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, especially as it is used in Japan*. It was divided into two parts, the first containing "square characters" arranged according to the radicals, with the corresponding cursive forms: while in the second part were presented the cursive forms, arranged according to the shape of the first and last strokes, either of the whole character or of one of the elements, radical and phonetic, of which it is composed. In this way the characters dealt with were distributed under sixty-six classes. The scheme was not carried out quite consistently, because the authors did not always know which was in reality the first stroke, and it must have been difficult to apply with certainty of a correct result. To the student in Europe who found himself in the presence of a text in cursive writing it may perhaps have proved useful, but to the learner who resided in China or Japan its utility was less marked, inasmuch as he would only have to refer to any ordinarily well-educated Chinese or Japanese in order to obtain immediately the answer to his question, what is the corresponding square character.

Cursive writing in China (and Japan) is usually called *hsing* or *ts'uo* (*giō* or *sō*) according as it departs more or less from the standard form usually employed in printed books. But in practice this distinction is not observed. A document may be written partly in the one and partly in the other, according to the caprice of the calligraphist. In a well-known Japanese dictionary, the *Shinsō Jibiki*, or *Dictionary of the True and Hasty Characters*, first engraved on blocks in 1707 and reissued in 1820, the greater part of the forms given are *hsing-shu* (*giō-sho*), and the compilers of the work just referred to followed the same practice. So that a help to the study of the Chinese

character, as used in both countries in ordinary correspondence, i.e. the *ts'ao shu*, was still wanting.

The work of M. Millot shows a remarkable advance on that of his predecessors, and is calculated to stimulate the study of these forms, which has been a good deal neglected by students of Chinese. He relates in his preface that in 1900, after the capture of the Taku forts on the 17th June, a letter was intercepted which was addressed to a Chinese admiral, then a prisoner on one of the foreign men-of-war. Not even the Japanese officers were able to decipher it, but the author was enabled, by the study which he had made of cursive writing, to furnish, though with some difficulty, the desired interpretation. His dictionary contains far more *ts'ao shu* than that already mentioned, and is arranged on a better system, since, instead of endeavouring to refer the characters to their first and last strokes, he classifies them by the form of their most prominent parts. It contains altogether 7259 cursive forms, some of them duplicate variations, considerably more than are in common use, which may safely be estimated at not more than 2000 in number. These characters, with their corresponding "square" forms, occupy the first 119 pages. They are succeeded by twenty tables, of which the first ten give characters classified in their entirety, as not being easily decomposed into two parts, the second ten supplying those of which the radical is at once distinguishable from the phonetic. A careful study of these tables ought to enable the student to find the corresponding square form of any cursive character he meets with. On p. 136 the author has thought it necessary to set forth the Japanese *kana*, analysed in the same fashion as the Chinese cursive characters. This seems rather superfluous, since the whole number, including variants of the *hiragana*, is not greater than can be learnt by heart in a fortnight. These are succeeded by various useful tables calculated to assist the decipherer, and at

p. 197 will be found an instructive example of the method to be followed in using the dictionary.

It is impossible to withhold a tribute of hearty appreciation of the untiring labour devoted by the author to the compilation of this work, which cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance to students either of Chinese or Japanese who may wish to complete their knowledge of the written language of those tongues, though it is sincerely to be hoped they may never be confronted with a task similar to that which, as he has told us in his preface, he encountered on an occasion of the liveliest interest to the forces of civilization.

ERNEST SATOW.

THE SHAHNĀMA OF FIRDŪSĪ, translated from the Persian by ALEXANDER ROGERS, M.R.A.S. London: Chapman and Hall, 1907.

I am afraid that the *Shāhnāma* never will be popular in the West. Firdūsi was a great genius, and some of his tales are as exciting and as well told as those rehearsed by Ulysses to the Phæacians, but for Western readers they lack the charm of association. For Persians and Orientals generally the work will always have a charm, and there are many lines in it which haunt their memories and are often quoted by them. Thus we find Bābar, on the eve of his battle with Rānā Sānga, quoting to his officers the couplet which says—

“If I die famous, ’tis well

A name I must have, for my body is Death’s”;

and Jahāngīr, in his *Memoirs*, quotes, after Sa’dī, a couplet from Īraj’s pathetic appeal to his brothers, and which has been thus rendered by Sir William Jones—

“Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain,

It lives with pleasure, and it dies with pain.”

Sa’dī invokes a blessing upon Firdūsi’s tomb for this

couplet, and, indeed, it might well be a motto for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

But to Western readers the *Shāhnāma* must seem somewhat dull and tedious. As Turner-Macan justly says: "The principal defect of the poem, and that with which most others are connected, is its intolerable length." To my thinking the most living of all Firdūsī's verses is his satire on Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It has come straight from the heart of the indignant poet, and is as spirited as anything in Pope, or in Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. In the *Shāhnāma* itself the most interesting passages are those which contain Firdūsī's reflections on life, his allusions to himself, and his lament for his son. There is also a striking passage in which Khusrau assigns his reasons for refusing to give to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Constantinople, the sacred relic of the True Cross, which was said to be in his Treasury.

Mr. Rogers has made a gallant attempt to introduce Firdūsī to English readers. His translation is much closer to the original than Joseph Champion's, and it also covers much more ground. It seems, however, to be a mistake for anyone who is not a master of metre to try to combine literalness with an observance of the exigencies of rhyme. To borrow a phrase of Lord Derby's, the result commonly is to make a *botch*. The line by line and unrhymed version by Mr. S. Robinson of the episode of Zāl and Rūdābah is more dignified and gives a better idea of the original than Mr. Rogers' rhymed couplets. Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Rogers' book is the prose abstracts which fill up the gaps in his translation.

In some instances Mr. Rogers has, I think, mistaken the meaning of the original. For example, at p. 22, after wrongly styling Zohāk Bilvarāsp, instead of Bewarāsp, he has the lines—

“ And he two parts of ev’ry day would ride,
And not for vengeance sake, but in pure pride.”

Is not the poet’s meaning rather that “day and night two squadrons (or, perhaps, two-thirds) (of Zohāk’s 10,000 Arab steeds) were kept in saddle, not for war, but for display”? The phrase *dū bahrah* seems to me to refer to cavalry, and not to the portions of day and night. If so, the lines are an Oriental parallel to those in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which, in describing the custom of Branksome Hall, say—

“Thirty steeds both fleet and wight
Stood saddled in stable day and night.”

However, Mr. Rogers’ version has the support of Mohl, who translates, “Il était jour et nuit presque toujours à cheval pour acquérir du pouvoir, mais non pour faire du mal.” According to Nöldeke, Mohl was “kein strenger Philologe”, and made many lingual and metrical mistakes. Still, I hesitate to set up my view against two such authorities as Mohl and Rogers, and must leave the point in doubt. The passage will be found at p. 22 of Turner-Macan’s edition. [Here I may express my regret that Captain Turner-Macan’s name has no place in Buckland’s *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.]

In the prose abstract at p. 62 Mr. Rogers speaks of Minūchihr as being the son of Īraj, but according to Firdūsī (Macan, p. 70) he was Īraj’s grandson. His mother was Īraj’s posthumous daughter by Māh Āfrīd, and was given in marriage by her grandfather, Farīdūn, to Pashang, who was Farīdūn’s brother’s son. Such also is the statement of D’Herbelot, s.v. Manougeher, though the Rauzatu-ṣ-Ṣafā says that Minūchihr was really the son of Īraj.

At p. 72 Rūdābah’s maids are represented as taunting her with having fallen in love with a man whom her own father had cast away. But for “thy” we ought to read “his”, the allusion being to Sām’s having exposed his

son Zāl on Mount Elburz (see Macan, p. 113). At p. 77 Mr. Rogers represents the falcon's remark about the eggs as unintelligible, but is it not explicable by the double meaning of the word for egg (*khāyah*), and is not this how Mohl understood it (see Macan, p. 116)? In the same page of Mr. Rogers' translation Zāl's Turkish boy is represented as saying, "The brave man looks for virtue in his wife," etc., but does he not rather mean that a wise man abstains from marriage lest his wife should have a daughter? He is chaffing the girls who try to make out that Rūdābah is superior to Zāl (see Macan, l.c.). The boy is joking, but he expresses a sentiment current in his time and country, for when Mehrāb hears from his wife about Rūdābah's having fallen in love with Zāl he laments that he did not cut his daughter's head off as soon as she was born, and says his present trouble is the result of his not having followed the custom of his ancestors! See Rogers, p. 91, and Macan, p. 132.

At p. 87 Mr. Rogers has the couplet—

"They come to him and with a smile disclose
From his own fortune there have come two foes."

To this he adds the note: "This is a literal translation, but the passage is unintelligible." The meaning, however, seems to be plain enough. Sām, the father of Zāl, objects to the marriage of Zāl and Rūdābah on the ground that they are opposite elements or substances (*gohar*, which does not mean gems here), like fire and water, Zāl being a Persian and a servant of Minūchihr and Rūdābah being a daughter of Mehrāb, who is an Arab and a descendant of Zohāq. The astrologers, however, come to him smiling, and tell him that two foes have, by good fortune, been united with one another. The result will be glorious, for Rustam will be born of the marriage. Mehrāb made a similar objection to the marriage, when talking to his wife Sīndokht, to which she made the

sensible reply that Farīdūn had chosen wives for his sons out of Arabia. The remark of the astrologers is to be found in Turner-Macan's edition, p. 127, but it is omitted in Mohl both in the text and the translation. At p. 183 Mr. Rogers says of Rustam—

“That if upon a stone he down would sit
Both of his feet at once would sink in it.
From that day,” etc.

But what Firdūsi says is that Rustam was so strong and ponderous that when he walked his feet pierced the stones. This strength (*zor*, not *roz*) was such an inconvenience to him that he prayed God to diminish it.

H. B.

GAZETTEER OF THE HAZARA DISTRICT (1907). By H. D. WATSON, Civil Service, Settlement Officer. London: Chatto & Windus, 1908.

Apparently this volume on Hazara is a private issue of the official gazetteer recently compiled by Mr. Watson, with the addition of some fifty-four illustrations.

The original series of district gazetteers, of which the compilation began about forty years ago, varied greatly in quality; not only when comparing those of one province with another, but one district volume with another belonging to the same province. We had the well-ordered, but dry, lucidity of Sir W. Hunter's Bengal series; the over-elaboration of Mr. Atkinson in one half, followed by perfunctory official task-work in the concluding half, of the (then) N.W.P. volumes; and the almost perfect work turned out for Bombay under the inspiration of the late Sir James Campbell. Out of all the provinces the gazetteers of the Panjab districts were beyond comparison the worst.

If what Mr. Watson has produced on Hazara is to be taken as an average specimen of the revised district

gazetteers for the new N.W. Frontier province and the Panjab itself, a welcome change has been effected. The several subjects have been well chosen, so as to cover the whole ground ; while their treatment is well balanced, each subject obtaining a due allotment of space. We have a descriptive chapter, then chapters on the people, the economic condition, revenue and administration, and the history of the district. Separate chapters are allotted to several important aspects of that history, which differ very widely from each other: (1) The Hazara Frontier; (2) Feudal Tanwal and the Family of Amb; and (3) The Kagan Valley. Then follow the usual place directory, seven appendices, thirteen selected official tables of statistics, and a glossary of vernacular terms. Altogether we have a complete and satisfactory account of this interesting region.

The early history is given with fair fullness, though I daresay for that period more information could be added by patient expert research. But the Sikh period (1818-47) is admirably dealt with. Best of all is the account of our early occupation of the country, comprising the doings of James Abbott, who belongs to the heroic age of Anglo-Indian history. Such a man was perhaps bound to suffer the fate of heroes when times of quiet return. He was superseded in 1852 (partly by his own fault), and in 1896 passed away almost forgotten at the age of 89.

The tribal history, which is most important in a district like Hazara, is gone into with the requisite detail. There are many admirable photographs of tribal groups, Utmanzais, Awans, Mishwanis, Kagan Gujars, Hasanzais, Swāthis. But the most charming feature of the book is the many photographs of beautiful scenery. A man who has passed all his service in the ordinary districts of the Gangetic plain, grows envious of those happier mortals, who can lighten at least some years of their long exile by dwelling in what seems, from these pictures, to be a terrestrial paradise.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

THE ADVENTURES OF JOHN SMITH IN MALAYA, 1600-5.

By A. HALE. Leyden : E. J. Brill, 1909.

This book of seventeenth century adventures comes to us in very questionable shape. John Smith, who is not really John Smith, was the son of a notorious actress, name not given, by a clergyman of note, name equally suppressed. The supposed original MS., as is to be inferred from pp. 5, 6, was sent to his two half-brothers in Europe upon John Smith's death in Patani in the Malay Peninsula about the year 1626. If we are to deal with the book as a real contemporary record, we should at least be vouchsafed some information as to the history of the MS. since 1626, and be told the exact place where it is at present deposited.

But it is not in the least necessary to trouble our heads about such matters. The book is a pure romance of adventure, and, accepted as such, must be given very high rank indeed. The author is a master of the method in which the best of such books have always been written, and as regards the details of Malay history and character he seems to have added wide reading to considerable personal experience. The title-page bears the name "A. Hale", with no further indication of position or quality; perhaps we may assume him to be identical with the "Hale" named by Dr. M. Moszkowski as an authoritative writer on the races of the Malay Peninsula (this Journal, 1909, p. 705).

The story of what happened during the detention of the ships on the West Coast of Africa is most exciting, and as we read we are persuaded that all these things must have happened. We learn to know and like the race of dwarfs whom the sailors befriended, and follow eagerly the incidents of the successful campaign against the big savages, their oppressors (p. 21 to p. 122). In due time we reach Malay waters and the plot thickens; until at

last we arrive at Patani in the Peninsula (p. 167). From this point to the end the author is at his very best.

John Smith is left at Patani, a solitary white man, to look after the trading interests of the expedition. The old queen is kind to him ; he is provided with two lovely wives ; and is then promoted to be a sort of Minister for Foreign Affairs (p. 178). The old queen wants to marry the hero, but he prudently declines the honour. For what read as very insufficient reasons he resists conversion to Mahomedanism. In fact, Mr. Hale seems to think Mahomedanism is a faith far superior in most respects to Christianity. John Smith is next chosen for a mission into the interior, with orders to counteract the intrigues and encroachments of the neighbouring Perak king and his feudatories. The account of this mission, which was finally successful, gives occasion for charming pictures of Malay scenery, social life, and character, and as a contrast, an absorbing narrative of a vigorous raid into the enemy's country.

If only one or two rather warm passages were excised, this work could be issued as a book for boys, when it would certainly become an enormous success. What higher praise can I accord than this : that it reminds me throughout of Daniel Defoe and his *Adventures of Captain Singleton*?

WILLIAM IRVINE.

STORIA DO MOGOR, OR MOGUL INDIA, 1653-1708. By
NICCOLAO MANUCCI. Translated by W. IRVINE.
Indian Text Series, Vol. IV. pp. xiv, 605. London :
John Murray. 12s. net.

The preceding volumes of this stately and important work have been reviewed in the pages of our Journal with so much authority and completeness—vols. i and ii over the respected initials “H. B.” in 1907, and vol. iii

by Mr. Donald Ferguson in 1908—that the present writer feels himself incompetent to attempt more than a very brief and simple notice of this, the concluding volume of Mr. Irvine's meritorious and successful undertaking. It, of course, carries on the narrative of Manucci to its close; but it does much more than this. The final 200 pages contain a large number of "Additional Notes and Emendations", in which Mr. Irvine shows how carefully he has noted the various suggestions of his critics; then a very full bibliography of authors cited or referred to; and lastly an index of most satisfactory completeness to the whole four volumes. The first 400 pages carry on the chatty and gossipy journal of the shrewd old Venetian adventurer right up to the death of the aged Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707.

As to the matter of this volume, it falls, like that of the preceding ones, into two distinct parts, which are presented alternately in sections, apparently on no particular plan beyond that of varying the interest of the narrative and so maintaining the reader's attention. The two parts are, of course, the continuation of the history of the Mogul Empire, under the shadow of which Manucci lived so long, and the fortunes of the Christian missions in the South of India. The former part, as in preceding volumes, is a curious combination of historical matter and Court gossip, much being of a most amusing character. But in the present volume the part devoted to the Christian missions assumes very large proportions, and unfortunately is of anything but an edifying character. A great amount of it consists of a most minute and frequently tedious account of the deplorable quarrels between various parties of the Christian missionaries themselves and their converts. It is perhaps not easy at this distance of time to assign blame to one or the other side in these long-continued disputes between members of different religious orders and their friends. It can

scarcely be denied that Manucci writes with considerable bitterness, and, it is to be feared, not without prejudice, largely of a political or national character. He is all through extremely severe against the Jesuits and their partisans; his sympathies are no less strong in favour of the Capuchins. As a result, much of his curious narrative is distinctly disedifying. How far we can trust Manucci's accuracy or impartiality, we cannot undertake to discuss, nor have we at this time the materials to help us to a full judgment. Whatever can be done to elucidate his narrative, and especially the very considerable amount of argumentation concerning the canon law in which he indulges, has been done with singular patience and impartiality by Mr. William Irvine, who deserves our warmest congratulations on this successful completion of his difficult and laborious task.

If all the subsequent volumes of the well-conceived "Indian Texts Series" rise to the level of this first instalment, there can be no question of its value for the study of the history and civilization of the Indian Empire.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

NETSUKÉ VERSUCH EINER GESCHICHTE DER JAPANISCHEN
SCHNITZKUNST. Von ALBERT BROCKHAUS. Mit 272
schwarzen und 53 bunten Abbildungen. 2^{te} Verbesserte
Auflage. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1908.

In this splendid and beautifully illustrated work, a monument of German accuracy and literary conscientiousness, I find much more than a collector's record. The volume is, in fact, a complete treatise, absolutely unique in its comprehensive and scholarly dealing with its subject, upon that unapproachable wonder of Japanese art—the *netsuké*. Ivory and wood carvings are of course common enough all the world over, but beyond the borders of the Dragon-fly Land, one might almost say outside of

the limits somewhat widely understood of the three "fu", Tôkyo, Osaka, and Kyôto, no such work has ever been executed as that of the *netsuké-shi* of the Tokugawa period, to which their productions alone suffice to lend an artistic glory of the highest rank. But to appreciate *netsuké*, to understand them even, no little study is necessary, and in the present volume will be found as complete a guide to that most fascinating branch of artistic erudition as at the present day is possible. In view of the importance of the subject in the history of Asiatic civilization, I venture to occupy a page or two of this Journal with some account, necessarily inadequate, of Herr Brockhaus' superb work.

The word *netsuké* is usually written 根附, characters which taken literally mean "root-fastener" or "stud". But read rebus-wise, as many Japanese scripts are, they might mean "bone" ([*ho*]*né*) "button" or "disk". It is, however, possible that they were originally nothing but oddly or conveniently shaped natural knobs of hard wood or root, worn above the folds of the girdle or *obi* to prevent the slipping of the *himo*, the single or double cord rove through one hole or two holes in them, to the other end of which were attached the *koshisage* or trousseau the dweller in Old Japan commonly carried about with him—*tabako-ire*, tobacco pouch, *inro*, lacquered drug-case, *hi-uchi-bako*, tinder-box, *yatate*, inkhorn, etc., *kinchaku*, purse, etc.—one or more of these. The *himo* was usually further adapted to its purpose by a smaller *ojimé* or *odomé*, a one- or two-holed disk or ball which served to constrict the loop. It is not improbable, indeed, that the *netsuké* (another script for which was 墜子 or "pendant") was a development of the *ojimé*. The material used was a hard, close-grained wood, lacquered or plain, or ivory or walrus tusk, or bone, coral, tortoise-shell, agate, amber, *shibuichi* (an alloy of copper and silver), *shakudo* (silver-bronze, with a little gold to give it tone), *sentoku* (bronze

containing zinc and lead), or some pure metal, even soft iron. In character the *netsuké*, which might be rendered "disk", "stud", "knop", or "button", were *manju* or cake-shaped, a disk variously chased or carved in relief; *kagamibuta*, mirror-lidded, inset with a metal plate elaborately decorated with lines, scrolls, or figures; or it represented some natural object, or element or scene of the life and tradition of Japan or China. Of the last-mentioned class many are rather *okimono*, "figurines," or groups, than true *netsuké*, and are not adapted for wearing with the *koshisage*.

One has but to examine a single *netsuké* to understand the uniqueness of these most fascinating objects. Before, however, attempting some brief survey of their attractions a word or two may be said as to the history of this form of glyptic art. Roughly speaking, their production (in Old Japan) is contemporaneous with the rule of the Tokugawa Shōguns from 1603 to 1868. It is doubtful whether any pieces can be certainly ascribed to a period earlier than the seventeenth century, though the author gives to his first period the wide limits of 1450-1720. The glyptic work of much of this long tract of time was confined to Buddhist sculpture, the execution of bronze and wood statues of a colossal character, chiefly of Buddhas, and the carving of masks more or less artistically grotesque in Ruskin's sense. The second period is comprised between 1711 and 1817, and during it the best *netsuké* work was produced, especially after 1780. The artists now began to attach their names, often their place of residence, and, more rarely, the object or dedication of the piece. Of this intricate and difficult division of *netsuké* erudition, Herr Brockhaus has mastered the complicated secret, but it were vain to attempt here any account of so esoteric a portion of the subject of his book. Greater mastery over material, perfection and fluency of line, richness and variety of conception, above

all insight, observation, and the peculiar humour of the folk characterize the production of this period. The principal names are the various Shuzan, especially Yoshimura Shuzan (1764-81), Ogasawara Isai (1781-8), Miwa, still a name to conjure with among Japanese bric-à-brac dealers, and the several Minkô of Isé, with the *hôgen* (a title of honour) Shûgetsu, and members of the Okano family, these latter-named flourishing in the early years of the nineteenth century. The third and last period extends from 1818 to the date of that contact with the West which was the beginning of the end of true Japanese art. The art of the *netsuké-shi* scarcely advanced in quality during this period, but its production enormously increased: Herr Brockhaus' list comprises some 500 names belonging to these thirty odd years. Among the principal names are Ryûkei, Tomochika, Naga-i Raitan, Okatomo, and Gyûka. Some collectors prefer the ivory *netsuké* of this generation to those of any other period. I am myself inclined to think that the most elegant and decorative work of the Tokugawa dynasty was produced towards its close; the craftsmanship is then often most delicately and daintily fine and perfect; but few are the new flights of fancy or points of the peculiar humour of the Japanese glyptic artist to be found in nineteenth century examples—the range of subjects had by that time become exhausted, and even the modes of treatment were approaching a natural limit. The figurines—to quote an instance—of Shôki, the goblin-queller and his quelled goblin, a contrast of virtuous power with the real weakness of evil, show little novelty, and are largely replicas of a common idea.

To me much the most interesting *netsuké* are the figures or groups representing a scene of common life. One now before me shows two men amusing themselves with a trial of strength, palm against palm. It is the psychological moment—one will win, but it is impossible to say which;

both figures have quite different expressions and attitudes. The artist has caught the very moment *before* the contest is decided, when of course the interest would be over; a hundred times I have watched the struggle, as it were, always with the same interest, the same admiration of the artist's power. The author gives a coloured plate of a *netsuké* forming part of his own collection: a nearly naked man crouching over a trap in which he thinks he has caught a rat, who, however, has got on his back and mocks him. Here again, with infinite humour, the exact instant is seized when the man has found the trap empty but not yet perceived—he soon will—the escaped animal on his back. Such subjects appear, and of course are, trivial; it is their treatment that makes them works of art; just as, in a different way, is the case with many of Wordsworth's lyrics. Many examples of this peculiar and essentially Japanese humour are given in Herr Brockhaus' volume. The reader, after a little practice in close examination of the illustrations and a careful reference to the text, will not fail to be, one might almost say, startled into admiration, much more so had he the actual *netsuké* before him. He would turn them over and over, view them from every side, top and bottom; he would not find a single detail neglected, every point of the story told or suggested, a *multum in parvo* indeed, and every element of the *multum* perfectly rendered, a marvel of compression, fullness, vigour, and fluency, and so well worthy of ranking as an artistic achievement. Even in the figures of fruits or flowers, or animals not being quadrupeds, he will find the same dynamic quality of life united with complete, almost meticulous truth to nature, often a sly bit of humour indicative of the artist's quiet joy intermingled, as it were, with the composition. Perhaps, however, only the collector can really know this feeling to the full; it needs experienced observation and that

familiarity with the *netsuké* artist's environment, physical and moral, with his aim and method, which this volume so amply renders possible, to see the whole of what is visible to the eye bodily or mental. The hand of the true artist is equally seen in the gesture, attitude, and drapery of the figurines, be they of god or goblin; but the human face, the human form, the shapes of quadrupeds, the beauty of man or woman, are not well rendered either in Japanese glyptic or in Japanese pictorial art. It is in this respect that Japanese art so widely differs from the art of ancient Greece.

It remains briefly to describe the contents of Herr Brockhaus' volume. A general account of the *netsuké*, full of accurate learning, is followed by a history of its development, for which all available sources of information, Japanese and Western, have been consulted. Next we have brief biographies of the principal artists, with an elaborate explanation of the various methods, in which they hide rather than reveal in Chinese script their ever-varying personal and artistic names, thus giving the amplest guidance possible towards the date and authorship of particular examples, together with a list of many hundreds of names with their Chinese scripts and the needful indexes. Lastly comes a very full and valuable presentment of the various motives and subjects of the *netsuké-shi's* art, followed by a descriptive catalogue of Herr Brockhaus' own extensive collection of nearly 1800 pieces. There is also an exhaustive list of other collections, and a full bibliography, with interesting notices of prices realized at sales. The largest collection in existence probably is that of Mr. H. Seymour Trower, who says: "I find the charm . . . as fresh [as] and perhaps even keener than when I began." The estimation in which these exquisite productions are held is shown by the enormous prices often given for a single *netsuké*. At the Bing auction in Paris in 1906 prices ran from

60 to over 5000 francs—many of the *netsuké* then sold might have been bought twenty years earlier for two or three dollars or even less. It should be added that the Japanese themselves do not attach a very great value to these or to other examples of *ukiyo* or living art.

The black and white illustrations in the text, after drawings and photographs, are excellent; the full-page coloured photogravures to my mind are not always quite so good. Some of the latter might have been better had the electric light been used more efficiently. The type is in roman, comfortable for English eyes, and the text is absolutely free from the ponderosity that sometimes spoils German prose. I do not quite like the hot-pressed shiny paper, which is not pleasant to the eye, and somewhat injures the “japanesy” character of the illustrations, but probably its use is unavoidable. I should add that a very good general account is given of Japanese art and interesting comparisons drawn with Greek and mediaeval art, and lastly that this fine quarto volume affords throughout most profitable reading to the student, artistic or not, of Eastern life.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

BOUDDHISME, OPINIONS SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA DOGMATIQUE.

Par L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Paris : Beauchesne, 1909. 4s.

This is a reprint of lectures delivered before the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, last year, by the well-known Ghent professor. The lectures themselves are one of a series of lectures on the history of religions delivered in that institution. Monseigneur Roy, Bishop of Alinda, has dealt with the religious beliefs of modern savages, and the Baron Carra de Vaux with Islam; and others are to follow. M. Poussin (p. 10) considers the study of the history of religions as chimerical, and the Hibbert

Lectures in particular as presumptuous in their aims. It is all the more remarkable as a sign of the times to find that his own Church is moving in this direction, and he himself taking part in so chimerical and presumptuous a branch of historical inquiry.

After an introductory lecture the author discusses in Lecture II (called chapter 1) the original teaching of the Buddha. His main point is that Pali scholars are wrong in supposing that the doctrine of the Three Signs (or more especially the last of the three, the doctrine of *anatta*) involves any denial of the soul. He, on the other hand, supposes the Buddha's own teaching on the question of the soul theory to have been agnostic—neither affirming nor denying the existence within the body of a separate and eternal entity called the soul, but simply saying that that was a question not worth discussing. The difference does not seem to be very great.

There is one passage which the author quotes as favouring his view—the well-known Sutta on the Burden-bearer, which was discussed in this Journal for 1901, pp. 308 and 573, by the late Professor E. Hardy and the author of these lectures. The former there pointed out that the passage is entirely in accordance with the *anatta* view put forward in so many others. Every human is a burden-bearer. True. But it does not at all follow, which is the very point in dispute, that he has, in the view of the early Buddhists, inside of him a minute creature, the size of a thumb, called an *attā* or soul, which will escape from the body at death through an aperture in the suture of the skull. Quite the contrary. The *puggala*, or person, is distinctly stated, in this very passage, to consist solely of the five *khandhas*, or mutually supporting groups, of material and mental qualities. It is strange that, through the whole of the chapter, the discussion in this Journal is quietly ignored; and it is throughout taken for granted that the Sutta

referred to (S. iii, 25) maintains the existence of the soul or mannikin.

The next lecture gives a clear and popular account of some of the main tenets of various later schools, so far as that is possible considering the very small number of texts that are as yet published. The following lecture discusses the whole evolution of the ideas concerning the Buddha, and the Buddhas, from the fifth century B.C. down to the time of the rise of the Amitābha theory, which is dated, very problematically, about the first century A.D. On both these subjects there are interesting remarks which lead to the regret that the lecturer's time and space were so very limited.

Another lecture deals with the future Buddha, and more especially with the conception, so fully worked out in mediæval Buddhism, that everyone should endeavour to become a Buddha in the future, should enter upon the career, not of Arahant, but of Bodhisattva. And, finally, we have a sketch of the rise and meaning of the Tantra beliefs and practices so far as they were Buddhist.

In the Preface, we are glad to see, the author announces his intention of publishing a larger work, in which the many interesting historical problems here touched upon in the author's genial phrases shall be considered at greater length, and with the addition of references from other works. There is probably no one living who has studied the later literature of the Indian Buddhists with greater care and completeness than the writer of these lectures, and such a work would be a most welcome addition to our imperfect knowledge. The field is so vast that no one student can cover the whole of the ground. To add anything of positive value to the history is already difficult enough, involving as it does a sober judgment in matters also of philology and philosophy. And it is all the more difficult as no one has yet made any adequate attempt to trace the development of

Buddhist thought from the time of Kanishka onwards. But we shall never understand the history of thought in India until this is done. Let me assure M. Poussin that we of the Pali side of our common research will receive, with real gratitude, whatever he tells us of his side of the subject.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CONVERSATIONS EN LANGUE MALAISE (composées dans l'idiome usuel de la péninsule malaise) écrites en caractères arabes, transcrites en caractères latins et traduites en français. Par ALBERT MERSIER. Paris : Imprimerie R. Monod, Poirré, & Cie., 1905.

To write a good phrase-book of conversational Malay is not as easy as it looks. The person who essays to do it has to steer a course like that which lies between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand he must avoid the pedantries and peculiarities of the written language. Nothing would be easier than to compile a collection of extracts from Malay literature; it has been done times without number, and of course such collections are very useful to students of Malay literature. But they are not colloquial Malay, any more than Johnsonese is colloquial English. On the other hand, the phrase-book maker must not fall into the depths of bazaar jargon. There have been many little Malay phrase-books that erred on this side: they embodied a sort of "kitchen Kaffir" talk bearing the same relation to Malay that pidgin-English does to the talk of the average Englishman conversing with his family or friends. Most of the existing phrase-books are more or less on these lines. It would be invidious to mention names: their name is legion, and they are much alike in this respect.

The reason is simple enough. The average Malay, so long as he is talking to other Malays, speaks his language as it should be spoken, using (quite naturally and without

thinking about it) the many peculiar idioms with which Malay abounds. But the moment he has to speak to a foreigner, whether Chinese, Indian, or European, he begins (perhaps with the polite desire of making things easy for him) to "talk down" to the stranger's level. He then uses a sort of simplified Malay, avoiding all the characteristic idioms of the language, and even in some cases modifying the syntax, so as to make it more like what the other is accustomed to. In fact, he begins to talk pidgin-Malay, just as the Englishman in Hong-Kong talks pidgin-English to his Chinese servants, and for much the same reason. Then some enterprising European comes along, whose ambition it is to compile a book of Malay phrases taken down at first hand from the very lips of a pure Malay, and carefully writes down this stuff and publishes it, with the results that are apparent in most of the existing phrase-books.

To do M. Mersier justice, I must say that he has on the whole succeeded pretty well in avoiding these pitfalls. His sentences, if not always ideally pure Malay (which is hard to come by colloquially nowadays) are at any rate fair specimens of the vernacular, being neither a patchwork of bookish language nor yet too much disfigured with bazaar jargon. But there are exceptions. *Apa angkao boykah dirumah ini* (p. xxvi) is not the "idiome usuel de la péninsule malaise": the *apa* is a rather objectionable Javanism, never (so far as I remember) heard in the Peninsula. I do not like the expression *datang kasini* (ibid.): *datang ka-mari* would be more usual and correct. Sometimes the French version is inadequate: for instance, "un cheval pie (tacheté)" does not fully translate *satu kuda belang yang bagus*. The Malay phrases are given in the Arabic character as well, but this has not been done in a very good style of handwriting (it is reproduced by lithography, apparently), nor is the spelling always that which is usually considered

correct. No doubt Malay spelling in the Arabic character is still in such a fluid state that a good deal of variation is permissible. But there are limits, and I cannot say that I approve of *بالتى* for *بالتى*.

The book will be of service as an introduction to the study of the spoken language. For this reason I rather regret that a system of spelling in the Roman character has been adopted, which (though suited to the primary purpose of the book, viz. the instruction of Frenchmen) is sufficiently different from the ordinary orthography of Romanized Malay to be rather confusing to people of other nationalities. The standard orthography now in use in the Peninsula is so simple, and so adequate for everyday purposes, that it seems a pity to depart from it when, with the help of some four or five rules of pronunciation as regards particular letters, it would have served M. Mersier's purpose just as well as the system he has adopted. In this respect I think the book might have been improved. The Dutch spelling of Malay, ungainly as it is to our eyes, has at any rate such prestige as ancient and widespread usage can confer; yet in their linguistic writings Dutch scholars frequently use an orthography which (being nearer to an international standard) approximates very closely to that of English Romanized Malay. There seems to be no point, at this time of day, in inventing a new French spelling for Malay in a work that is intended for students.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

CINQUANTE HISTOIRES D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT, mises en français d'après les textes malais, annotées et précédées d'un coup d'œil sur la Malaisie. Par ALBERT MERSIER. Paris : Société Générale d'Impression, 1908.

This little book contains a series of extracts from Malay works (principally those of Abdullah bin Abdulkadir) done into French. They are very readable, and will no

doubt be useful to a good number of people who cannot read them in the original. The translation appears to have been well done, and the notes are generally informing. Sometimes, however, they are not as accurate as could be desired. For instance, in Abdullah's curious list of demons and devilries (p. 89) the word "Katagoran" (= *kětġuran*) is not, I think, the name of a ghost, but denotes the fact of being accosted by one and the calamitous consequences which are supposed to result from such an encounter. Again, *Djemalang, terkena obat gouna* does not mean "an earth-spirit struck by a magic drug". The two things are unconnected. *Jġmbalang* is no doubt an earth-spirit, but the "being affected by a magic drug" is not his portion, but that of some luckless wight whose enemies have put a spell upon him to do him harm. The fact is that Abdullah in his list mixes up the various logical and grammatical categories in fine confusion: some of his words are the names of devils and ghosts, others of enchantments and other magic devices and processes.

Of the Introduction which precedes the extracts I need not say more than that it gives a rather fascinating picture of this corner of the East, with special reference to Java and the Malay Peninsula. If not very profound it is bright and sympathetic: the work of an intelligent and appreciative visitor, not of a permanent resident, who sees more of the seamy side and has become a trifle dulled to the charm of this region. It is none the worse, perhaps, for that; and if it stimulates a few more Frenchmen to travel and visit these countries (as it urgently invites them to do), I have no doubt that they will not regret the experience, though possibly they may not find them the "earthly Paradise" that M. Mersier's idealizing fancy has beheld in them.

The book unfortunately contains a considerable number of misprints, and would have been the better for more careful proof-reading.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

PAUL OLTRAMARE. LA FORMULE BOUDDHIQUE DES DOUZE CAUSES; SON SENS ORIGINEL ET SON INTERPRÉTATION THÉOLOGIQUE. pp. 53. Genève, 1909. (One of the monographs published for the Jubilee of the University of Geneva.)

I feel more than satisfied with this new contribution to the history of Buddhist dogma. I am not sure, and I think Professor P. Oltramare is not sure, that he has succeeded in deciphering the original meaning of the cumbrous list of the twelve causes; but he has worked out a lot of very interesting observations, and he may be right on the whole, *après tout*. As concerns the analysis he gives of the sources, the so-called genuine Pāli texts, and the elucidation of the numerous and divergent Canonic, Southern and Northern scholastic views, clearness and erudition have conspired to make his short article by far the best on the subject. European theories are summarized and criticized in the happiest way: the history of Buddhist philology is not a very cheering one.

To chiefly concern ourselves with the primary meaning of the *puticcasamuppāda*, Professor Oltramare first maintains that the redactors did not aim at explaining "existence", but rather "how existence is what it is, suffering". That may be right. I willingly admit that neither Gautama nor his true disciples, heirs of his practical wisdom, did care much for metaphysics. But there is a preliminary problem, more hard to unravel than to cut off: "Is the *pratītyasamutpāda* pre-canonic—I mean, really authentic?" If it is not pre-canonic, it may have been, from the very outset, scholastic at the bottom, or, as Professor Oltramare would say, a theological masterpiece: we are justified in believing that it is the result of many-sided and heterogeneous contaminations. On the contrary, if it be really genuine, how is it to be understood? "In the simplest possible way," must be the answer. That is: "My life is miserable and will come

to a miserable end with old age and death, because I am born. I am born because I am in the world of becoming. I 'become' because I am continually nourishing my existence. I nourish it by the very fact that I have appetites. I have appetites because I feel. I feel because I have contact with things, because my organs are active. My organs are active because I am contrasted, as far as I am an individual, with the 'non-moi'. I am an individual because my conscience is pervaded with the idea of personality. My conscience has been made what it is by previous experiences; and these experiences have infected my conscience, because 'I did not know'" (pp. 28-9).

To say the truth, the only "members" of the chain that are really clear are *saḍāyatana*—*trṣṇā*, *jāti*—*maraṇa*, etc. I fear that it is impossible to "ascertain" the original meaning of *bhava* and *upādāna*; serious doubts arise concerning the real import of *saṃskāras*, *viññāna*, *nāmarūpa*.

One will most probably acknowledge that *bhava* cannot have been understood originally—as it was later—as a ζῆϋμα: (1) *karmabhava*, act-producing, (2) *upapattibhava*, existence at the arising state, conceptional or pre-conceptional existence. Professor Oltramare's translation, "I am born (*jāti*) because I was to be reborn, because I am in the World of Desire (*kāmadhātu*), because I exist (*bhava*)," has much on its side. It is not altogether a new one, but there is "manière de dire". And it would be unfair to disbelieve it because it is simple and witty. That Buddhist phrases do not always involve profound ideas, is so far evident. And the most uncompromising translation of *bhava* is perhaps the best.—As Professor Oltramare observes, very keenly indeed, the number "twelve" was a pre-Buddhistic datum, and to fill the twelve sections synonymous phrases were of use.

Upādāna would be the "taking up", the assimilation

by a living and conscious being of the elements of being, i.e., the *skandhas*, both material (bodily), *rūpa*, and psychic, *vedanā* and so on. It is certain that *upādāna* is the fuel, the alimentary principle of fire; that the "exterior" element, *rūpa* (matter), is said to be "taken up", *upātta*, when it is assimilated to the body, when it becomes "interior" (*ādhyātmika*, Northern Sūtras); that elements like "feeling" (*vedanā*), individualized as they are (since each *vedanā* is produced by such and such "contact"), can be looked upon as polygeneous elements to be fragmentarily "taken up": such is certainly the case for the "intellectual element" (*viññāna*), which is styled later a *dhātu*, like earth, water, etc. (and to the *viññānadhātu* finally converge all the psychological states or phenomena, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, etc.). It is also certain that, like *upādāna*, the four "aliments" (*āhāras*) are produced by "thirst" (*tṛṣṇā*) (see *Majjh.* i, 47, 261 = *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Soc. As., fol. 250 a 8), and that the "taking up" of the several "elements" (*skandhas*) is described at length in *Majjh.* i, 511. We have there a bundle, a *kalāpa* of proofs, which cannot be easily disposed of, and assures a high value to the conjecture of Professor Oltramare. On the other hand, scholastic interpretations of *upādāna* are manifold: the so-called four *upādānas* (*kāma*, *dṛṣṭi*, *śīlavrata*, *ātmarūḍa*) look very fanciful, and the original notion must have been different from the scholastic ones. Nevertheless, I cannot say that I am absolutely "converted". Before reading Professor Oltramare's observations and perusing his authorities, I had been struck by a canonic gloss, to which Professor Kern has called attention: *yā vedanāsu nandī tad upādānam* (*Majjh.* i, 266 = *Manual*, p. 47, note). An old (*ābhidhārmik*) definition of *upādāna* is *kāmādiṣu chandurāgaḥ* (*Abhidharmakośa*, 236 d), alias *bhogānāṃ prāptaye kleśa-samudācārāvasthā*, alias *caturvidhaḥ kleśaḥ* — later *karmākṣepakāraṇam*, "efficient cause of the projection of

act" (*Madhyamakavṛtti*, xxvi, 6). All these texts point to the quasi-identification of *upādāna* and *trṣṇā*. "Thirst," too, is *nandī*, *kleśa*, and cause of act. And the idea is near at hand that *upādāna* is a more active form of desire, its *paryutthāna*, not only desire, but, as Professor Kern says, "clinging, effort." That would be "self-complacency", "consent", contrasted with "tentation". *Majjh.* i, 266, supports this view, and I believe it highly probable that it can and must be mingled with Professor Oltramare's opinion, also a canonic one, to realize the imprecision and the resources of the ancient Buddhist ideology and terminology.

Our author has clearly stated, for the first time, that the *pratītyasamutpāda* has to be understood "en fonction" of the theory of the *skandhas* (matter and psychological elements of the human being). And although he undervalues or disapproves (following M. A. Barth) M. E. Senart's opinion that *upādāna* = *upādānaskandhas*, he himself shows the happiest way of understanding this equivalence. *Upādāna* (let us say hyper-*trṣṇā*) is clinging to the exterior objects of desire (*kāmarāga*) and to the existence of the self (scholastically, to heresies relative to the self and to his welfare), and therefore to the very elements in absence of which no existence or self whatever can be thought of. Or, if the translation "hyper-*trṣṇā*" is wrong, *upādāna*, in any case, is *trṣṇā*, as far as *trṣṇā* is generative of further existence, here or hereafter (*bhava*), by the very fact that it nourishes the self (*nāmarūpa*). The *upātta skandhas* into which, according to the stereotyped phrase of the Sanskrit sūtras, ripens the fruit of action,¹ are *upātta* because there is a power of *upādāna* in the act produced by desire. And it seems hardly possible to doubt that the phrase *upādānaskandha* (*upādāya rūpa*, *upādānarūpa*) is a contamination of the *upādāna*

¹ . . . na bhikṣavaḥ karmāṇi . . . bāhye pṛthivīdhātavaḥ vipacyante,
 . . . api tūpāttesu skandhadhātṛāyataneṣu.

of the Pratītyasamutpāda with the *skandhas* of an independent psycho-physiological theory, the origin of which is presumably pre-Buddhistic.

Let us now see how, according to Professor Oltramare, *nāmarūpa* is produced from *viññāna*. "In the Brahmin schools, *nāmarūpa* points out a being as characterized by its visible characters (*rūpa*) and as marked for thought by its name (*nāma*)." This phrase obtains almost the same meaning in Buddhism: *nāmarūpa* is "the individual with all its contingencies", and the individual is a being of desire, of becoming, of suffering, because he is intelligent and conscious. "Therefore *nāmarūpa* is caused by *viññāna*, i.e. the knowledge that distinguishes subject and object,¹ and lays subject into the dependence of object. When *viññāna* disappears all the elements of *nāmarūpa* disappear too." Although *nāmarūpa* is used only in reference to *sattvas* (intelligent, human, animated beings), material beings too have a "name" as well as a "form". Human (or animated) *nāmarūpa* is characterized by *viññāna*; therefore *viññāna* is its seed. And the real import of the causal connexion is as follows: From *viññāna*, *nāmarūpa* coupled with *viññāna* (cf. p. 13 ff.).

"*Viññāna* transmits to the individual all the tendencies that are to overrule his relations with objects. These tendencies are called the 'predispositions' or the 'formations' (*samskāras*) . . . and are rightly so called, being as it were the mould into which life is being cast. Sometimes *samskāras* are identified with Will, and rightly too: other elements, sensations, concepts, etc., are furnished to the individual by the successive phenomena amongst which his life is going on; on the contrary, Will, or mental attitude, is, for a Hindu, the consequence of former experiences." Such and such *samskāras* are the formative cause of such and such *viññāna*, which again

¹ I am not sure that this definition would hold in every case.

causes *samskāras*; and there is no actual *viññāna* where previous *samskāras* are wanting.¹

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

R. R. SEN. THE TRIUMPH OF VALMIKI, from the Bengali of H. P. SHASTRI, M.A. Chittagong, 1909.

Mahāmahôpādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Śāstrī's prose poem, the *Vālmīkīr Jaya*, originally appeared, about thirty years ago, in the celebrated Bengali magazine the *Baṅgo Darśana*, and was subsequently published by the author as an independent work, but much altered and enlarged. It was received with acclamation, and the Indian reviewers exhausted their vocabularies in praise of its merits. The commendation was sometimes so extravagant in its language that it repelled more sober-minded English readers from what was in fact a highly poetical composition and well worthy of perusal. The author took the old familiar stories of Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, and Vālmīki as his basis, and over these he wove a web of luxurious Oriental imagination. Each of these three heroes attempts to bring about the universal brotherhood of mankind. Vaśiṣṭha tries priestcraft and worldly policy, but fails. Viśvāmitra tries physical force, but fails. Vālmīki preaches a gospel of love, and succeeds. This is briefly

¹ I venture to differ from Professor Oltramare on some points of little importance. p. 10: As well said, *kāma* is sexual desire; there is "desire" in the *rūpadhātu*, as far as I know. p. 27, note: I think that the *Śālistambasūtra* has the canonic phraseology. p. 28: But there is a *jīvitendriya*, at least in the latter scholastic. p. 41: I do not see how *avidyā* acquired a new value (and a cosmic one) from the fact that it came to be looked upon as the ignorance of the *nairātmya*. p. 41, note: Lefmann follows Rājendralāl, but the Tibetan translation has *pratyaṣebhiṣ ca* (=co), and confirms Professor Oltramare's scepticism. p. 46: Is not Buddhaghōṣa to be understood according to *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. p. 227, 11?—As concerns Pāli references, it seems that the true light came recently from Cambridge (Mass.): to give up the notation by *sūtras*, *vaggas*, *samyuttas*, sub-*vaggas*, etc., would be helpful to the reader and very agreeable to our excellent friend Professor Lanman.

the plot of the story, which may be described better as a rhapsody than by any other title.

Mr. R. R. Sen's English translation of the Bengali original is a good piece of work, evidently carried out *con amore*. I have compared much of it with the original, and can vouch for its fidelity, but it is not a too literal translation. To convey to English readers Hara Prasād's rhapsodies without falling into one of the two pitfalls of turgidity and bathos was by no means an easy task, but Mr. Sen, who exhibits a mastery of idiomatic English rare amongst those whose language it is not, has successfully accomplished it. In the story's Western dress I can safely recommend *The Triumph of Valmiki* to those who are not familiar with Bengali and who desire to become acquainted with a modern Eastern poetical work esteemed by the compatriots of its author as a masterpiece of imagination.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 12, 1909.

CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN AND ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY OF BANKIPORE:
PERSIAN POETS: FIRDAWSÍ TO ḤÁFIZ. Prepared for
the Government of Bengal, under the supervision of
E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D., by MAWLAWÍ 'ABDU'L -
MUQTADIR. pp. x+274. Calcutta, 1908.

Not the least of the services rendered to Orientalism by Dr. E. Denison Ross is the pains which he has taken to inspire his Indian pupils with a genuine enthusiasm for Arabic and Persian literature, to acquaint them with the methods employed and the results attained by European Orientalists, and to train them in the scientific cataloguing of the many fine libraries whereof the contents have hitherto been little known or even quite unknown.

Amongst these libraries is that founded at Bankipore by the learned and public-spirited Mawlawí Muḥammad-Bakhsh Khán, who died in July, 1876. This library was opened to the public in 1891, and then contained nearly 4000 MSS., which number has been since increased by one-half by the exertions of the founder's son, Mawlawí Khudá-Bakhsh Khán, for an account of whose life (published at Calcutta in 1909) we are indebted to his son, Ṣaláhu'd-Dín Khudá-Bakhsh, who has inherited alike the generosity and the love of learning of his father and grandfather. Of his generosity he afforded a signal proof in placing at the disposal of the writer a valuable MS. of that rare old work on Persian Prosody, the *Mu'jam fi Ma'áyiri Ash'úr il-'Ajam* of Shams-i-Qays, of which the text, based on the British Museum MS., collated with the Constantinople and Bankipore MSS. (the only others known to exist), has just been published by the Gibb Memorial Fund.

The present volume of the *Catalogue* which forms the subject of this notice deals with the MSS. representing the Persian poets from Firdawsí to Háfiz, or, roughly speaking, those who flourished between A.D. 1000 and 1400, and it is expected (Preface, p. vii) that the works of the later poets will fill two similar volumes, of which the appearance will be eagerly awaited by Persian scholars. Of the 161 MSS. described in this volume two only are noticed in the Preface as unique, viz. a MS. of the Quatrains of Sayfu'd-Dín Bákhazí (d. A.D. 1259) and a MS. of the *Diwán* of Ruknu'd-Dín Ṣá'in (d. A.D. 1362), but many other rare MSS., besides others notable for their antiquity or their fine calligraphy, are included in the collection.

The *Catalogue* in its construction follows the best traditions of scholarship, and its execution leaves little or nothing to be desired. It reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its production, and it is earnestly to

be hoped that the work may be pushed forward with energy, so that the riches of this great library may be made known to all the world.

E. G. BROWNE.

THE SIKH RELIGION: ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS, AND AUTHORS. By MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE. 6 vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This is a voluminous work, which has been compiled by Mr. Macauliffe during years of labour and study, with the support and advice of the best scholars and patrons among the Sikhs. In order to estimate its value, it is essential to note the aims and objects which he set before himself throughout, and these he has explained very definitely.

He has not endeavoured to produce a scholarly work on the Granth and the Sikh religion for European scholars, but his intention has been to set out that religion and its sacred book according to the orthodox views of its teachers for the benefit of the Sikhs themselves, with due regard to a promise that he made them to write nothing prejudicial to their religion. The translation of the Granth made by Dr. Trumpp was unsatisfactory—to scholars because it was wanting in accuracy, and to the Sikhs because it offended them by its tone and comments. Mr. Macauliffe seeks in this work to make them reparation, and also trusts that it may be of political advantage to them and enhance the regard entertained for them; that it may be useful to the large number of Sikhs, who cannot study the originals but understand English; and that it may rescue their scriptures from misunderstanding and oblivion, since the vernacular has been departing widely from the language used in the Granth, since the old gyanis or professional

interpreters are dying out, and since the local legends are likely to disappear soon.

Mr. Macauliffe's work is thus intended mainly for the benefit of the Sikhs themselves and of the general public which may be interested in the history and teaching of their gurus. Scholars will naturally be disappointed; yet his position is explained on the grounds, first, that he himself is manifestly attached to the Sikhs and their religion by a genuine personal affection and not by a scholar's critical interest; and secondly, that the support, which he received in India and without which he could not have carried out this undertaking, was only rendered to him for the purpose of preparing a full, clear, and sympathetic exposition of their scriptures and of inaugurating for the Sikhs a new era in the study and observance of their religion. Regarded in that special aspect, his work deserves high praise.

He resigned the Civil Service some fifteen years ago, and spent his time in first making a translation of the Granth, and in revising it thoroughly, with the aid of Sikh scholars and others, until it met with the satisfaction of the leading gyanis. He did not, however, produce his version in that shape, because he considered that an account of the Sikh gurus, saints, and authors was at least as important as a correct translation of their writings. Further years were then spent in compiling biographies which should not be inconsistent with the sacred writings. He followed therein the advice of the most learned Sikhs as to what should be included, and has hardly exercised his own critical faculty, except in sifting to a certain extent the Sikh accounts. Subordinating himself to the aims and objects explained above, he has not only abstained from expressing any opinion of his own, but has included various miracles, though it does not appear that the gurus themselves claimed any superhuman power. The work therefore,

as it appears now, is a biographical history of the gurus and saints, compiled, according to the opinions of the best Sikh scholars, in the form in which they wished it to be presented. The Granth has been broken up. The hymns are introduced in the narrative when the particular incidents occur during which they are said to have been uttered, while all those which cannot apparently be assigned to any special occasion are appended, for each guru, at the end of his biography.

This arrangement no doubt serves the purpose which Mr. Macauliffe had in view; yet it would have been quite as good, if not better, to reverse the plan, namely, to make the translation of the Granth the main object, and supplement it with notes explaining the circumstances in which each hymn was composed; because the Granth is a collection of genuine hymns, whereas the accounts of the gurus and saints (as he acknowledges) cannot pretend to be contemporaneous and have been amplified with later stories and marvels. The way in which the hymns are now dispersed throughout the narrative renders the translations of little use for purposes of reference, even for the Sikhs themselves. The defect might have been remedied if a table had been added, showing where each hymn is to be found; yet this has not been done, and it is impossible to find out any particular hymn except by searching through the volumes.

Portraits, so-called, of the various gurus are inserted, but it is doubtful if they have any more authenticity than conjecture on the part of the present-day artist. At the end of the fifth volume are given some interesting specimens of the rags, or musical measures, to which the hymns were composed. In the sixth volume Mr. Macauliffe has collected accounts of many religious teachers who were Nanak's precursors in breaking away from popular Hinduism and striving after a simple and purer faith.

This work, then, has been compiled for the Sikhs and

in their interests. It is not intended for European scholars, though they obtain the great benefit of having accurate translations of the hymns. Mr. Macauliffe has indeed gone so far in his avoidance of scholarly "form" as to make no distinction between the cerebral and dental letters, sibilants, etc., and often to leave long vowels unmarked. Indian words and proper names are given as popularly written and pronounced now, however corrupt they may be; and in the notes the popular versions of ancient stories are preferred to their earlier forms in Sanskrit books.

Mr. Macauliffe regards the Sikh doctrines with a warm appreciation, which they undoubtedly merit. His translations of the hymns are far superior to Dr. Trumpp's, and are no doubt as accurate as it is possible to make them. The language which he employs is simple yet reverent, and fitly displays the bhakti, or fervent piety, of the authors. In reading these volumes many questions suggest themselves—religious, political, economic, literary—which one wishes that he had noticed and discussed, even consistently with the scope of his work. One opinion he does put forward, that the Sikh religion is totally unaffected by Semitic or Christian influences; but even his own account of the founder Nanak hardly supports his opinion, and it is one that very few, if any, students of Indian religious movements would assent to.

As a popular and reverent account of the Sikh gurus and religion, compiled by a sincere admirer in the interests of the Sikhs, the work will no doubt exercise a wide influence, especially in India, and is likely to serve the purposes for which it was undertaken. It is not intended for scholars, yet even they gain a substantial benefit, in that they have at last translations of the hymns made as carefully and accurately as the resources of the present day permit.

BUDDHA'S GEBURT UND DIE LEHRE VON DEN SEELEN-
WANDERUNG. By ERNST WINDISCH. Leipzig, 1908.

In this work Dr. Windisch has chosen the traditions as to the birth of the Buddha for critical examination with special regard to the provenance of the various ideas of which those traditions are composed. Much interest attaches to the process by which the simple fact of the birth of the Buddha as son of a Kṣatriya, Śuddhodana, gradually is transferred into the miraculous birth of a divine entity from a virgin mother; and to Dr. Windisch we owe by far the most satisfactory exposition of that development in its various phases, and in particular the elaborate and able discussion of the doctrine of birth as it appears in the Veda, in Buddhism, in the medical Saṃhitās, and in the Vedānta and Sāṃkhya systems. It is impossible to summarize here the discussion, but attention should certainly be called to the passage¹ in which the exact sense of the *gandhabba* of the Assalāyanasutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* is elucidated, in a manner which at once confirms and renders more precise the views of Pischel² and Oldenberg.³ Dr. Windisch rightly emphasizes the fact that while we will find the roots of much of the mythology of Buddhism in Brāhmanism, none the less Buddhism has a mythology of its own, and is not to be considered as merely receptive.

Of most general interest, perhaps, is the last chapter⁴ of the book, in which the author examines the question of how far external influences manifest themselves in the Buddhist accounts of the birth of the Buddha. We are glad to find in him a strong supporter of the theory of parallel developments of religious belief. It is true, he

¹ pp. 12-14.

² *Vedische Studien*, i, 78 seqq.

³ ZDMG., xlix, 178. See also de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, pp. 68 seqq.

⁴ pp. 195 seqq.

points out, that both the Christian Church and the Buddhist Church developed doctrines of the virginity of the mother of the founder of their religion, but such views were in either case, as he shows, natural developments of existing tendencies, while there is no historical evidence for early borrowing on either side. Moreover, he insists, the discrepancies between Christianity and Buddhism are simply enormous: the Buddha and the Christ stand for totally different ideals of life and conceptions of existence. The so-called parallels adduced by Seydel von Eysinga and Edmunds he dismisses, much as does Hopkins in his valuable essay in *India, Old and New*, which Dr. Windisch apparently does not know, as quite inconclusive,¹ and as due either to the natural development of the religions or to ordinary considerations of mental growth. It is therefore somewhat surprising that he should accept as probable the derivation of the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration from the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis, as the likeliness of a parallel development in that case is at least as strong as in the cases with which he deals.²

Dr. Windisch is reserved in his attitude towards comparative mythology. The elephant — with six tusks (*chaddanta*) as a sign of its superiority to ordinary elephants³ — which appears in the legend to Māyā Devī before the Buddha's birth, he⁴ admits to be connected with Airāvata, Indra's elephant, but only in so far as the elephant is in India a token of royalty, and so belongs to Indra as it belongs to a mortal king. He even declines⁵ to accept the view, held by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, that the death of Māyā Devī on the seventh day after her son's death is a myth of the dawn slain by the sun, and

¹ p. 58, n. 1.

² Cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 569 seqq.

³ At p. 179 Windisch refutes Speyer's view (ZDMG., lvii, 108) that *chaddanta* means "having the five senses and the mind restrained (*dānta*).

⁴ Cf. pp. 175, 176.

⁵ p. 139, n. 1. Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 39, n. 1.

prefers to believe that, in point of fact, the mother of the Buddha did die on the seventh day after his birth. In this view he may be correct, but it must be admitted that the legend occurs late, and that it already bears in the fictitious name of the mother—for Māyā cannot be a genuine name—signs of its unoriginal character. On the other hand, we are heartily at one with him in rejecting Jensen's wonderful theories of the Epic of Gilgames, which certainly represent the most signal recent example of comparative mythology run mad.

Following Boyer, Dr. Windisch¹ is inclined to find in the *Rigveda* and the Brāhmaṇas traces of the doctrine of transmigration. But the evidence for the theory—held also in different forms by Pischel, Geldner, and Böhrtlingk²—is singularly unsatisfactory. In RV., x, 14, 4, he takes the words *sá no deréṣr ā yamad dīrghām āyuh prā jīvāse* as meaning "may he take us to the gods to live there a long time", implying that, after a long life, return to earth is possible; but the sense is not the natural meaning of the words, which refer³ to the continued life on earth of the survivors. As a matter of fact, even the Brāhmaṇas do not contain the doctrine, though the conception of repeated death after death tends towards it. Macdonell, Lévi, Bloomfield, Hopkins, and Oldenberg,⁴ among others, are all inclined to accept the view that for transmigration we must go to the Upaniṣads or Āraṇyakas, and this view appears to us certainly correct.

It may also be doubted whether Dr. Windisch⁵ is right in finding in the Upaniṣads the doctrine that a man can

¹ pp. 58 seqq.

² See also JRAS., 1909, pp. 574 seqq. Cf. also de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 61.

³ Cf. RV., x, 14, 12, and x, 18, 3 seqq., where the idea is repeatedly set out. Vedic Indians do not pray for death conceived as life in heaven. The "parallel" passage, ix, 44, 5, cited by Boyer is not really parallel at all, as it has no clause to complete it.

⁴ See JRAS., 1909, p. 575.

⁵ pp. 62, 63. Cf. JRAS., 1909, p. 606.

recollect his previous births. Neither the *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, 2, nor the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, i, 4, 10, can certainly be said to refer to this power, though they are so taken by Śaṅkara in his commentaries, which, however, notoriously are not to be relied on for the exact sense of the Upaniṣads. But Dr. Windisch sheds a great deal of light on the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* by his examination of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* parallel to its description of birth.¹

Other points of interest must be mentioned more briefly. Dr. Windisch² raises the question of the age of the personal Brahmā who, as he points out, occurs in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*. The answer is obscure; several of the relevant passages are discussed by us elsewhere.³ *Paraśvān* in the same Upaniṣad he takes⁴ as "snake", but with doubt; Bühler⁵ has suggested a possible connexion with the Pāli *palāsāda*. Again, the relations of Vāgbhaṭa I and Vāgbhaṭa II are hardly correctly stated;⁶ more accurate information will be found in Dr. Hoernle's *Osteology*.⁷ In his estimate of the age of the Buddhist Canon⁸ Dr. Windisch evidently adheres to the older school of ideas, whose views are now seriously questioned—in our opinion with justice—by such writers as Franke and de la Vallée Poussin.⁹ Unfortunately, too, his book

¹ pp. 62, 63; and see his note in *Sächs. Ber.*, 1907, pp. 111 seqq.; Oertel, *JAOS.*, xix, 111; my *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 17.

² p. 33, n. 1.

³ *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 304, n. 23; 367.

⁴ p. 71, n. 2. *Dandaśūka*, which occurs also in *Nirukta*, *Parīṣiṣṭa*, ii, 9, is given by the commentary as the equivalent.

⁵ *ZDMG.*, xlviii, 63. *Parasvān* is found in *RV.*, x, 86, 18; *AV.*, vi, 72, 2; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, iii, 13, 10. Cf. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 377, n. 1.

⁶ pp. 48 seqq. For the latest view of Dr. Hoernle on the question of Caraka's date, see *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 886, 887, and compare my note, *ZDMG.*, lxii, 136.

⁷ Cf. also *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 882.

⁸ Cf. pp. 10 seqq.

⁹ *Bouddhisme*, pp. 33 seqq. Cf. my note, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 577, n. 1.

appeared too soon to enable him to discuss the doctrines of the ego and of the chain of causality in the light of the new researches of de la Vallée Poussin¹ and P. Oltramare.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DIE ARISCHEN GÖTTERGESTALTEN. By KARL SCHIRMEISEN.
Brünn, 1909.

This work is an interesting example of the application of a priori methods to the study of religious phenomena: and, if one can hardly admire the results of the attempt, yet it would be unfair to deny Dr. Schirmeisen credit for the boldness with which he has attacked his theme. Dr. Schirmeisen is impressed with the truth of two principles: namely, that the gods of a race closely reflect the standard of culture attained by that race; and that the individuality of gods is strongly affected by racial mixing, so that, while the name remains unaltered, quite new functions may be assigned to a god. Founding on these principles—the truth of which within limits is undeniable—he proceeds to deduce the characteristics of the earliest religions from the social conditions of life in the three periods of the Stone Age and the two of the age of metal, while he applies a corrective to the results thus obtained by examining the early ethnography of the world. He then feels himself in a position to determine different strata in the *Rgveda*, and to show the original character of the various gods of the Indo-Iranian pantheon.

We cannot undertake to follow the author in his reconstruction of primitive religion: it must suffice to say that he postulates for the Palæolithic Age a monotheistic worship of fire, conceived often in snake form.³ Whatever be the origins of religion, we may feel sure that they were not so simple as this: or, at any rate, that he who

¹ *Bouddhisme*, pp. 54 seqq.

² *La formule bouddhique des douze causes*, Geneva, 1909.

³ p. 9.

would prove such a thesis as that here presented must be prepared with much stronger arguments than Dr. Schirmeisen can offer. Nor do we think that the state of ethnological studies at the present day will permit the acceptance of the reduction of the human species to the black and the yellow, the white being the result of the mixture of these.¹ Nothing but confusion can result from such short cuts to knowledge.

Nor do the results of the author's researches encourage us to accept his premises. He² assumes the third millennium B.C. as the time of the composition of at least part of the *Rgveda*, an assumption which has recently been defended by Jacobi,³ but which has been completely refuted by Oldenberg.⁴ He⁵ finds in the *Rgveda* the work of three peoples—the Iranians, whose influence is seen in the second, fifth, and seventh books; a mixed

¹ pp. 24, 25, following Schaaffhausen.

² p. 42.

³ See JRAS., 1909, pp. 721 seqq. Mr. Kennedy, *ibid.*, p. 1114, revives Brunnhofer's famous "discovery" of an allusion in the *Rgveda* to the siege of Babylon. Without commenting on the other parts of Mr. Kennedy's article, it may at least be safely said that no competent Vedic scholar accepts this view, and that therefore it should not be quoted as evidence of a conquest of Babylon by the Aryans.

⁴ JRAS., 1909, pp. 1095 seq., and see also my note, *ibid.*, pp. 1100 seqq., and p. 472, and cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 12. Note should perhaps be taken of Shamasastri's attempt in his *Gavām Ayana* to rehabilitate the antiquity of the Vedic writings by finding in them evidence of an elaborate cycle (cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 423 seqq.). It must suffice to say that the passages relied on by the author are in no case, so far as I can see, naturally interpreted in the light of his view, and in every case can be explained much more simply in other ways, while the attribution of any really elaborate knowledge of astronomy to the early Indians runs counter to all the available evidence as to the achievements in the field of the Vedic Indians (see Thibaut's article with its reference to Whitney cited in JRAS., 1909, p. 1102, n. 1). It is true that the *Jyotiṣa* does present us with a basis for a date, but unhappily that basis, in consequence of the inaccuracy of the datum and the vagueness of the point fixed, only gives a result which may vary hundreds of years on either side of the twelfth century B.C., and therefore we cannot build on it any secure structure.

⁵ pp. 43-7.

people, with the characteristics of herdsmen and steppe-dwellers, who are represented by books iii, vi, and viii, in which the desire for children, cattle, and horses is especially prominent; and the true Germans, to whom book iv belongs. As a matter of fact, however, the author recognizes¹ that it is impossible to deny some reciprocity of influence, and he decides that books ii and iii were first composed by the Iranians and the mixed people, then books iv to vi by the united Aryan race, while books vii and viii (first half) were composed by those tribes which had advanced furthest east.

It must suffice to indicate briefly on how little support the theory rests. Brunnhofer's² theory that the dog is Iranian is accepted as proving that Gr̥tsamada Śaunaka, and therefore the second book of the *R̥gveda*, are Iranian. But, as Brunnhofer's hypothesis rests on no foundation,³ the theory is untenable. Again, the German origin of book iv is proved by the fact that the Gotamas are Angirases, and the Angirases are traditionally ignorant of the sacrifice,⁴ and are therefore not Iranian—an argument which cannot be considered as substantial.

As the basis of the author's theory is insecure, little of profit can be derived from his detailed results, although he shows a good knowledge of the recent literature on Vedic mythology. Following, but going beyond, Hillebrandt,⁵ he finds in the Indra-Vṛtra myth a legend of the melting of the glaciers at the end of the Glacial Period, and he⁶ applies this theory to the explanation of the famous hymn of Indra's birth.⁷ The eating of dog's flesh there⁸ mentioned is a reference to the Mesolithic Period, in which

¹ pp. 47-9.

² *Iran und Turan*, p. 152.

³ See Hopkins, *AJP.*, xv, 154 seqq.

⁴ Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, ii, 156 seqq. Cf. Hopkins, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xv, 64 seqq.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, iii, 162 seq. On this cf. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, pp. 180 seqq.

⁶ p. 181.

⁷ *RV.*, iv, 18.

⁸ *RV.*, iv, 18, 13.

the first domestic animal, the dog, was tamed and often also eaten. Moreover, from the mention of Vṛtra's mother in another hymn,¹ he deduces the conclusion that, according to the views of the *Rgveda*, the sunless Glacial Period was brought about by the arising of a permanent thick mist.² After that we need not be surprised to find that the victory of the Aśvins with asses in a race is a recollection of the fact that the ass was tamed before the horse,³ or to learn that the meaning of the story of Dadhyañc and the mead is that an exchange once took place of the mead of the Germans for a horse of the neighbouring mixed peoples.⁴ So also the myth of the Rbhus and the cow turns out to contain a reference to the manuring of fields by the true Germans in Neolithic times;⁵ Sarasvati becomes no longer a river, but the goddess of Spring;⁶ Viṣṇu is conceived in stork form,⁷ and so forth.

It would be idle to discuss in detail these theories, for not one of them rests on any substantial basis, and a new theory in Vedic mythology has no right to existence unless very solid arguments can be advanced in its favour. It is, of course, easy to speculate, but such speculations as these only add to the confusion attending a subject in itself very difficult.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

PRAKRITARUPAVATARA : a Prakrit grammar based on the Valmikisutra, by Sinharaja son of Samudrabandhajayan. Edited by E. HULTZSCH. 8vo. London, 1909. (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland : Prize Publication Fund, No. 1.)

The opening words of the editor's preface to this interesting little volume awake a sorrowful memory. Dr. Hultzsch reminds us that it was the lamented Professor Pischel who, in his dissertation *De Grammaticis*

¹ RV., i, 32, 9.

⁴ p. 98.

² p. 183.

⁵ p. 246.

³ p. 94, n. 4.

⁶ p. 260.

⁷ p. 233.

Prācriticis, and again in his *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, pointed to the importance of Siṃharāja's treatise. *Εἰπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόνον*. To Pischel, moreover, Dr. Hultsch acknowledges a debt for the generous loan of much important critical material. The present publication is therefore largely inspired by his influence, and in a sense may be regarded as a memorial of him. Certainly no fitter hands could be found to raise this memorial than those of Dr. Hultsch. His sound scholarship has enabled him to constitute a correct text, which he has furnished with ample references, especially to Siṃharāja himself and to Pāṇini's grammar, that greatly lighten the labour of study. Misprints, we may add, are very few, and so slight (for example the omission of the *virāma* in *jaśśasbhyām* on p. 17, l. 8, and *ha* for *he* on p. 19, l. 2) that the student corrects them almost unconsciously as he reads.

The date of Siṃharāja is somewhat uncertain. His quotation of Kshirasvāmi's commentary on the *Amarakośa* proves him to have lived later than the eleventh century; and as he also cites Nāgojī's *Paribhāṣendusekhara*, he would seem to be not more than two centuries old, unless indeed — a somewhat improbable supposition — he and Nāgojī both drew from a common source. But, as Kālidāsa has reminded us, modernity should not discredit an author. "For the knowledge of declension and conjugation," wrote Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 39), "the Prākṛitarūpāvatāra is not without importance, chiefly as Siṃharāja often gives more forms than Hemachandra and Trivikrama. Many of these forms no doubt are theoretically inferred, but they are constructed in strict accordance with the rules, and hence are not without interest." How far this merit of Siṃharāja is due to his own ingenuity, and how much he has borrowed from predecessors, we cannot say with certainty. Pischel's statement that he based his work upon Trivikrama-deva's grammar (*Grammatik*, § 39)

is somewhat misleading, as the same scholar points out that all which they have in common is the Vālmiki-sūtra, on which both based their works, and neither of them can be proved to have used the other's book (*De Gramm. Prācr.*, p. 40).

The character and the defects of the Hindu grammarians are well known. The same circumstances that gradually produced Sūtras in the liturgical, theological, and philosophic schools led to similar epitomes of grammar, algebraically concise and often provokingly obscure. Sūtra-worship became the bane of science. As each school was convinced that all possible knowledge was contained in its sacrosanct aphorisms, it spent its energies in the task of finding authority in them for everything, and hence never made any material advance beyond them. Attempts were indeed made to rearrange them according to some more systematic method, as in Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhānta-kaumudī*; but although these works made the study easier, they failed to raise grammar to the level of a science. As pure theorists indeed the Hindus are unequalled; no Western ingenuity could rival that of the Indian grammarian who invented a Prakrit of his own for lyrical composition. But a scientific basis of grammar they have never possessed, *aśāstrayonitvāt*, because it was not in the Sūtras; and this weakness is glaringly exhibited in Siṃharāja's work, in which, for example, phonetic laws of consonantal change are dovetailed between rules of accident when the particular paradigms chosen for the latter display the former (cf. v, 1), and *khambho* is actually derived from *stambhaḥ* (xii, 95), because, forsooth, the Sūtra says *stumbhe*. Like Hemachandra, he makes no attempt to discriminate between the various dialects, until he comes to the eighteenth chapter, where he begins a series of short sections upon the chief characteristics of the *Śaurasenī*, *Māgadhī*, *Paiśāchī*, *Chūlikāpaiśāchī*, and *Apabhraṃṣa*. Making due allowance for these defects

(as they appear to Western judgment), Siṃharāja's book is an excellent piece of work according to Hindu methods, and the native schools should be grateful to Dr. Hultzsch and the Asiatic Society for supplying them with a good handbook.

An interesting point is raised by Dr. Hultzsch in his Preface, when dealing with the Aphorisms which form the nucleus around which Siṃharāja built up his grammar. These are the *Vālmiki-sūtra* ascribed to the legendary Vālmiki, which was used also by Trivikrama, who lived between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Pischel suggested that this Sūtra may have been composed by either Trivikrama or somebody else on the basis of Hemachandra's Prakrit grammar. Dr. Hultzsch argues with great probability against the authorship of Trivikrama; but when he says that, "as both the printed text of the Vālmiki-sūtra and the author of the *Shāḍbhāshā-chandrikā* ascribe the composition of the Sūtra to an ancient Rishi, the possibility of its having been drawn up in the interval between Hemachandra and Trivikrama seems to be excluded," we cannot follow him. There was plenty of time between Hemachandra and Trivikrama—probably two or three centuries—for the Sūtra to be written; and when it was once written, there was still more time for it to gain authority as the work of Vālmiki, and finally to be acknowledged as such in a modern work like Lakshmīdhara's *Shāḍbhāshā-chandrikā*. A similar instance may be found in the *Sāṃkhya-sūtra*, which probably was composed between 1380 and 1450,¹ and yet was acknowledged as the work of Kapila by Aniruddha in a commentary written about 1500. Apart from this small matter of opinion, we have only to record our admiration for the skill with which Dr. Hultzsch has fulfilled his task and enriched Indian literature.

L. D. BARNETT.

¹ See Garbe's *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 8.

RGVEDA : TEXTKRITISCHE UND EXEGETISCHE NOTEN.
Erstes bis sechstes Buch. By H. OLDENBERG.
Berlin, 1909.

A most hearty welcome must be extended to the notes on the first six books of the *Rgveda*, which Professor Oldenberg has now published, supplying us with the first complete commentary on these books since the issue of Ludwig's edition. Since the appearance of the classical *Prolegomena* the author has, in a series of articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, elucidated many other problems relative to the constitution of the text of the *Samhita*; and in his new work he applies the principles thus adopted to the critical establishment of the more original form of the text, before its characteristics had been obscured by its reduction into the shape in which it now lies before us. At the same time Professor Oldenberg has added exegetic notes, for which no apology or explanation need have been offered. It is of the first importance, in the critical study of the *Rgveda*, that we should know what passages require correction; and Professor Oldenberg's latest work is no less valuable for its explanations of difficult passages than for the masterly suggestions which he makes for the restoration of corruptions in the tradition. It is impossible to overpraise either the range of the author's knowledge of Vedic texts or his judgment in the selection of interpretations. The work is also a marvel of condensation, without any substantial sacrifice of clearness of expression or of fullness of discussion of real difficulties. The author has wisely refused to deal at length with the various attempts to solve the problem of such hymns as i, 164: it is clear that in a general commentary on the *Rgveda* it is impossible to treat at length matters in which not even a reasonable degree of probability can be attained.

It is satisfactory to note that Professor Oldenberg sees

no reason to change his opinion¹ that the other Vedic texts shed little illumination on the text of the *Rgveda*. That conclusion is securely based on the variants now available in even excessive fullness in Bloomfield's *Concordance*. No doubt there are occasional exceptions to this rule, but they are very rare, and Professor Oldenberg effectively disposes of the alleged better readings seen by Scheftelowitz² in the Kaśmīr MS. of the *Rgveda*, a MS. which for the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* also yields nothing new of value, as I have sought elsewhere to show.³ Of course this does not show that the *Rgveda* text is in itself correct, which is certainly not the case, but it indicates that the tradition of the *Rgveda* is decidedly superior to that of the other Samhitās.

In interpretation Professor Oldenberg follows the sane and sober principles which he has elsewhere defended. As a matter of fact there is in principle little difference of opinion amongst recent interpreters of the *Rgveda*, much less than would appear from the language now and then used. All in effect treat the *Rgveda* as a book to be interpreted in the light of subsequent literature, and of the knowledge which we have of the development of Indian civilization; and the real point of dispute is merely the question of how far we are to find in the *Rgveda* details of later Indian life. In this regard Professor Oldenberg shows himself—we think wisely—more conservative than Pischel and Geldner, of whose views he constantly takes account. It is easy to exaggerate the part played by hetairæ and lust of gold in the *Samhita*; and to explain difficult passages by theories of sporting and erotic slang is often more ingenious than plausible, however much it may relieve the monotony of the task of Vedic interpretation. Similarly the author differs from the writers of

¹ *Prolegomena*, pp. 271 seq.

² *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, and VOJ., xxi, 85 seq.

³ *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 3, 4.

the *Vedische Studien* in his treatment of linguistic usages. It is of course possible to solve nearly every crux in the *Rgveda* by the assumption of irregular forms and of unusual syntax, and the possibility is rendered attractive by the fact that, in some cases, such irregularities appear certainly to be found, but it is wiser to try to attain a satisfactory result within the ordinary bounds of Vedic grammar. A good example of this may be seen in the case of *Rgveda*, vi, 66, 11, where Benfey and von Bradke take *gírdyo ná ápaḥ* as "Bergwasser". But such a hendiadys is, as Professor Oldenberg points out, not really possible and not paralleled by cases like i, 80, 1 : *sóma in máde*; and we must either assume that the comparison is with both the hills and the streams, or else that the comparison is, as so often, curtailed, and *ápaḥ* is an accusative, "as hills send forth streams." Or again in i, 52, 1, he shows that it is unnecessary to accept Pischel's theory¹ that in *atyó ná vājam* there is a case of attraction, and that the rendering "Wie das Ross zum Siegespreise" is quite adequate. In v, 59, 8, he combats successfully Geldner's² version of the difficult text as containing *ṛṣṇ* (gen.) "zu Gunsten des Ṛṣi", a sense of the genitive which is certainly rather far-fetched. Similarly he appears correctly in i, 34, 5, to reject the explanation of *sūre duhitā* either as a case of prehistoric Sandhi or Pischel's³ view of *sūre* as a locative of origin, though he leaves open—as seems inevitable—the exact meaning of the passage. Excellent also are the notes on the strange *rujānāḥ* and *māno rūhanāḥ* of i, 32, 6 and 8.

In some cases Professor Oldenberg is inclined to admit the use of the participle in place of a finite verb, a usage recognized by Delbrück,⁴ but which, except in the case of the past participle passive, I have elsewhere⁵

¹ *Vedische Studien*, i, 105; cf. my note JRAS., 1909, p. 432.

² *Ibid.*, i, 283, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, iii, 192.

⁴ *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 393, 580.

⁵ ZDMG., xliii, 346 seqq.

questioned. It is not possible to pronounce definitely in a matter of this kind, but it may be said that the evidence is somewhat slight on which to base a theory of a recognized usage. In i, 88, 5, *páśyad* is an easy correction for *páśyan*; in i, 69, 3, several renderings are possible, and *dádhati* need not be a participle at all. In iii, 32, 6, as Professor Oldenberg himself says, *yád Vṛtrám jaghanvân* is simply a contamination of *Vṛtrám jaghanvân* and *yád Vṛtrám jaghántha*; the occurrence of such anomalies is not sufficient to establish a grammatical usage. In iv, 17, 19, *stutáh* need not be finite, and no doubt is not; but in any case it is of course certain that the past participle passive is used—as in Latin—as equivalent to a finite verb, but this proves nothing for other participles. In vi, 22, 3, the sense and construction are alike very uncertain, and in v, 15, 4, the participle is almost certainly not finite.

It must suffice to refer briefly to some of the other valuable notes on Syntax. The alleged use of *me* and *te* as accusatives is exhaustively discussed¹ and shown to be improbable. The genitive of time is effectively defended² against Bartholomae, and the comparative ablative after a positive is correctly seen in i, 46, 8. There is also a good note³ on the use of *ái* after a dative to strengthen the force of the case.

In addition to his contributions to grammar, Professor Oldenberg has offered valuable suggestions for the interpretation of the vocabulary of the *Rgveda*. He rejects⁴ Collitz's rendering of *návedas* as "recipient of praise", and prefers the view that it represents *návaveda*, "having knowledge anew." In an interesting excursus⁵ he defends the rendering of *vyathis* as "wanken" against

¹ pp. 25 seqq. I hope to discuss these and the alleged Epic cases more fully elsewhere.

² pp. 79, 80.

⁴ On RV. i, 79, 1.

³ pp. 15, 16.

⁵ On RV. i, 117, 15.

Geldner's¹ view of it as "falsehood" and the attempt to render it as "way". *Krivi* he interprets² as denoting "horse" in several places, while in others it is admittedly a tribal name, an explanation which shows clearly that the word has more than one sense and which removes the difficulty as to Sāyana's version of the word in *Rgveda*, ii, 17, 6, referred to by Dr. Grierson.³ It is worth noting, in view of recent discoveries,⁴ that Professor Oldenberg⁵ is not prepared to deny the possibility of a reference to Aruṇa in the *Rgveda*. In v. 47, 6, he sees a stem *upaprakṣá*: this is somewhat uncertain, and the accent in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 2, 2, cannot in any way be relied on against the *úpa prakṣé* of *Sāmaveda*, i, 444. Of special interest is the note on vi, 25, 2, regarding *Khila* and *Khilya*. Oldenberg adheres to the view that these expressions refer to the boundaries between cultivated fields, one of the few clear hints in the *Rgveda* of the existence of separate property in land. This view he shows to be decidedly superior to that of Pischel,⁶ who prefers to find in these words references to the grazing land on which the flocks and herds of the community fed, an interpretation which diminishes the value of the passages in question as evidence of separate ownership. For the use of *túj*⁷ may be cited the occurrence of *tújah* in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 2, 1.

As was to be expected, Professor Oldenberg devotes much attention to metrical considerations as bearing on the constitution of the text, a matter in which perhaps greater progress has been made—though not without a certain risk of over-formalism—than in any other department of Vedic study. Of special interest is a brief

¹ *Vedische Studien*, ii, 29 seq. Cf. my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 281.

² On RV. i, 166, 6.

³ JRAS, 1908, p. 1143.

⁴ See JRAS., 1909, p. 1104, n. 3.

⁵ On RV. i, 130, 9.

⁶ *Vedische Studien*, ii, 204.

⁷ See on RV. i, 151, 5.

excursus¹ on the apparent reduction of two syllables to one, on which Max Müller² was inclined to lay as great stress as had been laid on it in some theories of Plautine prosody. Within the limits to which it is confined by the author little objection can be taken to its application.

The value and convenience of the notes is greatly increased by the addition of elaborate indices, which give, with special fullness, references to grammatical and syntactical points.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

ANNALI DELL' ISLAM, compilati da LEONE CAETANI,
Principe di Teano. Vol. II. Fol.; pp. lxxviii, 1567.
Milano, 1907.

The second instalment of Prince Teano's great work has grown into two bulky parts, which chronicle the events of the years 7 to 12 of the Hegira. The scientific care and thoroughness which characterize the first volume are still more in evidence in the second. No similar work exists in which all available sources as well as studies bearing directly and indirectly on the early Moslem history are taken into consideration with equal fullness and circumspection.

The year 6 H. had not been a very prosperous one for Mohammed. Not only had Āisha's disagreeable adventure threatened to involve Mohammed's own family circle in disaffection and hostility, but it revealed much latent ill-feeling, which was only thinly hidden by common interest of worldly character. Moreover, Mohammed's greatest wish—to enter Mecca at the head of a strong army—had been frustrated. Instead of defying the still unconverted Meccans in their own city, he was forced to conclude a not very honourable treaty, which put off his "pilgrimage" to the Ka'ba for at least another year. The

¹ pp. 53, 54.

² SBE., xxxii, pp. cxiii seqq.

prestige of Islām had suffered, chiefly because it did not pay as well as many had expected. A victory with spoil in its train was needed, and to secure this nothing was safer than another raid against the effete Jews. After their extinction in the vicinity of Medina, only one more remnant was left at Khaibar, a few days north of the capital. Being peaceful peasants and traders, and having two years previously received written assurances of safety from Mohammed, they were all the less apprehensive of an attack. The raid was, of course, successful from a Moslem point of view, although in itself it was of small account. The undue importance given to it by the Arab authors, who grow more prolific the later their date, shows the real state of affairs better than anything else. Prince Teano rightly casts doubt on the assertion of even older authorities, such as Al Wāqidi, that the defending forces numbered ten thousand warriors. It probably amounted to not more than one-tenth of that number. Altogether Prince Teano's very detailed account of this affair is replete with sound criticism. In his excellent survey of the last five years of Mohammed's career (pp. 372 seqq.), he shows how every victory or defeat of the Moslem arms was followed by a raid on some Jewish tribe. He sees clearly that Mohammed's motives were not merely religious, but also political. A not less important motive was the booty which he required, not so much for his own benefit, as to fill the war chest and to secure the services of followers. However insignificant the conquest of Khaibar was from a military point of view, it had not only a great effect in Medina, but it assisted in the conversion of many waverers. The inflated reports of Arab authors afford a highly characteristic illustration of the spirit and expansion of Moslem tradition, and prove how much caution is necessary in eliciting the truth even in smaller matters.

The same lack of reliability appears again in the

accounts of the disaster at Mūta which was the result of an expedition rashly entered upon against the Greek troops stationed in Syria and their Arab allies. Intoxicated by the easy success of Khaibar, Mohammed undertook the ill-advised march without considering that the enemy this time consisted of disciplined soldiers. Now here, as Prince Teano justly points out, the Arab records are as meagre, and the authorities as unsatisfactory, as possible. The lack of history is made up by poems, fiction takes the place of facts. This is an important matter. Prince Teano is not, of course, the first to call attention to this, but no previous author has given such minute details. May this serve as an example to authors, who write books on Mohammed and Islām in which criticism of the sources is conspicuous by its absence; and which, therefore, give the reader a quite erroneous and misleading picture of its origin and early development.

The treaty of Hudeibiya, alluded to above, must have been still more unfavourable for Mohammed than is admitted by the sources. Many of the details are quite unhistorical. In the document of the treaty he was compelled to use his own name, instead of "Messenger of Allāh". His name was not, at that time, "Mohammed," as he only assumed this appellation two or three years later. The document, as we possess it, is based on tradition, which substituted the name "Mohammed" for the one he actually used in the original draft. Anyway, among other things, it was stipulated that no war should be waged for ten years, and that he should be allowed to visit Mecca next year as a pilgrim. This latter clause Mohammed fulfilled literally, but he never dreamt of adhering to the former. A pretext was easily found that some minor paragraph in the treaty had been violated, and the year after he set out, at the head of a large army, to enter his native city by force. The real motive was to retrieve the defeat of Mūta. The town was

taken, albeit without bloodshed, and Mohammed was thus practically master of Arabia. The victory received, in due course, the divine sanction in the form of a revelation (Qor. xlviii, 1-15).

We must agree with Prince Teano that the forbearance with which Mohammed, in the hour of victory, treated those old opponents, who are said to have embittered his life in the early years of his mission, was due to political wisdom rather than to spontaneous generosity. Our knowledge of these persecutions has come down to us through traditional reports, largely based on Mohammed's own descriptions. It is, therefore, open to question whether they were so relentless as tradition would have us believe. Apart from this, any massacre of prominent Meccan citizens, many of whom were near relatives of his most faithful friends, would have been a deadly offence to the latter. Only a few persons of no account, among them two women, were executed. Mohammed cared more for the conversion of his enemies than their death, and many of them were, thus, ready to fulfil his wish.

One must not, however, judge Mohammed too hastily for having allowed political considerations to influence his actions. They form the human element in his career. As a purely spiritual reformer he would have achieved very little. Shrewd policy is recognizable in the very beginning of his messengership, and his greatest failing was that, as soon as they promised to be useful, political motives were unscrupulously given out as demands of the faith. The consequence was that large numbers of people embraced Islām without conviction or understanding. The masses were kept together as long as Mohammed was alive, but he had scarcely passed away when the great reaction, known as the *Ridda*, set in. This was the widespread renegade movement which seized many tribes, especially those in the remoter parts of the peninsula. The result was a civil war of a very sanguinary character;

but it speaks for the great force underlying the idea of Islām that it was victorious everywhere. The motives during this period were on the whole purer than before. Unfortunately reliable sources of the history of this period are likewise scarce. In the chapter dealing with this matter Prince Teano not only discusses the value of these sources, but also gives a comprehensive compilation of them, as well as a chronology of events. His consideration of earlier studies of the conquests of Palestine and Syria reveals a deep insight into the real facts. Inserted in these researches is a chapter on the compilation of the Qorān, a subject fraught with difficulties, and incidentally on the development of writing in Arabia. The author's studies on this question were necessarily somewhat inconclusive, as some very important material was not available when he wrote this chapter. The following detail may throw some little light on the matter. In January, 1903, I published, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, the Khuṭba of a Jewish apostate to Islām who styles himself "a man who has detached himself from the sons of Hunai b. Akḥṭab". This name occurs in the fragment (which is written in Hebrew characters) twice in the spelling חֲנִי and אֲחִי. The same person is known from the earliest Mohammedan sources as *Huyayy*. We therefore see that the name, when transcribed in Arabic characters, without diacritical points, was misunderstood by the transcriber, who did not know the original name. At all events we may gather that the stage of Arabic writing prior to Neskhi must have been that of characters similar to Nabataean or Hebrew square. This origin can still be traced back in nearly every Neskhi character. The question whether Mohammed had learned to write or not is by no means devoid of importance, as it has a certain bearing on Qorān criticism.

It is impossible in a brief review to touch upon all the questions discussed in the book. Its great importance

lies not only in the fullness of the material, never before collected with so much comprehensiveness, but in the criticism which cuts deep into the historical aspect in general. The story of the conquest of Persia is preceded by a lengthy discussion of the relations between the Arabs and the empire of the Sassanides, and the causes of the decline of the latter. Prior to this, in a chapter devoted to the general aspect of Arab conquest, the author finds an opportunity of enlarging on the question of the primitive habitations of the Semitic race, a question which within the last fifty years has engaged the attention of a number of prominent scholars. Prince Teano, like Sprenger and Schrader, finds the cradle of the Semites in Arabia. The difficulties which obstruct this view he endeavours to remove by the theory that the birth of the Semitic stock took place at a time when the climate of Arabia was considerably colder than at present. This theory is, in his opinion, the outcome of the change of the geological and meteorological conditions of the peninsula. The gradual drying up of the interior caused the migrations of Arab tribes from south to north. These wanderings are an undoubted fact, although the direct reports we possess about them are to a large extent legendary.

The volume is accompanied by elaborate maps, chronological tables, excellent photogravures, and an alphabetical index of great fullness. It is not saying too much that many a chapter of the early history of Islām will have to be rewritten in consequence of Prince Teano's researches.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THREE YEARS IN TIBET. By the Shramana EKAI KAWAGUCHI, of Japan. 8vo; pp. xv, 719. Theosophical Publishing Society, Benares and London, 1909.

We are accustomed through the work of Nanjio, Takakusu, and others to associate Japanese writers on Buddhist subjects with such a high standard of scholarship that we

expect much that is fresh and interesting in a new book on Tibet, "offered to the English-knowing public" by a Japanese Buddhist priest who, we are told, acted for a time as physician to the Grand Lama, and enjoyed thus unique advantages for seeing Tibetan life, monastic and lay, from the inside. A perusal of Mr. Kawaguchi's volume, however, is decidedly disappointing. It is devoid of scholarship, and displays little special knowledge of Tibet that is either new or interesting. It is a shallow, rambling, whimsical narrative, from the standpoint of an emotional Oriental monk, upon his wanderings on a pilgrimage from shrine to shrine, in a land which he knew little about, and over ground already described in detail by European writers.

The object of the author's visit to Tibet was, he tells us, to search for Sanskrit Buddhist books, a search in which he proved wholly unsuccessful. Nor does he add in any material way to our knowledge of the language, literature, or religion of the country. Yet on the strength of being, as he asserts, "*Three years in Tibet*," he modestly claims for himself the position of being a greater authority on Tibetan literature than Csoma or Jaeschke! as if, indeed, scholarship or literary research could be measured merely by one's length of residence in a country. It is evident, however, from his uninformed remarks at p. 403, etc., that Csoma and Jaeschke are mere names to him, and that he is ignorant of their researches, so that his gratuitous claims are not to be taken very seriously.

Facts are not strong points with him. Even his very first word in the book, "*Three years in Tibet*," on which he bases such superior knowledge, is on his own showing a fiction. On p. 76 he tells us that he crossed the Tibetan frontier for the first time on July 4, 1900; and on pp. 622 and 650 that he finally recrossed it on emerging from Chumbi on June 14, 1902. This gives the duration of his entire stay in Tibet as only *one year and 345 days*, instead of the

three years to which he lays claim. And this sort of thing is not untypical of his matter throughout.

But if his results are trivial, his own personality is somewhat romantic in itself, and interesting as that of an educated modern Buddhist priest on a pilgrimage. On starting from Japan for Tibet, Mr. Kawaguchi, with truly Buddhistic zeal, extracted from his friends as farewell "gifts" their pledges to abstain from stimulants or tobacco-smoking, or from the "brutal business" of catching fish. "About forty persons willingly granted this [my] appeal." Some of these scenes were dramatic. One of these fishermen "returned with some fishing-nets, which he forthwith handed over to me, saying those were the weapons of murder with which he had caused the death of innumerable denizens of the brine, and that I might do with them as I liked. . . . I thereupon consigned the nets to the flames in the presence of all. . . . As the nets went up in smoke Mr. O., a sportsman with both gun and nets, rose and said, 'Let me too wish that you fare well in Tibet, by making to you the gift of a pledge: I pledge myself that I will never take the lives of the creatures for amusement; should I prove false to these words let Fudo Myo-oh visit me with death.'"

His visionary temperament, fired by a generous credulity, led him to hear the voice of a supernatural being calling to him at Sna and again at Sera, and he elsewhere tells us, "I was still in an extatic [*sic*] mood," which mood perhaps accounts for a good deal in his book.

He is frequently breaking out into a rhapsody or *uta*, though at times he regretfully tells us that "I wished to embody my sentiments in a few verses, but the inspiration would not come". On a cold night, "so much so that I could not sleep at all, the following is an *uta* that occurred to me in the midst of shivering:—

'On these high plateaus here no sound is heard
Of man or beast, no crickets sing their tunes,
The moon above, and I her friend below.'

The sight of the Tsang-po River "gave me an *uta*—

'The river in its pride majestic seems
The waving standard of the Buddha named
Vairochana, all Nature's Brilliant Lord.' "

A flight of cranes leads him to fire off the following :—

"Like feathers white the snows fall down and lie
There on the mountain-river's sandy banks ;
Ko-kow, Ko-wow ! sounds strange, a melody
I hear—I search around for this strange cry,
In majesty these mountain cranes
I find are proudly strutting—singing thus."

On the flank of Mount Kailas, to fill in the time one night, he informs us, "I went into the meditation exercise sitting upon a piece of sheep's hide and wrapped up in the *tuk-tuk*. . . . I was gradually entering into the state of spiritual conquest over bodily ailment, and composed the following :—

'On grass among those lofty plains on earth
I enter meditation deep and wide,
I choose, nor such secluded mountain-trees,
Nor passing crowds of men and damsels fair.'

I was almost in an extatic state when another *uta* rose to my mind—

'O Mind ! by Dharma's genial light and warmth
The pain-inflicting snows are melted fast,
And flow in rushing streams that sweep away
Delusive Ego and Non-Ego both.'

Thus in meditation," he adds, "I sat out the night." But, after all, he was not so very far from "men and damsels fair", for after walking 5 miles next morning he came to a tent in the door of which stood a beautiful damsel, whereupon our traveller, returning to mundane ways, says, "and, smiling, I asked the beauty of the wilderness for a night's lodging," and he devotes a whole chapter to "A Beautiful Rescuer". Indeed, throughout his travels, it was chiefly through the women-folk that he won his way out of difficulties, though with some

petulant ingratitude he condemns his co-religionists, the Tibetans generally, female and male, as being always "ready for any crime or enormity".

Western writers on Buddhism, who have had little or no experience of the living religion, yet are fond of asserting that the Buddhists do not offer actual worship to Buddha nor look upon him as a god, would do well to listen to what this Buddhist monk says incidentally on this subject. For, whatever his defects in Tibetan learning may be he is undoubtedly an orthodox Buddhist monk, and possessed of more than the average education in that religion. When he arrived before the great image of Śākya Muni, at Lhasa, he says (p. 288): "I could not help shedding tears over the goodness of Buḍḍha¹ which enabled me to see His image at this temple . . . I do not mean that I do not respect other Buḍḍhist deities; still Buḍḍha claims the greatest *worship* from me." Again, in his despair when he was submerged in crossing a river, he prays for help to Śākya Muni and the Buddhas as living and presiding deities (p. 120), and is rewarded by a miracle: "'O ye! All the Buḍḍhas of the ten quarters, as well as the highest Teacher of this world, Buḍḍha Shākya Muni! I am not able to accomplish my desires and to return the kindness of my parents, friends, followers, and specially the favours of all the Buḍḍhas in this life: but I desire that I may be born again in order to requite the favours which I have already received from all.' At that moment with a thrill I felt that the end of one of my staves had touched something hard, and on trying to stand up I found that the water was only up to my breast."

Again, when he lost his watch and money, he consoled himself with the reflection that "it was most likely that the Lord Buḍḍha in His wisdom and mercy had caused me to be rid of them". At Mount Kailas he writes:

¹ The diacritical marks are the author's.

“I addressed myself to this sacred pillar of nature, confessed my sins, and performed to it the obeisance of one hundred and eight bows . . . I then considered myself the luckiest of men to have thus been enabled to worship such a holy emblem of Buddha’s power.” Finally, on emerging from Tibet into British territory, he exclaimed: “My safe arrival in this country is entirely owing to the protecting power of the Lord Buddha, and I worshipped Him with zeal and earnestness.”

In Tibet our author travelled in the guise of a Chinese Buddhist priest, and posing also as a physician he acquired such great fame by his “cures” that he was brought thereby to the favourable notice of the Grand Lama. “I came to be regarded as a God of medicine,” he says: though he naïvely confesses, in excuse for his charlatanism, that not having had any regular medical training, “*I know I made a very dangerous doctor, but I was obliged to go on as a pedant domineering over a society of ignoramuses.*” This is quaintly delicious and worthy of being preserved! Fortunately for Mr. Kawaguchi, the Dalai Lama himself became one of these ignoramuses and conferred on the “doctor” his intimacy and confidence. But the author is strangely silent as to the subjects of those interesting conversations.

Living in constant terror of having his disguise penetrated and of being robbed, our pious priest was perpetually inventing falsehoods to deceive his interlocutors and “to lay false scents” as he terms it. Ultimately, the secret of his disguise having leaked out, he made a bolt from Lhasa to India, assisted by an “ex-minister and his nun-wife [*sic*]”. As there was no pursuit, however, his excitement on the way was perhaps somewhat more imaginary than warranted.

Certainly we cannot say that he has brought back to us any information which is very new or important.

L. A. W.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1905-6 ; pp. 208 ; 54 plates, and numerous text-illustrations. Royal 4to. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India ; 1909.

This volume was received in August, but could not conveniently be noticed in our October number. Like its three predecessors, of which it is in every respect a worthy continuation, it consists of three parts, devoted to conservation, exploration and research, and epigraphy. We can for the most part do little more than indicate its contents : but the list of them will show that it presents much matter of interest, in various lines, which would well repay perusal in detail.

In the division dealing with conservation (pp. 1-56, with 22 plates) we have first an article by Dr. Vogel on the ancient monuments of Kāngrā, with special reference to the deplorable damage done to them by the great earthquake which occurred on 4 April, 1905. In the course of this, Dr. Vogel has observed (p. 19) that an examination of the original stones bearing the two inscriptions known as the Baijnāth Praśastis has satisfied him that the Śaka date given in one of them is expressed by four figures, and that the year is in fact, not 726 (in A.D. 804) as read by Professor Bühler, but 1126 (in A.D. 1204) as Professor Kielhorn conjectured, for various reasons, might be found to be the case. This rectification has an important bearing, not only on the date of the building to which the two records belong, but also (as we may hope to explain at some other time) on the history of the Śaka era, and of the Lōkakāla or centennial reckoning by "omitted hundreds" in which the other Praśasti is dated.

Other articles in this division are by Mr. W. H. Nicholls, on conservation at Sikandarah, Delhi, and Ajmere ; by Mr. Marshall, on the restoration of two elephant-statues at the Fort of Delhi about which there has been much

controversy (see references given in the article, and some remarks by Mr. Beveridge in this Journal, 1909. 743 ff.) ; by Mr. Cousens, on the restoration of the Jain tower at Chitōrgadh ; and by Mr. Rea on the general progress of conservation in Madras.

The division of exploration and research (pp. 57-164, with 32 plates) commences with an account by Dr. Vogel of further excavations at Kasiā, including the discovery of the seals bearing legends which mention the community of friars at the monastery of the Mahāparinirvāṇa (compare this Journal, 1907. 365) and the community of monks at the monastery of Vishṇudvīpa, Veṭhadīpa (compare *ibid.*, 994, 1050).

This is followed by an article on Rājagṛīha and its remains by Mr. Marshall, giving an account of operations conducted not only by himself but also by Dr. Th. Bloch, whose unexpected and untimely death at Calcutta on 20 October last has deprived us of a valued worker in several lines of Indian research. The article is accompanied by a map (plate 29) which entirely supersedes previous sketches of the locality, and throws much light on points which have hitherto been obscure. It includes a new identification (p. 100) of the site shown to Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang as the site of the Sattapaṇṇa or Sattapaṇṇi hall in which the First Buddhist Council was held. There is no objection to accepting, for so short a distance, the estimate that 5 or 6 *li* represent a little more than one mile (p. 100) : though, as has been said in this Journal, 1906. 1013, the expression 100 *li* denoted an ordinary day's journey of 12·12 miles ; at which rate 6 *li*, taken literally, would mean 1280 yards. And thus the identification seems sound, on the view taken by Mr. Marshall that what was shown to the Chinese pilgrims was a structural building. But, as the hall is invariably mentioned in the Pāli books as a *guhā*, 'a cave', we may well

doubt, as he appears to do, whether the Council was really held on the site that used to be pointed out.

The next article is by Mr. Cousens, on the Dhamnār caves and the monolithic temple of Dharmanātha. This is followed by three contributions by Mr. Rea, on excavations at Amarāvati, on some buried Jain remains at Dānavulapād, and on the ancient village site at Peddamuḍiyam. We have then a paper by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, on excavations at Pagan, and two contributions by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on two sculptures at Mandōr (for another note on this place, see this Journal, 1909. 1068), and on Jain iconography. And this part of the volume ends with an account by Dr. D. B. Spooner of a new find of punch-marked coins at Peshāwar,—a class of money which is generally accepted as the most ancient known Indian coinage, and the surroundings of which are still somewhat obscure.

In the epigraphic division of the volume (pp. 165–84) Dr. Konow, who in the year dealt with and until recently was holding the office of Government Epigraphist, gives us a statement of general progress for the year, in both the collection and the publication of materials. Specially interesting discoveries were (1) some inscribed slabs at Amarāvati bearing Brāhmī characters referable to the second or third century B.C., which show that a Stūpa existed there at a much earlier time than has hitherto been supposed; and (2) some fragmentary records of the Western Kshatrapa king Rudradāman, dated in the year 52, = A.D. 130–31. These remain to be edited.

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Konow has mentioned the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela (p. 166), and has observed, as an *obiter dictum*, that “it is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era”. We may take this opportunity of saying that, though that has been the general belief for a long time past, it is a mistake, and

has no basis except in Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's treatment of a passage in line 16 of the record. The Pandit found there certain words which, as turned into Sanskrit and interpreted by him, purport to say that king Khāravēla "did such-and-such acts in the 165th year of the time of the Maurya kings after 164 years had passed away". And on the strength of that, without other evidence of any kind in support of it, there has been set up a Maurya era, dating in his opinion from the time when Aśoka conquered the Kalinga countries, but according to another view from the coronation of Chandragupta. We may concede the point that the text very possibly does contain the expression *rāja-Muriya-kālē* or *°kālā*. But the words which the Pandit evolved, with the meaning stated above, are altogether inadmissible. And even if *vichchhinna*, 'cut, torn, interrupted, ended, ceased', could be used, as applied by him, in the sense of a year being ended (which we very much doubt), the fact remains that that word, used by the Pandit, is not the word which the original text has. The text, even as shown in the Pandit's lithograph and in the Prākṛit reading from which he made his Sanskrit version of it, has *vochhine* or *vochhinnē*, for *vochchhinne* = *vyavachchhinnāni*. This is a well-known Jain technical term, applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off, interrupted', or in other terms have been neglected and lost sight of: and, even apart from other considerations, the use of this term quite prohibits the existence of a date. The record is primarily devoted to acts done by Khāravēla to promote the Jain faith. And, while we are not prepared to say just now what may be the exact meaning of the words in which the Pandit found "in the 165th year", we can say that the whole passage does not present any date, but tells us that Khāravēla restored some texts (still to be identified in the words supposed to give the above meaning) and the sixty-fourth

chapter or other division of the collection of seven Āṅgas, which had been neglected since (?) the time of the Maurya king or kings. The text, in completed orthography, is:—
 [rā]ja-[Muri]-ya-kālā(?lē) vochchhinime chōyatṭham
 aṅgasattik-aṁtariyaṁ ch = uppādayati. In what preceded we may perhaps find *paṇṇattari*, 'seventy-five', but certainly not anything meaning 'sixty-five'.

From p. 170 we learn that estampages were prepared of 468 out of 739 inscriptions formerly collected by king Bodawpaya at Pagan. It appears that these inscriptions do not go back to older times than the eleventh century. Still, even that is a very fair start in the collection of epigraphic materials in Burma: and these records should surely yield many details throwing a light on the historical chronology of the country. In connexion with any of them, or any other Burmese records, which contain dates presenting details that can be verified, we may mention, for the guidance of students of them, that a book by Mr. A. M. B. Irwin, entitled "The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars", published last year, meets a long-felt want by giving a full explanation of the calendar, and furnishing the means of accurately calculating any dates back to A.D. 638 from Burma and those parts.

The remainder of the volume is occupied by the Grāmam inscription of the Chōla king Parāntaka I, edited and translated, with an introduction on the Chōla history, by the present Government Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya. Some special interest attaches to this record for two reasons. In the first place, it is fully dated in such a manner that Professor Kielhorn was able to locate it exactly on Saturday, 14 January, A.D. 943; and to reduce the limits for the commencement of the reign of Parāntaka I to the time from 15 January to 25 July, A.D. 907. In the second place the date is recorded in the Kaliyuga era; and this inscription gives us one of the earliest amongst a limited number of epigraphic instances of the

use of that reckoning for civil purposes. The initial day of the Kaliyuga age and era is Friday, 18 February, B.C. 3102. Notwithstanding some theories recently broached in India to the contrary, the era is not of historical origin, commencing with an event occurring on that day (or at any other ancient time), and actually running in use from its beginning. Traditional history was subsequently fitted to it. But it is by origin an invented reckoning, devised by the Hindū astronomers for their technical purposes some thirty-five centuries after that time, and referred back to it. With the Vikrama and Śaka eras, it is presented in probably every Indian almanac. But it is not now in practical use, as they are. And as regards the custom of former times, as far as we can judge it from the use of this era in the epigraphic records, which furnish a very good guide, the position is as follows: from Southern India we have one such instance of A.D. 634, one of A.D. 770, three of the tenth century (including the Grāmam date), and then, from the twelfth century onwards, but more particularly from the fourteenth, a certain number of instances, not exactly very small in itself, but extremely so in comparison with the number of cases of the use of the Vikrama and Śaka eras and other reckonings: from Northern India the earliest known instance is of A.D. 1169 or 1170 (I am indebted for this to Dr. Vogel, who has kindly shown me the introduction to his forthcoming volume on the inscriptions of the Chambā State), and the later ones number only three, —one of A.D. 1428, one of A.D. 1520 (I have these from the same source), and one of A.D. 1797 (from an inscription at Jaisalmēr; Professor S. R. Bhandarkar's Second Report on Sanskrit MSS., pp. 67, 98). If any of our readers can extend the previous use of the era, otherwise than for astronomical purposes, from either inscriptional or literary sources, we shall be thankful to them for the additional information so supplied.

J. F. FLEET.

THE AMHERST TABLETS, being an account of the Babylonian Inscriptions in the collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A., at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D. Part I: Texts of the period extending to and including the reign of Bûr-Sin (about 2500 B.C.). With numerous illustrations and five collotype plates. London: Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, W., 1908.

Dr. Pinches is doing a great service to Assyriology by publishing the Babylonian Tablets contained in the collection of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney. These tablets cover a period of "rather more than four millenniums" (p. i), and must naturally be of great importance for the Babylonian studies in all their ramifications. In the first part of the planned series which lies now before us Dr. Pinches gives us the earlier portion of the collection, the inscriptions of which date from about 4500 B.C. to about 2500 B.C. The number of the texts reproduced in this volume is 122. The reproduction is as minute and as perfect as can be expected from such a master copyist as Dr. Pinches is. The documents mostly contain lists of offerings, receipts of grain, accounts of cattle, etc. The language of the documents is Sumerian.

In a very interesting and instructive Preface (pp. i-viii), Dr. Pinches speaks "upon the position of the different sections of the Amherst Collection in the historical scheme" (p. i), and draws therein the attention of the reader to many important points which are to be gathered from the tablets. In the Introduction (pp. ix-xxii) Dr. Pinches discusses (1) some general questions connected with the texts (pp. ix-xiii), (2) chronological data (pp. xiii-xix), and (3) the calendar. On p. xxiii he gives "The Months and their probable equivalents", and "Weights and Measures". On p. xxiv there are "Some Notes and corrections". On pp. 1-200 the texts, transliterations, translations, and notes are given.

Although the texts mostly consist of lists of offerings, receipts of grain, etc., almost every text has some point of special interest. So, for instance, the first tablet shows how very many kinds of fish they had in Babylonia. In text 5 a "bird-catcher" is mentioned. Text 8 contains the Semitic word for garlic (*šu-me*), which shows that Semites lived then in Babylonia. Text 11 mentions "wine for the king". In text 20 we find four times the *na-qid* (the Semitic word for "herdsman"), which would tend to show that it was mainly the Semites who occupied themselves with cattle-rearing in Babylonia. Text 32 (account of the produce of fields) is very interesting for the productiveness of the soil of Mesopotamia. In the words of Dr. Pinches (p. 59): "In this inscription we have an interesting classification, indicating the comparative productiveness of certain tracts of cultivated land in Babylonia under the system in use during the third millennium before Christ. As is stated by Herodotus, it was—and probably is—an exceedingly fruitful country, such as might become one of the world's great granaries, of which there will be great need, when the population of the earth has increased, as it will do, to an even greater extent than is the case at the present time." I wonder whether Sir William Willcocks knew of this inscription when he recently gave his glowing account of Mesopotamia's possibilities after a renewal of the old canalization system. Text 37 mentions *Ê-il-a-edina*, "the temple of the river of the water of Edina." Cf. **נְהַר יַצְא מֵעֵרָן** (Gen. ii, 10). Text 44, again, shows us that the owners of sheep and cattle in Babylonia were then Semites, the name of the owner of the sheep in this text being *Šurru-ili*. Very interesting texts, from the point of view of farming and cattle-rearing, are also No. 50 and No. 52. Worthy of note is the distinction made in text 50 between "butter" (*zal-nunà*), col. ii, lines 2, 20, and col. iv, line 4, and "fresh butter" (*zal-nuna dug-ga*), col. ii, line 19,

and col. iv, line 8. *Tout comme chez nous*. A few Semitic names which occur in these inscriptions are also interesting, as they testify to the presence of the Semites in Babylonia several centuries before Hammurabi (see also above). These names are: *Šarrum-ili* (text 44), *Ahi-milum* (text 77), *Aḫuni* (text 97), *Nuḫalum* (text 105), *Tābum*, *Addubuni*, *Matini* [or *Matili*, see p. ii, note 3] (text 108), and *Abs(z)alum*¹ (text 111). Out of these eight Semitic persons the first was an owner of cattle, the second, the fifth, and the seventh were messengers, the third was a courier, the fourth and the eighth were soldiers. This shows that then the Sumerians were still the dominating race. A few centuries later the Semites ruled Babylonia.

Of great importance are the seals on some of these tablets, which should now be studied together with the seals in the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, published now by Dr. Ward under the title of "Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals", and with those in the collection of Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe, published in his *Documents Présargoniques*, pt. i. These ancient seals throw much light on many archæological questions and raise many new questions. Many a scene on those seals has an important bearing on some Biblical passages.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Dr. Pinches has carried out his task splendidly in every respect. If some renderings may have to undergo some modifications in the future, it is because Sumerian is not sufficiently known yet, and no one is more aware of this than Dr. Pinches himself (see p. xii).

The plates and the map of "Western Asia from the Cuneiform Inscriptions" enhance the value of this great work. The external doing up of this volume is the same as that of the "Amherst Papyri", edited by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt.

In conclusion I should like to draw attention to the

¹ *Abs(z)alum* is no doubt = אבשלום.

last paragraph of Dr. Pinches' Preface (p. viii), the last sentence of which I may be permitted to quote here: "What other countries are doing so lavishly and systematically ought also to be possible for us, and would serve in a slight measure to compensate for the meagre encouragement meted out to the study of Assyro-Babylonian in this country, which, in former years, held therein the foremost place." May these words, uttered by one of the most prominent Assyriologists of our age, not have been written in vain.

SAMUEL DAICHES.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October, November, December. 1909.)

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OBITUARY NOTICES

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

DEATH has been busy of late among the past members of our Council. Within the past year Mr. E. L. Brandreth and Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid have passed away, and their deaths have now been followed by the decease, on October 28, of Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., Honorary Vice-President, for seven-and-twenty years our Honorary Secretary, a frequent contributor to our Journal, and deserving the special thanks of Orientalists as the originator and promoter of the great Survey, now in progress, of all the languages of India.

After a most useful and distinguished career in India, as Political Officer, Administrator, Judge, Legislator, and frequent writer on subjects of the day, for well-nigh a quarter of a century, he was constrained by domestic affliction to give up his high position and prospects a few months before he had earned his full retiring pension.

Having means of his own, he declined to accept further service under Government, but devoted the remaining years of his long life to independent research, study, travels, active work as Magistrate and on the Committees of a multitude of Societies for literary, scientific, religious, and charitable objects; and to giving others the benefit of his labours by a continuous stream of published writings, some ephemeral, some permanent in character—his motto being: “Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter”; and all this he did, not for gain or self-advancement, but as a duty owed to his Creator for the health and strength and opportunities vouchsafed to him.

As to the incidents and work of his singularly busy life there is, fortunately, no lack of information, for, with characteristic forethought and thoroughness, he has left behind him a *Life Memoir* of 313 closely printed pages of extremely interesting matter, with elaborate appendices; and a *Brief Autobiography*, of thirty-two pages, for those not desirous of details.

From these sources I propose to give a short account of our friend's career—dealing more particularly with the work he did for this Society—and conclude with a few personal reminiscences.

Dr. Cust was born at Cockayne Hatley (his father's place in Bedfordshire) in 1821. He was the son of the Hon. and Rev. Henry Cockayne Cust, brother of the Earl Brownlow, and of Lady Anna Maria Needham, sister of the Earl of Kilmorey. He was educated at Eton and intended for the Bar, but ultimately accepted a nomination for the Indian Civil Service. At Haileybury College he greatly distinguished himself, and acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Hindūstāni. He arrived in Calcutta in 1843, and completed his studies in the College of Fort William, receiving Medals and a Degree of Honour and acquiring a knowledge of the Bengālī language.

His first appointment in the public service was that of Assistant to the Magistrate of Ambāla (then headquarters of the Political Administration of Northern India); here he learned the ordinary duties of a young civilian. He was then selected for the post of Personal Assistant to a distinguished Political Officer, Major George Broadfoot, newly appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the then North-Western Frontier.

In this capacity he was marching through the domains of the Cis-Satlaj Protected Chiefs when news arrived of the Sikh invasion of our territory; he and his chief at once proceeded to the front and took part in the great battles on the Satlaj in 1845—at Mūdki, Ferozshahr, and

Sobrão (of which he has left a graphic account in his *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*), and his services were mentioned in the Governor-General's dispatch.

At Ferozshahr his superior officer, Major Broadfoot ("the foremost man in India"¹), was unfortunately killed in action, and Cust, albeit a very junior officer, carried on for a time the duties of Governor-General's Agent. Then, in acknowledgment of his services, he was appointed by Lord Hardinge to the charge of a district in the newly formed province of the Punjab, the district of Hoshiārpur. Here, after some years of incessant labour, with little experience to guide him, but under the inspiration of his new chief, the great John Lawrence, he organized the district in a "masterly fashion" on a "non-regulation system"—a system of firmness and kindness, "the iron hand and the velvet glove," no red tape, no technical formalities, no lawyers; rough and ready justice, and words of sympathy and good-fellowship; living alone amongst the people—without soldiers or policemen—the Court held under the green mango-trees in the presence of hundreds. "The experience of half a century," he remarks, "has given the stamp of approval to our strong but benevolent, rigorous but sympathetic, system." It was here that he developed that intense love for India and its people, and profound acquaintance with their customs and feelings, which formed a marked feature of his character.

At length, to his sorrow, he was moved from Hoshiārpur to his old district of Ambāla, and took its administration vigorously in hand.

Then came the second Sikh war, which ended in the decisive victory of Gujrāt and the annexation of the Punjab; and Cust thought the time a good one for paying a brief visit to his father (now advanced in years) in England, but, before starting, he was required

¹ So styled in the inscription on his tomb in the Cemetery of Ferozapore.

by the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, to visit all the districts of the new territory and report on their condition and requirements—an important and most laborious task.

On its completion in 1851 he proceeded to England on a brief furlough. Returning to India he was appointed Joint Magistrate of Benāres, and afterwards to the important charge of Magistrate and Collector of Banda in Bundelkund, and in three years put the district, which was in a most unsatisfactory condition, into perfect order. In recognition of his service he was offered the more important post of Magistrate and Collector of Dehli, but, fortunately for himself, declined it and proceeded to England on furlough in 1855. I say “fortunately for himself”, for the officer who accepted the post which he declined was among the victims of the Dehli massacre.

In England Cust was married to his first wife—daughter of the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, Dean of Windsor, brother of the Earl of Buckinghamshire—and was called to the English Bar.

He was in England at the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, but, returning to India in February, 1858, was immediately appointed at the special request of Sir John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner, to be Commissioner of the Lahore Division of the Punjab, and when that Division, found to be too large for the effective supervision of one man, was subdivided into two he chose the moiety forming the new division of Amritsar. For a time he held office as Financial Commissioner of the province, and made his mark as a reorganizer; then (in 1861) became Judicial Commissioner, but early in 1864, while busily engaged in overhauling the Department of Justice, he had the misfortune to lose his wife. He at once proceeded to England with his children, but returned to India in October to take up the office of Member of the Legislative Council, and to act temporarily as Home Secretary to the

Supreme Government. Returning to England at the end of the legislative session, he was again sent for to fill the important post of Member of the Board of Revenue in the North-West Provinces. Meanwhile he married his second wife, daughter of the Rev. E. Carlyon, a lady of considerable literary attainments, and with her proceeded to India. Her death at Allahabad after childbirth, in August, 1867, was a severe blow and determined Cust to retire from India for ever—just nine months before completing his service for full pension.

For a year after his retirement in 1867 he felt, he says, "like a man who had been crushed," but at length roused himself, distracted his thoughts by the study of Hebrew and completing the draft of a Code of Revenue Law for Northern India¹; was united in marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of E. Mathews, Esq. (his devoted companion to the end), and by 1869 found himself restored to his old energy and powers; and from that time he found in England, as we have seen, a new career of usefulness.

He aided for a time in the preparation of Murray's great Dictionary of the English Language, and between 1870 and 1909 published more than fifty volumes. The list includes a clear and accurate account of the Religion and Languages of India, a scholarly description of the Modern Languages of Africa (described by a French savant as "*un livre du premier ordre*"), the Modern Languages of Oceania, of the Caucasian group of the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic family, seven volumes of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, besides a multitude of smaller works, translations into French, Italian, and Greek, and two volumes of poetry; while, by his annual visits to foreign cities, he drew to himself correspondents

¹ The draft was finished, and printed by the Government in 1870 and circulated; but, like Sir J. Stephen's draft Penal Code for England, was not destined to become law: it remains a monument of the drafter's skill and profound knowledge of his subject.

in all the great languages of Europe, and had a friend in every centre of intellectual movement in Europe or North America. He served on the Council or Committee of some thirty Societies or Boards—including the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Geographical Society, the Philological Society, the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., the C.M.S., the Charity Organization Society; was a J.P. for Middlesex and Surrey, a Visiting Justice for Wormwood Scrubs Prison, a member of the Chelsea Board of Guardians, etc. He was a good publicist, lecturer, and platform speaker: and, without being a profound scholar, he had, he tells us, knowledge for practical purposes for reading, speaking, and writing, of *sixteen languages*—

European: Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese.

Asiatic: Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Ūrdū or Hindūstāni, Panjābi, Bengālī.

His religious feelings were profound, but without a trace of bigotry. Religion and missionary enterprise form the subject of several of his published volumes.

As for Dr. Cust's relations with the Royal Asiatic Society, he originally joined it in 1851, withdrew for a time on his return to India, but, on his final retirement, rejoined it; in 1872 was appointed Member of Council and Honorary Librarian, and in 1878 Honorary Secretary, a post he filled admirably for many years, being an excellent man of business, possessing, as we have seen, an extensive knowledge of languages and a wide acquaintance with foreign scholars. Besides his ordinary work as Honorary Secretary he contributed to the Journal a large number of well-written Obituary Notices, Reviews of Books, and other articles. He attended and ably represented the Society at the Oriental Congresses of London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, and, without attending, contributed papers to those of

Geneva, Paris, and Rome. He frequently took the chair at meetings of the Society in the absence of the President and Director; and, when present, took an effective part in discussions following the reading of papers.

In 1904 a cataract appeared in each eye and he began to lose his sight—a terrible deprivation, which the sufferer bore with the greatest patience, and with the help of a reader and amanuensis he continued to take a keen interest in affairs generally, and especially in his old subjects, and so late as February, 1909, he issued a pamphlet containing selections from his writings and dedicated to his children. But the failure of his strength, which commenced in 1905, steadily increased, until on October 28 he passed peacefully away.

Yes, he has passed away, full of years and the happiness resulting from a *mens conscia recti*; undecorated indeed—for the degree of LL.D. granted him late in life by the University of Edinburgh is the only title he received—but none the less honoured. He will be remembered by multitudes of friends in England, in India, in France, in Germany, in America; and his presence will be missed at the gatherings of the many Committees in which he took an active interest. Meanwhile he remains—and will long remain—an example to us all of a strenuous life well spent: a life in which he faithfully carried out, so far as he was able, the old Latin distribution of the hours of the day (which he often quoted)—

“Seven to the world; to prayer and slumber Seven;
Ten hours to work bestow, and all for Heaven.”

* * * * *

With regard to personal reminiscences the writer was Dr. Cust's subordinate and fellow-worker in India for several years, and enjoyed his friendship to the last.

In India his abilities and power of work were most remarkable. Some thought him too severely logical for

ordinary mortals, and somewhat of a social recluse ; but he loved India, and to all his friends, whether Indian or English, was most kind and sympathetic.

He was of a highly-strung nervous temperament, and possibly unfitted for periods of stress, and he had not the magnetic power of Lawrence or Nicholson or Edwardes ; but as an organizer, investigator, and administrator dealing with complicated issues he was masterly. He was an indefatigable worker and writer, with a style particularly clear ; a vigorous disputant, but always kept his temper ; was intensely methodical and abhorred waste of time, but kept impatience well under control. Though he rowed in the "ten-oar" at Eton, in after-life he cared neither for games nor sport, but was fond of travel for an object, and in society was full of geniality and humour. Let me add that he was no time-server or party-man, but thought out questions for himself : "nullius addictus," as he often used to say, "jurare in verba magistri." At the same time he was always ready to listen carefully to argument.

VALE.

He leaves a widow and four children, one son and two daughters by his first wife and one daughter by his last wife. All his children have shown literary power.

T. H. THORNTON.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1910

VII

GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON

(*Continued from the January Number, p. 109.*)

VII. THE FORTY-TWO BELOVED OF THE LORD.

The ninth verse of Nāblā's text, and the fifth in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

Chappai.

9. (5). I pray to all the beloved of the LORD,—for in the dust of their feet do I put my hope. To (1) Kamalā, to (2) Garuḍa, to (3–18) Sunanda and the other fifteen Archangels devoted to the Master's feet; to (19) Hanumat, to (20) Jāmbavat, to (21) Sugrīva, to (22) Vibhīṣana, to (23) the Savarī, to (24) Jaṭāyu, the lord of birds, to (25) Dhruva, to (26) Uddhava, to (27) Ambarīsa, to (28) Vidura, to (29) Akrūra, to (30) Sudāman, to (31) Candrahāsa, to (32) Citrakētu, to (33) the Crocodile, to (34) the Elephant, to (35–9) the five Pāṇḍavas, to (40) (Maitrēya) the son of Kuṣāru, to (41) Kuntī, and to (42) Kuntī's daughter-in-law, Draupadī, whose modesty He saved when (Duṣśāsana) dragged away her garments.

The poet now offers reverence to the forty-two *Hari-vallabhas*, who were specially dear to the LORD. In the text I have numbered these for convenience of reference.

On these P. makes the following general remarks : Very precious in the world are the beloved of the LORD, and therefore do I place my hope of life in the dust of their feet. No need have I of ascetics, devotees, or anchorites, for the love, and trust, and religious practice (*prīti-pratīti-rīti*) of these have taken my soul into captivity. The sweet-flavoured tales of Kamalā, Garuḍa, Jāmbavat, Sugrīva, and the others are recorded in the scriptures, in the which hath the Master with truth and love spread His glory o'er the universe. Delightful are they to my soul, for full are they of blissful flavour.

1. *Kamalā*. This is Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, and his *śakti*, or energetic power. P. is silent about her. Other commentators explain that she and the ADORABLE are not different individuals, though they are different personalities. They are as much one as are a word and its meaning, or water and a wave. They are, in fact, One in Two and Two in One, "neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance." In worshipping one the other is worshipped, and vice versa. The ADORABLE in the form of Lakṣmī creates and protects the world, teaches the doctrine of *bhakti*, and brings souls to dwell for ever near the Master. The particular *bhakti* church founded by Rāmānuja is called, after her, the *Śrī-saṁpradāya*. She taught the doctrines to the Archangels (*Pārṣadas*, see preceding verse). Their leader Viṣvaksēna taught Śaṭha-kōpa, who taught Vōpadēva, who taught Śrīnātha, who taught Puṇḍarikākṣa, who taught Rāma-mīśra, who taught Parāṅkuśa, who taught Yamunācārya, who taught Pūrṇācārya, who taught Rāmānuja.¹ The commentators add that there are no special stories about Lakṣmī, because, she and the ADORABLE being identical, everything that she

¹ This is the northern tradition. The southern tradition puts twelve *Azhwārs*, or saints, after Viṣvaksēna, the sixth of whom, and the first in the *Kali Yuga*, was Śaṭha-kōpa. After them comes Nātha-muni, instead of Śrīnātha, who was followed by Puṇḍarikākṣa, etc., as above, omitting Parāṅkuśa.

did was part of his actions. Southern Bhāgavatas lay more stress upon the worship of Lakṣmī than is done in the north. To them she is the All-Mother, just as the ADORABLE is the All-Father, and she is looked upon as protecting the pious with a mother's tender care.

She belongs to the 17th, or *Bhagavat-sēvā*, *niṣṭhā*.

2. *Garuḍa*. He is the celebrated bird, the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā, and Vehicle of Viṣṇu. P. is silent concerning him. He belongs to the 4th, or *Śravaṇa*, *niṣṭhā*, because he heard the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. When Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, had in the battle before Laṅkā imprisoned Rāma in the "Serpent noose", Garuḍa came and released him.¹ Tulasī-dāsa (VII, lviii ff.) tells that Garuḍa could not understand how Rāma, if he were really the Omnipotent Supreme, could have allowed Indrajit to entangle him. He asked Nārada to explain, who sent him to Brahmā, who sent him to Śiva, who sent him to the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. It was on this occasion that the latter recited the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Garuḍa, whose illusion (*mōha*) then passed away.

3-18. The *Archangels* (*Pārṣada*). These have been already dealt with in the notes to verse 8.

19. *Hanumat*. The well-known monkey-hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He belongs to the 17th, or *Bhagavat-sēvā*, *niṣṭhā*. He was an incarnation of Śiva, who took human form in order to have an opportunity of serving Rāma-candra. His father was the Wind, and his mother's name was Añjanā.

P. says: Rāvaṇa had wrung from the sea a number of jewels of value inestimable, and had kept them with delight in his treasury. When Rāma had conquered Laṅkā and had returned to Ayōdhyā, Vibhiṣaṇa, with much love and affection, made a necklace of these jewels and offered them to his Lord.

The assembled nobles present in the court were filled

¹ Vālmiki, *Rām.*, VI, 1; Tulasī-dāsa, VI, lxxiv.

with longing for the necklace. This covetousness was an enemy to faith, and hence, that he might do away with it, Rāma threw it round the neck of Hanumat. Hanumat, who was the only person in the assembly not thinking of the necklace, and who had been instead looking adoringly at Rāma, turned his eyes upon the ornament and saw that, though beautiful, on it there was not written the name of Rāma. With mind distraught he said, "Without the name of Rāma, of what value is it?" Then, thinking that perchance the name might be found inside them, he split each jewel open; but as each was opened the name of Rāma was not visible therein, and so he cast it aside as a thing of naught. Thus was it that he seized the thoughts of the other courtiers.

The commentators give the rest of the story. The courtiers were shocked at the way in which he treated the precious gift of Rāma, and Vibhīṣaṇa interfered, complaining that his actions were only mischievous monkey tricks. Hanumat explained that the jewels were of no value, as not one of them contained the name of Rāma. Vibhīṣaṇa retorted that he could not see Rāma's name upon his (Hanumat's) body, and that therefore it, too, was of no value, and why did he keep it? On hearing this Hanumat with his own nails tore open the skin of his bosom, and the people saw that on every pore of his body the name of Rāma was written in minute, but brilliant letters.

Hanumat's other exploits are narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They are well known and need not be repeated.

20. *Jāmbavat*, king of the bears. He was Sugrīva's minister and a helper of Rāma. He was an incarnation of Brahmā. His father was named Pitāmaha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of instances of his wisdom and of his bravery. In *Bhṛ. P.*, X, lvii, he is connected with the story of the jewel Syamantaka. Prasēna was slain by a lion when wearing it. Jāmbavat slew the lion and

carried away the jewel. Kṛṣṇa conquered Jāmbavat. Then Jāmbavat gave him not only the jewel, but his daughter Jāmbavatī in marriage, by whom (lxi. 11) he had ten sons. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, xiii. For the further history of the Syamantaka, see Akrūra (No. 29) below.

21. *Sugrīva*. The famous monkey king and ally of Rāma. He was a son of the Sun. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of his exploits.

22. *Vibhīṣana*. The well-known brother of Rāvaṇa. He was a devoted *bhakta*, and so long as he remained in Laṅkā affairs prospered there. He counselled Rāvaṇa to make peace with Rāma, but he refused, and expelled Vibhīṣana with contumely. Vibhīṣana took refuge with Rāma, who at once consecrated him king of Laṅkā, and after Rāvaṇa had been conquered put him on the throne. From that time the inhabitants of Laṅkā, instead of being vicious as before, became pious, although still Rākṣasas. See Vālmīki, *Rām.*, VI, ix-xix.

P. adds "a new story" to show his devotion to Rāma, as follows:—

A merchant's ship went aground on its voyage, nor could all the efforts of the seamen move it. The merchant considered and said, "Some God of the sea hath stopped us," and so they cast unto the waves a man with his limbs cut off as an offering to appease the deity.¹ By Rāma's mercy he was thrown ashore on the island of Laṅkā, and the Rākṣasas took him up in their arms and, full of joy, brought him to their king, Vibhīṣana. At that time Vibhīṣana was meditating lovingly on his Master Rāma, and when he saw the man he leaped from his throne, his eyes filled with tears, crying out, "He is my master, Rāma, in visible form."² Happy am I to see his face."

¹ Cf. the story of Jonah.

² He was a stranger and he took him in, looking upon service done unto such as done unto Rāma. Cf. Matt. xxv, 35 ff.

Without delay he seated him in honour on the throne, and distributed presents to the Rākṣasas in token of the happy hour. With tears dropping from his eyes he grasped a wand of office, and stood before him as his servitor, gazing with rapture on the lotus-face. Yet though he received this homage, the man's countenance became not debonair, and from moment to moment did its brightness become dim ; for it came into his mind that these honours were but preparations for his sacrifice.

Then Vibhīṣaṇa besought him saying : " In thy graciousness tell me what thou needest, for very anxious is my heart for thee, when I see thee thus distraught." He answered, " But carry me beyond the sea. So much is all the happiness I desire." So Vibhīṣaṇa bestowed upon him many jewels, and brought him, as he had come, to the ocean-shore.

Then did Vibhīṣaṇa write the Holy Name of " Rāma " and tie it upon his forehead, and he said : " By this NAME do souls cross over the ocean of existence, and therefore, if thou hast faith, will it carry thee across this water that lieth before us." Thereon the man received full faith, and as on dry land did he go upon the ocean.¹ He sat down to rest, and, behold his form was changed and comely, and thither came upon its voyage home the very ship from which he had been cast. When the sailors saw him they knew him, and asked him how he fared. He told them all, so that their hearts were filled with joy, and they took him again into their ship and prayed for his forgiveness. He leaped from the ship into the sea, and they saw with wondering hearts that, through his faith in the name of Rāma, one drop of water did not wet his feet.²

¹ This is the interpretation of all the commentators. The text simply says that he sat there, and the ship came by. Cf. Peter walking on the water, and his sinking for want of faith (Matt. xiv, 28-31).

² According to Bh. one legend says that the reason of his leaping from the ship was that the captain coveted the jewels which Vibhīṣaṇa had given him, and wished to rob him.

23. The *Savarī*. This was the woman mentioned by Vālmiki in *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, lxxv. In later *bhakti* literature she plays a much more important part, as in Tulasī-dāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, xxxvii ff. Here she is the poor Bhīl woman dwelling in the forest—lower than the lowest of the low, *adhama jāti mē . . . adhama-tē adhama*—who in faith received Rāma in his search for Sītā, and directed him to Sugrīva. *Bhakta* writers are never weary of dwelling on this episode, on the ADORABLE'S graciousness to so humble a person, and in saying to her *māmaū eka bhagati kara nātā, jāti pāti kula dharma baḍāī, dhana bala parijana guna caturāī*, "I know no kinship save that of faith—not caste, tribe, or religion not rank, wealth, power, or connexions: not virtue or ability." These words are the charter of the Bhāgavata religion.

She is counted as belonging to the 24th, or *Prēmā niṣṭhā*.

She was born in the low tribe of the Śavaras (Bhils), but from her youth up her habits and her mind were different from those of her fellows. When the time came for her marriage her parents collected many animals wherewith to prepare a feast for the brotherhood. She could not bear the thought of so many living creatures being slaughtered on her account, and rising at night she released them all, and fleeing from her home hid herself by the Pampā lake. There she dwelt, living upon wild roots and fruits.

P. here takes up her story :—

In the forest did she dwell, and all men called her "the Śavarī". She longed to serve the saints who dwelt by the lake, but did not dare to approach them, for she knew the meanness of her caste. So each night, before it was dawn, would she steal into the hermitage of the holy men (*ṛṣi*), and lay down therein bundles of wood. So also would she each night sweep the path by which

the holy men did descend to bathe, and pick up and throw aside the hard pebbles and the stones. Then would she quickly arise and hasten to her hut, that none might see her. When in the morn the holy men (saints were they, devoted to Rāma) arose, they would see the service she had done, and would wonder in their hearts, saying: "Who is it that hath swept the path? How kindly must he be!"

The greatest of these saints, free from all worldly desires, and filled with the flavour of the name of Rāma, was Matāṅga. When he saw the bundles of wood thus laid down, cried he out: "What thief of our weariness hath come here? He cometh and ever stealeth it away? Ah! seize hold of him some day, for even though I have not seen him, through love for him hath inquietude filled my soul." So in the night-time did his disciples carefully keep watch. She came. They seized her. She trembled, and fell before their feet. Even as Matāṅga saw her a stream of tears flowed forth from his eyes. So filled with rapture was he that, when he would have spoken, the words could not issue from his lips.

In her humility she dared not raise her eyes to him, for she remembered the baseness of her tribe. The saint saw that she was sinking in a flood of sorrow, and pondered within himself how could he pull her forth therefrom, for well did he know the might of faith. So said he to his disciples: "Of a truth, she is of lineage low, but millions many of Brāhmanhoods can indeed be humbly laid as offerings before her Faith." So he allowed her to dwell in the hermitage, and in her ear whispered he the mystic spell¹ of Rāma. When the other saints heard of this they became angered, and separated him from their communion, but this he heeded not, and he abode alone in the hermitage, with the Śavari to do

¹ The initiatory *mantra*, or secret syllables, whispered by the preceptor into the ear of a disciple.

him service. When the time for his death approached, he called her unto him and said, "The Master hath given me command that hence I depart unto the other world, but here do thou remain. One day the Lord Rāma will come hither, and thou shalt be vouchsafed the blessing of His sight."

Separated from her teacher did she suffer piteous grief. She wished no more to live, but the hope of seeing Rāma forbade her death. So each night she swept the path to the saints' bathing-place as had been her wont. One night she was delayed, and it was morn before she had finished. One of those who had put Mataṅga out of communion for her sake, came down to bathe e'er she had gone. Startled, she fled, but the forest path was narrow, and, as she passed the holy man, by chance she touched him. Angered was he at the defilement, and harsh words did he cast at her. When he was pacified he went on along the path to bathe, and she fled to her hut of leaves. But when he came to the border of the lake, lo! its water had been turned to blood and filled was it with worms and maggots. This was a new cause of wrathful sorrow unto him: yet did he not understand that the miracle had been wrought because of his cruel speech unto the Śavarī. Nay, the rather thought he that the clear water of the lake had been turned to blood by her defiling touch. Wretched was he, and without Faith.

So the Śavarī remained waiting and longing for Rāma. She would go into the forest and gather the jujubes and other wild fruits. As she plucked them she would taste them, and those that were sweet she laid by in store for His coming.¹ She would go on to the road to the forest, and stand gazing down it with longing eyes, wondering

¹ *Bhaktas* whose faith cannot rise to imagining Rāma eating fruit that had been tasted by the Śavarī, say that she tasted the fruit merely to find out what trees bore sweet fruit and what not, and that she collected the fruit only of the former.

when the Lord of Raghu's line would come, and when her eyes should taste the nectar of His form.¹

So watching the way did she pass many weary hours, till suddenly one day she saw Him coming in the distance, and all the sorrow of her heart was wiped away. But then came to her the memory of the baseness of her lineage, and she hid herself.

But the LORD came, and stood there, as He asked the forest people: "Where dwelleth the Śavari?"

Asking, asking the way, He came to where was the Śavari's hut. "Where is that noble lady?" cried He. "Let Me see her, for Mine eyes are all athirst." When she heard these loving words she came forth from her hut, and knew that the two brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, had come into the hermitage. Halting far from them, where her eyes could see them, she threw herself upon the ground before them.

Tenderly did He raise her and take her to Himself. Far from her body fled the anguish of her soul, and now new torrents poured from her eyes, for she was caught and entangled in the net of love.

The brethren sat down and received from her hands the fruit that she had stored. The LORD then ate and praised them for their sweetness,² as He said, "How can I thank thee? This day is all the weariness of the road destroyed."

All this time the holy men had been sitting in their hermitages, grieved that the water of the lake had become corrupt, and wondering how they could purify it. The news came to them that the Lord of Raghu's line would

¹ So Tulasī-dāsa, *Gītāvatī*, III, xvii, *chhana bhavana, chhana bāhira, bhōkata pantha bhū para pāni kai*. At one time in her house, another time outside, would she stand shading her eyebrows with her hand as she gazed along the road.

² Here Rāma's graciousness was manifest. The jujube fruit at its best is but bitter-sweet. Nevertheless, in His compassion for the lowly Śavari, who had offered Him the best that she had, He praised its sweetness.

come thither by the forest paths. They said amongst themselves, "Let us go unto Him. Let us ask Him what shall we do." While they were speaking they heard that it was the impure Śavari's hut that He had honoured by His presence. Away went their spiritual pride. "Come," said they, "let us bend low before Him and humbly grasp His feet." They came, and angrily did they complain to Him that the water of their lake had been turned to blood. Then answered the Master, "Twas because of the insult ye offered to the Śavari. Grasp ye the feet of this poor Bhil woman, and yourselves implore her pardon: then will ye bathe and drink in happiness."

This is the end of P.'s account. The commentators tell how, in fact, the water of the lake was restored to its pristine clearness. When Rāma departed the Śavari dedicated her life to his memory, gave up the ghost, and departed to eternal bliss. Rāma himself performed her funeral obsequies.

24. *Jatāyu*. The Vulture King of the birds, a son of Garuḍa. He attempted to save Sitā when she was carried off by Rāvaṇa. He was mortally wounded by the demon, but lived long enough to tell Rāma what had happened (Vālmiki, *Rām.*, III, 1, li, lxxviii, lxxix). He belongs to the 21st, or *Śaraṇāgati*, *niṣṭhā*.

P. says: When Rāvaṇa, in order to bring about his own death by Rāma's arrow, carried off Sitā, the king of the birds heard her cry, and hastened to her help. Mighty was the battle that he waged with Rāvaṇa, and when both his wings had been cut off, he dedicated his life to Rama. But he retained his breath till he had the joy of seeing his Master's countenance. Rāma came and Himself placed his head upon his lap. Instead of water He sprinkled him with tears from His eyes. Then gave He him memory and knowledge of the truth, and put him on the way of Salvation. The Lord Himself put him on the pyre and lighted it Himself, even as he had performed the funeral

rites of Daśaratha His father. Great was the honour, and in his own form as a vulture did Jaṭāyu reach the abode of the blessed.

So P. The point is that Jaṭāyu, the vulture, an eater of carrion, was too vile to be looked upon by a high-caste Brāhmaṇa, and yet Rāma took Him to his bosom, and not only gave him salvation, but allowed him to retain his own vulture form for ever near Him in heaven. As Tulasī-dāsa (*Ram.*, III, xxxvi, 2) says :—

gīdhu adhama khagu āmikha-bhōgī |
gatī dīnhi jō jācatu jōgī ||

He bestowed upon the vulture, the vile carrion-eating bird, a place such as even ascetics desire.

25. *Dhruva*. Already shortly dealt with under verse 5 (19). P. here passes by him with a mere reference. He belongs to the 21st, or *Śaraṇāgati*, *niṣṭhā*. His story will be found in *Bhḡ. P.*, IV, viii ff.

When he desired to sit in his father's lap, his step-mother, Suruci, forbade him, saying that only *her* sons were fit for that honour. Stung by the taunt, he determined to lead a religious life, and with the permission of his own mother, Suniti, left his home for that purpose. On the way he met Nārada, who taught him the *mantra* " *ōm namō bhagavatē Vāsudērāya* ", and converted him to the Bhāgavata religion. Dhruva then went to Mathurā, where his devotion pleased the LORD, who appeared to him, and gave him the boon of perfect faith. He also promised that Dhruva should reign in his father's place for sixty-three thousand years, and thereafter rule in the *Aṭala-lōka*, or region of immovability. Dhruva returned home. His father made over the kingdom to him and himself became an ascetic. During his long reign he spread the Bhāgavata religion over the whole earth. After the conclusion of the sixty-three thousand years he became the pole-star, and will remain so till the next dissolution of the universe, when he will go to the ADORABLE'S heaven.

26. *Uddhava*. The friend and minister of Kṛṣṇa. See *Bhg. P.*, X, lxvi ff. He belongs to the 15th, or *Jñānadhyāna-mahimā, niṣṭhā*. He was very wise and learned in the Yōga philosophy. Kṛṣṇa sent him from Mathurā to Vraja to comfort the herdmaidens who were pining during his absence. He tried to console them by teaching them Yōga, and the existence of the universal impersonal Brāhma, but they refused to accept the idea, and adhered to their personal devotion to Kṛṣṇa as God. Struck by their fervent personal devotion, he himself became converted to the *bhakti* faith. Being now convinced of the worthlessness of his learning and of his Yōga philosophy, he returned to Mathurā.

When Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā, and went to Dvārakā, Uddhava accompanied him. When the Yādavas were cursed, Kṛṣṇa taught him the true knowledge, gave him the boon of perfect faith (*bhakti*) and sent him to Badarikā (*Bhg. P.*, XI, xxix), where, in due course, he attained salvation.

Uddhava may be called the St. John of the Bhāgavata religion. He was the disciple whom Kṛṣṇa loved, and (*Bhg. P.*, III, iv) it was to him and Maitrēya that Kṛṣṇa, immediately before his departure from the earth, confided the inner mysteries of the Bhāgavata religion.

See also the story of Maitrēya below (No. 40).

27. *Ambariṣa*. A celebrated king of Ayōdhyā, the son of Nābhāga. He belongs to the 11th, or *Vrata-upāsa, niṣṭhā*. His queen belongs to the 24th, or *Prēmat, niṣṭhā*. His story is to be found in *Bhg. P.*, IX, iv ff.

P.'s account is as follows :—

If any man desire to have faith like unto Ambariṣa's, vain is the thought ; for it cannot even be by any means described. Durvāsas, the saint of cruel wrath, had never even heard the teaching of the pious, and imagined a fault when there was none.

[He once came when Ambariṣa was engaged on the fast

of the twelfth lunar day of the half-month. Ambariṣa welcomed him and invited him to take food. The saint said he would first go and bathe, and then return to eat. While he was gone the twelfth lunar day approached its end, and as it is a sin to defer breaking the fast to the thirteenth lunar day, the king, who could not eat before his guest did, was put into a difficulty. The Brāhmaṇas told him that a sip of water would be sufficient to break the fast, and, accordingly, having no other resource, he drank a little before Durvāsas's return. When the irascible saint came back from his bath he perceived that Ambariṣa had taken a drink, and was enraged at the thought that his host had taken food before giving it to his guest, which is a grave breach of the rule of hospitality.]

Enraged, he tore out his matted locks and cast them on the ground. He changed them into the dreadful fire hight *Kāla-kṛtya*, or the incantation of death. "Consume this king to ashes," he cried, while Ambariṣa stood steadfastly before him desiring naught but to fulfil the commands of the saint. But, to save His servant, the ADORABLE sent *Sudarśana*, His discus, to protect him. With its mighty power did this discus turn that fire itself to ashes, and then did it rush against the Brāhmaṇa. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is witness borne to this.

Then fled Durvāsas hither and thither from that dreadful flaming discus. To every world did he flee, and to the gods of the north and south, of the east and west. To Kubēra, to Yama, to Indra, and to Varuṇa, did he cry in vain for refuge; but the discus flamed behind him with ever-growing fierceness, and burnt him as fire burneth stone to lime. To Brahmā and to Śiva did he go, but they said: "An evil trick was this that thou hast done, in that thou didst not recognize the secret of the liegemen of the ADORABLE, and how, as it hath been written in the Vēda, He is ever near them to protect

them. Thee cannot we protect." Then at last did Nārada advise him and he went to Vaikuṇṭha, the abode of the ADORABLE. Distraught he told his woe. "Alas, alas!" cried he, "Lord, save Thou me; the fierce fire of Thy discus consumeth me. I am Thy humble slave. Three virtues hast Thou: Thou art (1) the protector of them who come to Thee for safety, and I have come to Thee for safety; (2) Thou art the destroyer of agony, and I am suffering from agony; and (3) Thou art the Deity of Brāhmaṇa-hood, and I am a Brāhmaṇa." Then said the ADORABLE, "No longer do I heed these three, for all these virtues hath the virtue of affection for My Faithful Ones wiped away.

"Very dear to Me are the Holy, for their belief in Me is deep, yea unfathomable: one of them hast thou offended, and how can I endure it, for they have abandoned home and wealth, wife, son, body, life itself, to come to Me,¹ and night and day their only converse is with Me. Truly do I say that My only possession is the holy Faithful Ones, naught else do I possess. Go thou to him whom thou hast injured, that this calamity that pursueth thee may cease its course. Very merciful is he, and ever a protector of the meek; ne'er doth he have room for despite within his heart, for it and every limb is full of faith in Me."

Bereft of hope and pride the saint approached King Ambariṣa, and seizing his feet with due humility he craved forgiveness. Then did the king become filled with shame, and with gentle words did homage to him. With clasped hands thus did he address the discus: "The Faithful are without desire, nor e'er do they wish for aught; yet one thing do I desire. This Brāhmaṇa hath suffered pain from thee; therefore remove thou that pain." Then did the discus, that giver of happiness to the holy,

¹ Cf. Mark x, 29.

when he saw that the Faithful Ambarīṣa was distraught, become appeased, and hid his fiery might.¹

P. follows this up with—

The Story of Ambarīṣa's Queen.

A certain king's daughter heard of Ambarīṣa's great Faith, and her heart was filled with the desire that her husband might be such as he. Putting all her modesty aside, to her father did she say, "Ambarīṣa alone do I look upon as my spouse. I beseech thee, speedily write thou unto him a letter." The king wrote the letter and gave it to a Brāhmaṇa. Very quickly did the Brāhmaṇa hasten to the city of Ayōdhyā, and gave it to Ambarīṣa. The king made reply: "Fully do I understand this new petition, but how can I take another wife? A hundred queens are even now sitting in my palace, and yet it pleaseth me not to hold converse with them, for my mind is set upon naught but the service of my Master."

The Brāhmaṇa came back to the king's daughter, and said, "What effort can I make? Swift as the wind did I thither go, yet was the harvest not one tiny seed." Again did she send him; for distraught she said: "Very happy did I become when I learnt how great is his devotion, and that he hath no desire for womankind. It was his faith in the ADORABLE that pleased my soul, and therefore do I look upon him even now as my honoured spouse. On the face of no other beloved can I henceforth look. Go thou again to him and without fear give thou him this message, 'If thou make me not thy slave-girl, then take thou the guilt of slaying me; for without thee can I no longer live.'"

The Brāhmaṇa took the message to the king; and he,

¹ This story is interesting for many reasons. Not the least is the remarkable statement of the ADORABLE that He is now no longer specially the protector of Brāhmaṇas, but that His whole care is to guard from harm those who are Faithful to Him. It is an historical fact that the Bhāgavata religion took its rise, not amongst the Brāhmaṇas, but amongst the Kṣatriya caste, of which Ambarīṣa was a member.

when he heard it, was filled with love. He gave the Brāhmaṇa his sword and said, "With this do thou lead her round the marriage altar."¹ So was the marriage made, and the bride's heart could not contain her joy. With pomp and circumstance did she enter Ayōdhyā city, and when she saw the beauty of Ambariṣa she became drowned in love for the ADORABLE. The king gave the order that the new palace should be swept and garnished and given as a dwelling for the queen, with every comfort and every delectation; for he thought within himself that she must have been the sweet odour of his Faith in some former life, and that therefore was he again joined unto her. Considering thus did he consent to be her spouse.

So dwelt she apart from her husband, and one night, just before daybreak, filled with heavenly love, she approached the temple in which he worshipped. Gladly did she make the outer service of the holy place, arranging the vessels and the tables, and unseen by any return to her abode. Thus, who could tell that it was she who had done this? When at dawn the king arrived and saw that his outer service had already been performed, he was like one distraught, and cried: "What thief has come and stolen my service?"² Three days running did this occur, and the wise king hid himself. He saw his queen full of faith perform these menial offices. To her he said, "If this be thy desire, why dost thou not worship in thine own abode, and take the joy of service upon thine own head?"

She accepted his words, as the mystic spell whispered by a teacher (*guru*) in a disciple's ear,³ and at the first

¹ He consented to the marriage, but could not leave his worship. So, in the Kṣatriya way, he sent his sword as a proxy.

² The merit acquired by doing good works was stolen by some one else doing them. The same idea occurs in the story of the Śavari, *ante* (No. 23).

³ She took the king's words as an initiatory *mantra* formally admitting her into the congregation of the Faithful. Hitherto she had been only a "proselyte at the gate". Now she was authorized to carry on worship herself.

dawn did service well and duly. She adorned the Deity's image and sat gazing upon it, nor, as tears of love flowed from her eyes, could she reach the far limit of the ocean of the beauty of the Lord of Śrī. Magnificently did she carry out the worship, with music and with rapture, till the report of the manner of her faith became spread abroad throughout the city, and the king himself felt longing to see it. So great was his eagerness, that there and then he came.

Gently, gently, did he set down his feet, and hushingly did he forbid the doorkeepers to tell the queen. Full of eagerness was he and longingly saying to himself, "When shall I see this holy lady?" When he reached the temple he saw the fair damsel, all unconscious of herself and of her body, soaked in the flavour of love, a flood of tears pouring from her eyes. Lute in hand she crooned soft canticles to the BELOVED. Then was King Ambariṣa's heart filled with rapture, and "blessed be this hour", he cried. No longer could he stand in the doorway. Eagerly he went near her, and as she recognized him, who was at once her husband and teacher, she rose and stood before him.

Cried he, "Cease this reverence, and again take thou in thy hand thy lute. Sing thou with thy tender voice a new song in the Master's praise, for without it is my spirit lost." The passionate devotion of the queen was more than I can tell, yet tell it must I, for how can I hide the comfort of love that it giveth to the eyes of the mind.¹ After holding sweet converse, the queen again took up a strain, from the which there uprose a meditation on the beauty of the BELOVED, and therein their hearts were drowned. Thus in faith full of the five flavours, passed the whole night. Ah! great was that love and devotion, and even sleep was forgotten.

Then heard the other queens, "The king hath taken

¹ i.e. to the eyes of the mind dazzled by the glare of earthly things.

up a new custom. This new queen hath become the crown upon his head. Now none of us can equal her. Let us, too, worship the ADORABLE, and thus bring our Lord to love us too." Then began they continually to meditate in Him, and to put aside all thoughts that turned to worldly things. So heard their Lord Ambariṣa that they also felt the Great Longing, and with them also did he worship and adore. In this way did Faith spread throughout the city from house to house. From day to day did holy longing wax. Behold, such was the might of the faith of one queen that all people of the city changed their nature and were filled with the perfect joy.

28. *Vidura*. One of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, he belongs to the 3rd, or *Sādhu-sēva* and *sat-saṅga*, *niṣṭhā*. When, as described in *MBh.*, V, xc ff., Kṛṣṇa went to the Kauravas as an ambassador of peace before the war, Duryōdhana refused to heed him. Kṛṣṇa accordingly refused to eat in his house, and went to Vidura's dwelling for that purpose. Here P. takes up the story as follows:—

Vidura's wife, Vidurāṁī, was washing the courtyard, and at the same time, unclothed, was bathing herself. Kṛṣṇa came to the doorway and called to her. When she heard that sweet voice, full of love for his faithful ones, she lost all circumspection. Running, transported by love and naked as she was, she opened the door, and gazed upon him. Kṛṣṇa, seeing her thus naked and enraptured, at once took off his own yellow garment and threw it over her. She drew it round her waist, and then, recalled to herself, overcome with shame, she hastily arranged her dress. Kṛṣṇa then asked for food, and she brought plantains¹ for him. She sat near to him, and peeled them that he might eat. But in the ferment of her transport, she kept giving him only the skins to eat,

¹ Or bananas, as they are called in England.

while she threw the inside fruit away. Kṛṣṇa, who recognized her love, ate the skins, nor made complaint. In came her husband, and when he saw what she was doing, loudly did he rate her. Then, as she recognized what the transport of her love had made her do, she was filled with grief. Judge ye now how the LORD loveth the love of His Faithful! Vidura began himself to feed the Master with the inner fruit, and he was filled with joy, while his wife, sorrowing, stood by. Then said the dark-hued one¹ to him: "A good deed, and a kind one, hast thou done, in that thou gavest Me the inner fruit to eat; but natheless doth it seem to me that this is not so sweet as were the skins I ate at first."

Now Vidurāṇī was distraught with shame and cried: "Alas! let me cut off my hands, that have so failed to give the BELOVED food. How can the plantain skins seem sweet to him?"

Behold, that which Vidura and Vidurāṇī did was done by both in love, and love is an ocean which hath no further shore. Only he can comprehend somewhat of its extent who loveth Him as a little child.² This is the burden of my song.

Cf. also *Maitrēya*, No. 40 below, for Vidura's subsequent adventures.

29. *Akrūra*. He belongs to the 21st, or *Śaraṇāyati*, *niṣṭhā*. P. is silent about him here, but deals with him in the commentary to verse 14. He was a Sātvata, son of Śvaphalka and Gāndinī. He is traditionally said to have been a complete master of *yōga*. He lived at the court of Kaiṁsa, but was a devout worshipper of the ADORABLE. Kaiṁsa sent him to Vraja to bring Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Mathurā. He recognized Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of the ADORABLE, and on the way to Mathurā was granted a vision of His divine form. After Kṛṣṇa

¹ Kṛṣṇa.

² Cf. Mark x, 15.

had slain Kamsa, He visited Akrūra's house, and gave him the boon of Perfect Faith (*Bhg. P.*, xxxvi-xli).

Akrūra is also intimately connected with the curious legend of the Syamantaka jewel, the *hajarul-maṣār* of Arab folk-lore, and already referred to when dealing with Jāmbavat (No. 20). It was a marvellous stone which gave wealth to the possessor, and rain and prosperity to the country in which it was. Akrūra came into possession of it, and held it for fifty-two years while he was in Dvārakā. When the Bhōjas killed Śatrugṇa they fled from Dvārakā, and Akrūra, who was in alliance with them, had to accompany them. Owing to his absence, Dvārakā was assailed by famine and pestilence. Kṛṣṇa then called Akrūra back, and prosperity reigned again. The Bhāgavata account of the Syamantaka legend will be found in *Bhg. P.*, X. lvii, lviii. A fuller account is given in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. IV, xiii. It is worth noting that the jewel which caused so much prosperity, and (to an unworthy owner) such calamities, was closely connected with Sun-worship.¹ It was first obtained by *Sattrājita* from the Sun himself, as the result of worshipping that luminary. Kṛṣṇa refused to be its owner, but acquiesced in its possession by Akrūra. See also notes to verse 14.

30. *Sudāman*, a Brāhmaṇ friend of Kṛṣṇa, whose story is given in *Bhg. P.*, X, lxxx, lxxxi. in which he is not named, although the colophons of these chapters call him Śrīdāman, not Sudāman. He belonged to the 22nd. or *Sākhyā, niṣṭhā*.

He was a schoolfellow of Kṛṣṇa, under Sāndīpani. and in after years became extremely poor.

P. says: He was a very disinterested (*niṣkāma*)² lover

¹ The Sun is an important personage in Bhāgavata legends. He was father of Manu Vaivasvata, the grandparent of Kapila, and was also the progenitor of the solar race of which Rāma-candra was a member. He gave Draupadī the magic cooking cauldron mentioned in No. 42 below.

² As opposed to *sakāma*, "interested." See my article on "The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works" in *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 337 ff.

of the ADORABLE, and so poor was he that ne'er had he even a seer¹ of flour in his house. One day did Suśilā, his spouse, approach him, and say: "Heard have I that thou and Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of Dvārakā, are friends." At these words did his heart become much disturbed, and fell he into grief at the memory of his dear one. Then answered he, "Yea, dear, a love full of flavour is ours." "Go," said she, "but this once, and having looked upon his face return. And if thou receive aught from him bring it hither, for to me will it be very pleasant." "Good words hast thou spoken," he replied, "but in the seven worlds will it bring disgrace to me. For all will think that only for this present that I shall receive did I claim his friendship."

But his spouse pressed him and said, "Why shouldst thou not desire but to see the form of the beloved Kṛṣṇa? For all sorrow and poverty of itself is burnt to ashes merely by the sight of Him." Then came to Sudāman the memory of his BELOVED. He considered, and turned his mind away from fear of the world's contumely.

[He said unto his spouse: "Lady, if thou hast in the house aught worthy of being offered unto him as a present, let it be given to me." Thereupon she begged from her Brāhmaṇa neighbours four handfuls of flattened rice.² These did she wrap in a piece of cloth and give to her husband as a present for Kṛṣṇa.³]

He set his feet upon the road, reeling with affection, and came at once to Dvārakā.⁴ Greatly did he rejoice to see its glory magnificent. In his soul there sprung an unearthly

¹ Two pounds.

² *Perthuka*, or in the vernacular *ciurā*, rice boiled, beaten flat, and parched. It is eaten dry, and is commonly carried as a provision on a journey.

³ This is taken from the *Bhṛg. P.* It is a part of the story omitted by P. but assumed later on.

⁴ The commentators say that he only went one stage, and that when he woke next morning he found himself close to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa knew of his journey and had miraculously brought him on his way.

joy, and he went forward with eyes athirst for the sweetness of the BELOVED's countenance. Now was he full of fear that he might be stopped upon his way, but taking courage he entered the porch. It was as though his desire had become the doorkeeper, for it took him by the hand and led him straight to Kṛṣṇa.

When Śyāma saw His friend, He stood motionless from affection, as though He were a picture. Then holding dear His loved one's deed, He ran, and weeping fell upon his neck. So closely did He hold him to His bosom that they two became, as it were, one, and in this unearthly love it seemed as if, though one strove to separate them, they ne'er would come apart. Then Śyāma remembered that His friend was weak and weary from his journey. He released him. He took him by the hand and led him into the inner rooms. Thither did Queen Rukmiṇī bring water, and with her own hands wash his feet and bid him welcome. To His own couch did Kṛṣṇa lead him, and talk with him of the days when they were fellow-pupils taught by Sāṅdīpani. He plunged him in a sea of happiness, and Himself was filled with joyous affection.

Then said Śyāma, "Friend, what present hast thou brought Me?" and poor Sudāman, when he thought of his own meagre offering, and of the exceeding magnificence of what he saw around him, was much ashamed, and turned his eyes all wet with tears towards the ground. But Śyāma looked through the holes in the old rent garment that he wore, and under Sudāman's arm he saw a little bundle. He put out His hand and pulled it forth. He opened the knots, and saw that it was filled with flattened rice. He took up a handful and put it in His mouth and chewed it; then, praising its flavour, took He a second. Well-pleased he began to take a third, but the queen seized His hand and said: "A blessed and beloved thing is this. Thou shouldst not eat it every whit. Meet is it that thou shouldst give us all share therein; for it seemeth as

though Thou art taking handfuls of Sudāman's love." So He gave the rest to her. When He had taken the two handfuls, He considered and in His mind gave Sudāman a present of boundless wealth, but did not tell him, so that he knew not the secret. Sudāman abode there in all joy and solace for seven days and then did take his leave, full of woe at his departure from his BELOVED one. When he reached his own village he found that it had become a city exceeding magnificent, as though it were another Dvārakā, and his mind was filled with dismay. But his spouse, seeing him from the balcony of the palace, radiant in her affection, and surrounded by hundreds of maids of honour, came forth to welcome him and after she had assured him, led him within its doors.

Although he was now so mighty and possessed of great wealth, ever meditating on the LORD, in his heart, he kept drinking the nectar of the memory of His blessed form. Steeped in fresh love and adoration, with these alone did he keep himself alive. He held his body free from worldly joys, and his goings ever on the way of the flavour of true happiness.

31. *Candrahāsa*. He belongs to the 7th, or *Guru*, *niṣṭhā*. His story will be found in Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. i, p. 525. The India Office Library contains two anonymous versions of the legend, one called "Chandrahāsa, an ancient Indian monarch", Madras, 1881; and the other "Chandrahāsa, or the Lord of the Fair Forger", Mangalore, 1882.

P.'s narrative is as follows, with the usual additions from the commentators: There was a certain king named Mēdhāvī, of the land of Kērala, and his son was named Candrahāsa. Mēdhāvī was killed in battle by another king, and his wife became *suttee* with his corpse. Then a slave-girl took the poor orphan and fled to Kuntalapura. There dwelt she in the house of Dhṛṣṭa-buddhi, the chief minister of that city, and brought up the

child as her own son. When Candrahāsa was 5 years old the slave-girl died.

[The boy then lived upon the streets, picking up what he could get, and so keeping the body and soul together. One day Nārada, that mighty saint, in his mercy met him in a secret place, and gave him an image of the ADORABLE, in the shape of a sacred Śālagrāma.¹ He taught the lad to bathe it with reverence, and ever to exhibit it before he ate, as grace before his meat. He also instructed him to keep it at other times in his mouth, and, having taught him the mystery of the Name of the ADORABLE, departed. The boy always did as Nārada taught him and day by day increased in faith and holiness.] Even in the street-plays with the other boys of the town, he played only games that were full of the flavour of faith.

One day in Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's house was there a feast given to the Brāhmaṇas. It chanced that with the other children of the town Candrahāsa also came thither, and made his obeisance to the chief of the learned doctors. Just then Dhṛṣṭabuddhi came to that learned man and asked him: "What married fortune is written in my daughter's fate?" The Brāhmaṇa pointed to Candrahāsa and said, "Of a certainty in this case do I see the future, and foretell that this lad will be thy daughter's Lord." As Dhṛṣṭabuddhi heard this prophecy, he turned away to hide his shame and discontent.

Much did he consider in his mind: "What am I to do? Is such a husband meet for her who is my daughter? He must be killed." Having so resolved, he called certain low fellows and said to them: "When I look upon this lad my heart is burnt within me. Take ye him away and kill him." These murderers took him forth far from the city, but when they looked upon his pretty face they

¹ The fossil ammonite, sacred to Viṣṇu. It is found in the River Gaṇḍakī. Hence later on it is called the son of Gaṇḍakī. The authority for its worship is the Padma Purāṇa. The Bhāgavata is silent on the subject.

cried: "May dust and ashes fall upon the womb¹ that brought us forth as murderers, and causeth us to feel such sorrow at our deeds." Then said they in their compassion to the boy, "Kill thee we must; who can be thy helper?" He replied, "I ask but one favour. Strike not with the sword until I give the word."

Those wicked murderers assented to his prayer. He took from his mouth, where it had lain hidden in his cheek, the holy son of Gaṇḍaki, the Śālagrāma, bathed it with water, decked it with flowers, and reverently worshipped it. As he gazed upon it, the LORD Himself appeared to him within it, and he became rapt with a holy joy. Then with his eyes he gave the signal for the fatal stroke. But the men who had been filled with murderous thoughts, now became filled with pity, and fell fainting to the ground. Faith in the LORD entered them, and their hard hearts became softened with the Great Felicity. Now, on one of his feet Candrahāsa had a sixth toe, which they who are skilled in augury say is a blemish,—an omen of evil fate. So that did they cut off and let him free, now also free from blemish. This toe did they bring back, and show to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi in token that they had done the foul deed he had commanded.

It chanced that in that kingdom of Kuntalapura there lived another petty king, hight Kalinda of Candanāvati, and happy in all blessings, save that he had no son. Now on that day went he into the forest to hunt, and there saw he Candrahāsa seated. And behold, knowing him to be beloved of the Master, a herd of deer stood round about him, and a great bird hovered over him to give shade unto his head. Then did that king run to him without fear, and took him in his arms, as a beggar taketh a great treasure and looketh upon it as his life. With welcome and rejoicing, and with distribution of

¹ i.e. caste. They were murderers by caste.

gifts, did he lead him into his house. Thus did some days pass, and then the king, considering his virtue and his worth, made him his heir and delivered the kingdom to his charge. In this high station did Candrahāsa throughout the kingdom spread faith in the ADORABLE.

Now King Kalinda had been used to send tribute to the king of Kuntalapura, but Candrahāsa sent none, for all his wealth was spent in succouring the holy. So the king of Kuntalapura dispatched his minister Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi with an army to collect the tribute. When he arrived, Kalinda and Candrahāsa looked upon him as a guest come to their house, and hospitably entreated him: but when Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi saw Candrahāsa he knew that he was the lad whom he had desired to slay, and again, full of wrath, he said to himself, "By some guile must I kill him." So he wrote a letter and gave it unto Candrahāsa, saying, "Take thou this to my house and give this letter into the hands of my son Madana, and say unto him, 'Prithee carry thou out what is written therein.'"

So Candrahāsa took the letter and journeyed to Kuntalapura. Seeing a fair garden, which chanced to belong to Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi, he rested there, and reverently worshipped his Śālagrāma. Then, by the favour of the LORD, sleep came upon his eyes, and he fell into a sweet slumber.

By the will of the LORD into that very garden there came to sport with her damsels and her fellow-maidens the daughter of Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi. By chance she saw Candrahāsa as he slept, and love for him entered her heart. So she led her companions away, and then leaving them she returned by another path and gazed enraptured at his beauty. In her yearning she saw by him a letter, with her brother's name upon it. She took it up and read it, and therein was written, "At once give thou poison (*viṣa*) to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou not in this, or dread mine anger."

When she read these words, wroth was she with her father, and filled with pity was she for the youth. Now the damsel's name was Viṣayā. Ink made she with the collyrium of her eyes, and after the word *viṣa*, poison, added she but one little syllable *yā*, so that *viṣa* became "Viṣayā". Then, pleased at heart and smitten with love, did she rejoin her companions. Meditating in her soul upon her darling, and full of anxious thoughts, to her home did she return.

Up rose Candrahāsa from his slumber, and went to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's palace, where he gave the letter to the son. When Madana read the words: "At once give thou Viṣayā to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou not in this, or dread mine anger," his heart was pleased, and warmly did he embrace the youth. He put into his hand the letter and said: "What is written therein doth please me." He summoned the Brāhmaṇas, and within an hour did he perform the marriage of Viṣayā with Candrahāsa. With great magnificence did he perform it: with a magnificence greater even than that seen at the weddings of great kings, and even then was his soul not satisfied.

Then came the vile Dhṛṣṭabuddhi. When he saw the festival it was like death unto him, and Candrahāsa as a bridegroom in his wedding garment was to him as though a sharp stake were thrust into his vitals.

Privately he called to Madana. "Son," cried he, "what blunder hast thou made?" Then Madana showed him the letter, and when he read it fire kindled in his bosom. "Luckless, luckless wight that I am! Better would it be for me that my daughter were a widow." He called those low fellows the murderers, and said these words to them: "Go ye to the temple of Dēvī Durgā. It is my will and pleasure that ye kill the man that entereth it on to-morrow's morn." Then to Candrahāsa said he: "Dēvī Durgā is the goddess of my family. To-morrow, at dawn,

go thou to her temple there to worship, for such is the marriage custom of my house."

At dawn Candrahāsa bathed and worshipped his Śālagrāma, and then set forth to worship Dēvī Durgā. Now just at that moment the LORD put it into the heart of the king of Kuntalapura to say unto himself, "No son have I. No worthier youth is there than Candrahāsa. Him will I make my heir." Therefore did he summon Madana, the son of his minister, and command him: "Such and such have I resolved. Quickly bring thou hither Candrahāsa, thy brother-in-law. The time is passing and may not come again. Do the business now, nor let there be delay." Joyfully ran Madana upon the road. He met Candrahāsa, and gave him the message: "His Majesty doth summon thee at once to the palace. Fear not thou that by doing thus thou wilt show disrespect unto Dēvī Durgā. Make thou here a mental prayer, and I will go and make the temple offerings for thee."

Thus was it Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's son, Madana, who went at morn to Dēvī Durgā's temple, and him it was whom the murderers slew. While it was to the other, to Candrahāsa, that the king said: "Take thou my kingdom, and be its ruler."

A certain man came to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi and said unto him, "The low fellows, murderers, have slain thy son." Tears flowed in torrents from his eyes and splashed upon his body. He ran to the temple, and found that it was even so. To the ground he dropped without sense or movement, and as he fell, unhappy wight, his head struck against a stone and burst, and there he died.

When Candrahāsa heard the tidings he hastened to the temple, and meditating on the feet of Dēvī Durgā, would have offered his own body as a sacrifice to her.¹

¹ The worship of Durgā is the antithesis of the merciful code of the Bhāgavatas. Human sacrifices (including suicidal sacrifices) were once a common feature of it.

But the Dēvi appeared to him in her proper form and seized his hand. "Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi," cried she, "was thine enemy. It is I who, in mine anger, have thus slain his son and him." Then prayed Candrahāsa to her for the lives of the two, and that their hearts might be set in the way of virtue, and Dēvi heard his prayer and restored them both to life.

For three hundred years did Candrahāsa rule, and all the nobles that stood near him—nay, the whole land—made he into a kingdom of faith. In every house was heard the sweet Name of the LORD. Only one work was desired—the service of the LORD. Earthly love, wrath, covetousness, pride, and every vice did he put far away from his kingdom. His subjects lived under him in peace, and each one loved him as the apple of the eye. Great is the fruit to him who, when he riseth at dawn, readeth all that hath been said concerning Candrahāsa from the beginning to the end. Even so saith Jaimini.¹

32. *Citrakētu*. He was king of Sūrasēna. His story is told in *Bhg. P.*, VI, xiv ff. *P.* merely gives it a passing reference.

He had thousands of wives, but by only one, Kṛtadūti, had he (through the blessing of Nārada and Angiras) a son. Filled with jealousy, the other queens gave the boy poison and he died. The commentators narrate that the king so loved the child that he could not perform its obsequies, and even though Nārada came and told him of the emptiness of all earthly things, he still remained subject to delusion. Nārada, to convince him, called the spirit of the lad and commanded it to re-enter its body. The spirit replied that it had had innumerable births. Which of these bodies was it to enter? "Once upon a time I was a pious man, and used to worship the Śālagrāma. One day my mother, who was Kṛtadūti in

¹ In the *Jaimini Bhārata*, Adhyāyas 52-60.

a former birth, prepared food for me, and it chanced that the firewood over which I cooked it was filled with myriads of ants, who were destroyed in the flames. The food I gave as an offering to the Master. Now as a punishment for the sin of killing these ants, I should have been condemned to myriads of deaths and rebirths for each leg of each ant: but as I did not eat the food myself, but offered it to the Master, the sin was expiated by this one rebirth, from which I have just now been released by death. So also was my mother reborn as Kṛtadūtī, that she might suffer a corresponding penalty." So saying the spirit went away, and Citrakētu was consoled, and performed the funeral rites over the corpse.

Then Nārada instructed Citrakētu in the mysteries of the Bhāgavata religion. Citrakētu adored Bhagavat for seven days and was finally vouchsafed a vision of Him in the form of Saṁkarṣaṇa. Saṁkarṣaṇa taught him the supreme mystic formula of the worship of Vāsudēva, and from reciting this Citrakētu received the *yōga*¹ power of being able to wander at will through space.

Once so wandering he arrived at Śiva's court, and there saw Śiva sitting in public with Pārvatī upon his lap. In his ignorance he considered this to be an act of impropriety and remonstrated with Śiva. Pārvatī thereupon cursed him to be reborn as the Dānava Vṛtra.

The story of Vṛtra is told in the earlier chapters of the sixth Skandha of the *Bhg. P.* (ix-xiii), and forms the preface to the story of Citrakētu. He was killed by Indra with the thunderbolt made from the bones of Dadhīca.

33, 34. *The Crocodile and the Elephant.* The story of them is told in *Bhg. P.*, VIII, ii-iv.

Once upon a time, in the White Continent, the Muni Dēvala was bathing. A Gandharva named Hāhā sportively

¹ Note again the frequent connexions between the Bhāgavata religion and the Yōga system of philosophy.

took the form of a crocodile and caught him by the foot. The incensed saint cursed him to remain a crocodile, and to be unable to resume his proper form.

King Indradavana (*Bhṛ. P.* has Indradynumna) made over his kingdom to his chief minister and went into the mountains to practise asceticism. The Muni Agastya came thither, but Indravana in his spiritual pride did not show him hospitality. Hence Agastya cursed him to become an elephant.

Both the Gandharva and Indradavana were worshippers of the ADORABLE, but owing to these temporary lapses they were condemned to these bestial forms, in which they had no memory of their former faith. *Bh.* gives an alternative legend:—

Once upon a time a king of Mārṇā had a sacrifice performed. Amongst the officiating priests were two brothers, both *bhaktas* of the ADORABLE, of whom one performed the office of Brahman, while the other was the Hōṭṛ. The Hōṭṛ got most gifts, so the Brahman wished to add his gifts to his brother's and to divide the total half and half. The Hōṭṛ would not agree, and the Brahman cursed him to become a crocodile in the River Gaṇḍakī, whereupon the Hōṭṛ retorted by cursing the Brahman to become an elephant. Here the point of the story again is that both were *bhaktas*.

One day the elephant came at the head of his herd to drink water at the very place where the crocodile was lying. The crocodile seized him by the leg and tried to pull him into the water, while he strove to get up on to the bank. The other members of the herd tried to help him, but without avail. For a thousand years the battle went on, and at length the crocodile prevailed and dragged the elephant into the river till only his trunk remained above water.

Then, in his torment, there came to the elephant the memory of his former *bhakti*, and he took refuge in the

ADORABLE. Breaking off a lotus flower with his trunk he offered it to Him, and cried to Him for help.

Immediately on hearing his cry, the ADORABLE, the rescuer of the distressed, took the incarnate form of Hari,¹ and, riding upon the eagle Garuḍa, came in the twinkling of an eye to his help. With his discus he killed the crocodile, and so saved the elephant. Both the crocodile and the elephant then obtained the perfect knowledge: and by the grace of the ADORABLE obtained final release.²

35-9. *The Pāṇḍavas.* These belong to the 20th. or *Sauhārda, niṣṭhā*. They are Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma-sēna, Nakula, and Sahadēva, whom Kṛṣṇa befriended in the war of the *Mahābhārata*. From the Bhāgavata point of view the most important of these was Arjuna. Arjuna's cousinship to, and friendship for, Kṛṣṇa is considered as the best example of the Friendly Flavour (*sākhya rasa*). It was to Arjuna that Kṛṣṇa himself communicated the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Once Hanumat went to the *Sākēta-lōka* (Rāma's heaven) to pay his respects to Rāma. After doing so he asked leave to depart. Rāma consented, saying: "Go thou, but in my next incarnation must thou protect the *bhakta* Pāṇḍavas from their enemies the Kauravas."

Hanumat set out homewards, and on his way, as he was passing near the Dvaita forest he heard Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa conversing. Arjuna was asking Kṛṣṇa how he and his brethren were to escape from the Kauravas. Kṛṣṇa replied, "Behold, Hanumat, the messenger of Rāma, is now passing along in the sky. He will protect ye." Hanumat at once descended and approached Kṛṣṇa, who, knowing him to be a devoted servant of Rāma, there and

¹ Regarding the Hari incarnation see note 13 to verse 5.

² The well-known Sōnpur fair is held once a year at the junction of the Gaṇḍak and the Ganges, opposite Patna, in commemoration, and on the traditional site, of this combat.

then presented himself to Hanumat in Rāma's form and confided the Pāṇḍavas to his protection.

In this way Hanumat understood that the Pāṇḍavas were true *bhaktas*, and ever afterwards protected them. For this reason he is commonly known by the name of *Arjuna-Sahāyakārin*, or the "Helper of Arjuna".

40. *Maitrēya*, the son of Kuṣāru. He was friend and playmate of the Vyāsa (*Bhg. P.*, III, iv, 9).

P. says about him, with additions from commentators: His mother's name was Mitrā, and his father's Kuṣāru. Hence he is called both *Maitrēya* and *Kauśārava*.

He was a disciple of Parāśara. The LORD gave him the order: "Go thou. Vidura (No. 28 above) is My Faithful One. Do thou instruct him so that each limb of his may be filled with the glory of My form and name."

The above is a reference to the contents of the third and fourth Skandhas of the *Bhg. P.*, nearly the whole of which consist of instruction given to Vidura by *Maitrēya*. *Maitrēya* is here the philosopher of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and, besides briefly describing Kṛṣṇa's life, gives long accounts of *bhakti* and of the Paurāṇik versions of the Sāṅkhya and Yōga philosophies. The framework of the story runs as follows: Uddhava on his way to Badarī, at the end of Kṛṣṇa's earthly life (see Uddhava, No. 26 above), meets Vidura, who is wandering distraught, owing to the death of all his relations, the Kauravas. Uddhava wished to comfort him, but being himself stricken with grief at his separation from Kṛṣṇa, was unable to do so. So he told him how he and *Maitrēya* had conversed with Kṛṣṇa just before his departure, and how Kṛṣṇa had taught them the inner mysteries of faith. He therefore recommended Vidura to seek out *Maitrēya*. Vidura does so, and *Maitrēya*, in *Bhg. P.*, III, v, commences to instruct him. In the concluding chapter of the fourth Skandha,

Vidura is comforted and goes to Hastināpura to see his relatives, the Pāṇḍavas. His subsequent adventures in Hastināpura will be found in *Bhg. P.*, I, xiii.

41. *Kuntī*. The mother of the Pāṇḍavas. Like the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī (No. 42) she belonged to the 20th, or *Sauhārda, niṣṭhā*. Kṛṣṇa was her nephew, but nevertheless, she always looked upon him as the ADORABLE in visible form. She kept him before her eyes, either personally or in the form of an image, as she knew that so long as He was present she was not subject to the delusion of the world. P. says about her:—

What living creature can describe the excellence of Kuntī? It was she who asked for sorrow, sorrow from which all others flee. She it was who said to Kṛṣṇa. "Better than happiness is sorrow, if only Thou be near. Dear one, Thy face alone do I desire to see: to see Thee not is a spear that pierceth my heart. Show Thou mercy upon me, and ever dwell Thou near me, or if that may be not, let me take a forest-hermit's life. For in a hermit's life Thou art ever near. It is when we have won our kingdom that Thou wouldest depart from us."

This was the prayer she made when Yudhiṣṭhira had won his kingdom from the Kauravas, and the ADORABLE had resolved to depart to Dvārakā.

When the LORD saw her thus distraught tears filled His eyes, and He gave up His journey to His home. Then did she lead Him down from his chariot, and bring Him back into the palace. For Kṛṣṇa was her life, her body, her all.

When Kṛṣṇa left this earth and returned to his heavenly abode, and the news thereof fell upon her ears, she delayed not. Her soul left her body, and went to be for ever with the LORD. Lo, such faith was truth itself.¹

¹ Literally, such a *pana*, resolution, was *saccā-pana* or truthfulness. There is a pun in the original on the word *pana*. The *MBh.* account of

42. *Draupadī*, Kuntī's daughter-in-law, and the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. She also belongs to the 20th, or *Sauhārda*, *nīsthā*. Her story is well known. Her friendship with Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa's wife, is the subject of *Bhṛg. P.*, X, lxxxiii. P. says about her :—

What skilled poet can fully tell the story of the virtuous *Draupadī*? She looked upon Kṛṣṇa as her husband's brother, and he looked upon her as his brother's wife. When in the gambling match *Duryōdhana* won *Draupadī* from *Yudhiṣṭhira* and when, at *Duryōdhana*'s word, the evil *Duḥśāsana* would have made her naked before the whole assembly, and thereto pulled aside her veil,¹ then in her distress she cried to Kṛṣṇa, "Help, Lord of *Dvārakā*." Now He was there, for he is omnipresent. Natheless, that the word of one of the Faithful might not be made void because she called Him Lord of *Dvārakā*, in His grace there and then went He to *Dvārakā*, and returned thence that He might relieve her distress.

[When *Duḥśāsana* the evil then pulled her veil, lo, it waxed in length, so that how much soe'er he pulled from off her body, still she stood there fully clothed, nor was she put to shame. Then did he continue pulling off the cloth from her till even his mighty arms were wearied. Thus were the faces of the evil blackened, while the faithful were rejoiced.²]

Once the vile *Duryōdhana* sent *Durvāsas* with ten thousand disciples to seek the Pāṇḍavas in their forest

Kuntī's death is different, and will be found in XV, xxxvii. She was burnt to death in a forest conflagration.

¹ At the time she was wearing nothing but a single *śālī* or veil.

² G. prefaces this story by relating how it was a reward in kind for a good action done by *Draupadī*. Once when *Draupadī* was in *Dvārakā* and was sitting with *Rukmiṇī*, Kṛṣṇa entered with a cut finger and asked for a rag to bind it up. *Draupadī* at once tore off a piece of her garment and gave it to him. He counted the threads in it and found there were 999, and for each of these threads he returned a length of cloth when *Draupadī* was in distress.

exile,¹ and with all his following he arrived at the hermitage just after the daily meal was finished. Then did Yudhiṣṭhira receive him with all gentleness and ask him to eat. Duvāsas put off the meal, and thus gave answer: "I and my disciples will go and bathe, and on our return will we eat." So Yudhiṣṭhira told his wife Draupadi to prepare the food, but she confessed to him that the cauldron was now clean.² He fell into great anxiety. "Better is it for me," said he, "to give up life, than to offer no food unto the saintly guests." But she to him: "What cause for trouble is there? Hath Kṛṣṇa left us? Is He ever gone?" And when Śyāma heard these loving words of the Lady, so full of faith, He fixed His mind and came, and fulfilled the desire of her heart thereby. Just as He came He said, "Hungry am I. Give me somewhat to eat." Now all anxiety herself, she answers, "Dear One, naught is there in the house." And He to her in gentle voice: "Sweet sister, why dost thou pretend? Is there not in the house the cauldron that is filled with all the dainties of the world?" "Dear One," she said, "empty it is, for I have cleansed and washed it after the daily meal." Then the Master asked for the cauldron. "Bring it, let me see it." She lifted it up, and carried it, and laid it before the Master. He looked and found one single leaf of potherb stuck to the inner surface of the cauldron. This showed he to Draupadi, and ate it with a little water: and with his eating that food were not only

¹ Duvāsas was an extremely irascible saint, who cursed unfortunate wights who showed him the least apparent dishonour. He appears in the story of Ambarīṣa above (No. 27). The present story appears in *MBh.*, III, cclxii. Draupadi's housekeeping arrangements gave little trouble. She possessed a wondrous cauldron given her by the Sun which was miraculously filled with food for every meal, and remained full till it was washed after the daily meal was concluded. After that there was no more food in it till the next day.

² See preceding note.

Durvāsas and his disciples made replete, but the whole universe. For the whole universe is He.

Now when Durvāsas and his disciples had finished their bath they found their bellies lined and full. Then remembered he Ambarīṣa¹ and the dread power of the ADORABLE and feared, and he and his disciples returned not, but departed by another way.

¹ See No. 27.

VIII

OMAR'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE KADI

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

THE Instructions of the Second Caliph to the Judge Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī are edited by several Moslem writers, with the differences which seem inseparable from Oral Tradition. The earliest existing copies are those produced by Jāhīz (ob. 255 A.H.: *Bayān*, i, 169, ed. Cairo), by Mubarrad (210-85: *Kāmil*, i, 9, ed. Cairo), and Ibn Kūtaibah (213-76: *Uyūn al-akhbār*, p. 87, ed. Brockelmann); to the next century belongs that of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (246-328: *Ikd Farīd*, i, 33, ed. Cairo, 1293): to the same century or the next belongs the edition of Māwardī (362-450: *Ahkām Sultāniyyah*, pp. 119-21, ed. Enger); and to a much later period that of Ibn Khaldūn (732-806: *Muḥaddimah*, i, 184, ed. Cairo, 1284: p. 221, ed. Beyrūt, 1900). According to Mubarrad the Instructions were very widely circulated; he has glossed a few of the expressions, but by no means provided a complete commentary. Glosses to one or two of the phrases are to be found in the *Nihāyah* or "Dictionary of Tradition" of Ibn al-Athīr. The document was translated into German by von Hammer (*Über die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, Berlin, 1835, pp. 206, 207) after Ibn Khaldūn: the same text was followed by de Slane in his translation of the *Prolegomena* (*Notices et Extraits*, xix, 449), and Professor Gottheil (*History of the Egyptian Kādīs*, p. vii). Finally the Beyrūt editor has vocalized the whole text. On these translations reference may be made to the strictures of Mr. Amedroz (JRAS., 1909, p. 1139); they are all too paraphrastic to guide the reader to the exact sense of the

document, which, whether genuine or not, is of great importance for the history of Moslem judicial institutions. The present is an attempt to provide an accurate rendering, for which Moslem glosses will, where possible, be utilized : although the translator will not feel himself bound by their authority.

Ibn Kūtaibah's text has been adopted, because we have it in a critical edition ; the various readings of the others are given in foot-notes, and, so far as they are of any consequence, discussed, with the exception of the *Ṭḡd Furīd*, which is too corrupt to deserve consideration. Jāḥiẓ alone gives an *isnād* : "recorded by Ibn 'Uyainah and Abū Bakr al-Hudhālī, and Maslamah b. Muḥārīb, all after Kāṭādah ; and by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm after 'Ubaid Allah b. Ḥumaid al-Hudhālī after Abu'l-Maliḥ b. Usāmah." Of these *Sufyān b. 'Uyainah* (107-98) was a contemporary of the author, and his authority *Kāṭādah* (60-117) born about twenty years after the death of the correspondents. The famous *kūḍī Abū Yūsuf* (113-82) was also contemporary with the author, and *Abu'l-Maliḥ al-Hudhālī* is mentioned by Ṭabarī (ii, 1255) as an authority for an event in the year 94. Of the rest, *Maslamah b. Muḥārīb* is an authority frequently employed by Ṭabarī, while the remaining two are harder to identify. Clearly this *isnād* takes us near the time of the correspondents, but not actually to it. It is no surprise to the student of Moslem history that even for a letter oral tradition should be preferred to written documents.

كتب عمر بن الخطاب رضه الى ابي موسى الاشعري كتاباً
فيه : بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله عمر امير المؤمنين
الى عبد الله بن قيس سلام عليك اما بعد : فان القضاء

فريضة محكمة وسنة متبعة فافهم إذا أدلى اليك فانه لا ينفع
 تكلم بحق لا نفاذ له آس بين الناس في مجلسك ووجهك¹
 حتى لا يطمع شريف في حيفك ولا يئأس ضعيف من عدلك²
 البينة على من ادعى واليمين على من انكر والصالح جائز بين
 الناس³ الا صلحا احل حراما او حرّم حلالا⁴ ولا يمنعنك
 قضاء قضيت به بالامس⁵ فراجعت نفسك⁶ وهديت فيه
 لرشدك ان ترجع الى الحق فان الحق لا يبطله شيء واعلم
 ان مراجعة الحق خير من التهادي في الباطل الفهم الفهم
 فيما يتلجلج⁷ في صدرك⁸ ما ليس فيه⁹ قرآن ولا سنة¹⁰
 وأعرف¹¹ الاشياء والامثال¹² ثم قس¹³ الامور بعد ذلك¹⁴ ثم
 اعمد¹⁵ لأحبها¹⁶ الى الله واشبهها بالحق فيما ترى¹⁷ اجعل¹⁸
 لمن ادعى حقا غائبا¹⁹ أمدا²⁰ ينتهي اليه فان أحضر بينة²¹
 اخذ بحقه وإلا استحللت عليه القضاء²² والمسلمون²³ عدول²⁴
 في الشهادة²⁵ الا مجلودا في حد أو مجربا²⁶ عليه شهادة زور
 او ظنيّا في ولاء او قرابة²⁷ ان الله تولى منكم السرائر²⁸ ودرأ²⁹
 عنكم³⁰ بالبينات³¹ واياك والقلق³² والضجر³³ والتأذي³⁴ بالخصوم³⁵
 في مواطن الحق التي يوجب³⁶ الله بها الأجر ويحسن الذخر

فانه من³⁶ صلحت سريرته³⁸ فيما بينه وبين الله اصلح الله³⁹
 ما بينه وبين الناس ومن تزين³⁷ للدنيا بغير ما يعلم الله منه
 شأنه الله⁴⁰ والسلام

VARIOUS READINGS

J = Jāhīz. B = Mubarrad. W = Māwardī. K = Ibn Khaldūn.

- وجهك و مجلسك و عدلك : وجهك و عدلك و مجلسك¹ B, W
 المسلمين³ J, B, W, K ولا يخاف ضعيف من جورك و البينة² J
 فراجعت⁴ B امس⁵ W, K : اليوم⁵ B ⁴ J inserts حرم حلالا etc.
 راجعت فيه نفسك⁶ J : فراجعت اليوم فيه عقلك⁶ W, K : فيه عقلك
 ترجع عنه فان الحق قديم⁸ J, B, W, K omit : فان الحق قديم⁷ B, W, K
 في¹⁰ B, W, K عند ما يتلجلج⁹ J : تلجلج⁹ B, W اعلم ان
 كتاب¹¹ B, K مما لم يبلغك في كتاب الله ولا سنة النبي صلعم¹¹ J
 ثم اعرف¹² B, W, K كتاب الله تعالى ولا سنة نبيه¹² W : ولا سنة
 وقس¹⁴ J, W, K : ثم without¹⁴ B قس¹⁴ B الامثال والاشباه¹³ J, W, K
 : ثم without¹⁶ B و اعمد¹⁶ B بنظائرها¹⁵ W, K : عند ذلك¹⁵ B
 الى¹⁷ J : اقر بها¹⁷ B ترى W, K omit the whole sentence as far as
 واجعل للمدعي¹⁸ J : واجعل¹⁹ B, W, K اجبها¹⁸ B omits.
 : القضاء عليه²² J, B, W, K ببينته²¹ J : بينته²¹ B, K او بينة²⁰ J, B, W, K +
 : القضاء عليه²³ K : القضية عليه²³ W : عليه القضية²³ B اخذت له
 (W, K) اننى للشك واجلى للعمى²⁴ J, B, W, K add : وجهت عليه القضاء²⁴ J
 و²⁵ J, B, W, K و²⁵ B, K omit : فانه فان ذلك²⁵ J : فانه فان ذلك
 في²⁷ K : في ولاء او نسب²⁷ B, W مجرى²⁶ K : بعضهم على بعض²⁶ B, W

نسب او ولاء ²⁸ J قد : فان الله B الخ ; W, K
 عفا عن الايمان (K + سبجانه فان الله ²⁹ B, W, K omit. ³⁰ B +
 : عفا عن الايمان ودرأ بالينات W, K for the whole
 : ودرا عنكم بالشهات ثم اياك القلق ³¹ B والغلق, explained as
 بالناس ³² J والتاف ³³ W, K ضيق الصدر وقلة الصبر
 : فان الحق + W: والتنكر عند الخصومات فان الحق + B: والتنكر للخصوم
 التي ³⁴ B, W, K معظم without فان استقرار الحق + K
 Here W به الذكر K: بها الذكر W: به الذخر B: بها لذخر J. ³⁵
 and K add ³⁶ B فمن ³⁷ J يخلص: and terminate. والسلام
 وبين الله تبارك وتعالى ولو على نفسه J. ³⁸ B نيته ³⁹ B صحى
 تخلق للناس بما يعلم B ⁴⁰ واقبل على نفسه كفاه الله B: يكفه الله اخ
 الله انه ليس من نفسه شانه الله فما ظنك بثواب غير الله عز وجل في
 ومن تزين للناس بما يعلم الله خلافه J: عاجل ررقه وخزائن رحمته
 منه هنك الله ستره وابدى فعله

TRANSLATION OF IBN KUTAIBAH'S TEXT

The judge's office is [the application of] either an unequivocal ordinance of the *Qur'ān* or a practice that may be followed. Understand this when considerations are put before you, for it is useless to utter a plea when it is not valid. Equalize all Moslems in your court and your attention; so neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you. The claimant must produce evidence, from the defendant an oath may be exacted. Compromise is permissible between Moslems, provided no law be violated thereby. If you have given judgment, and upon reconsideration come to a different opinion, do not let the

judgment which you have given stand in the way of retractation: for justice may not be annulled, and you are to know that it is better to retract than to persist in injustice. Use your brains about those matters which perplex you, to which neither Law nor Practice seems to apply: study the theory of analogy, then compare things, and adopt the judgment which is most pleasing to God and most in conformity with justice so far as you can see. If a man bring a claim in absence [of the defendant], fix a term by which the defendant is to appear; if the plaintiff then produce evidence, his claim shall be allowed, otherwise you will be entitled to give judgment against him. All Moslems are credible witnesses except such as have suffered stripes for offences with fixed penalties, such as have been proved to have given false witness, and such as are suspected of partiality on the ground of relationship, whether of blood or of patronage. God concerns Himself with your secret character, and leaves you to follow appearances. Avoid fatigue and the display of weariness or annoyance at the litigants in the courts of justice, wherein God enables you to earn reward and make a handsome store. For when a man's conscience towards God is clear, God makes His relations with man satisfactory; whereas if a man simulate before the world what God knows that he has not, God will put him to shame.

NOTES

The judge's office is the application, etc.: This sentence has hitherto been erroneously rendered, e.g. by Hammer, "das Richteramt ist eine durch Gebote festgestellte Pflicht, deren Erfüllung durch die Sunna begründet ist." If the *kaḍā* were an institution of the *Kur'ān*, it should be possible to quote a text for it: but in fact neither the *nom. ag.* (*kāḍin*) nor the *nom. verbi* (*kaḍā*) occur in that book, the latter at all, the former in the sense of "judge". Since it has no cognate in the sense in Aramaic or

Ethiopic, it is probably an Islamic technicality. The verb to which these words belong is used in the *Qur'ān* in its etymological sense, "to terminate," whether life, a ceremony, or a dispute; in the last case, where the object has sometimes to be supplied in thought, it approximates in sense to the verb *ḥakama*, "to judge." That a derivative from this last verb was not chosen is perhaps due to two facts: (1) the prevalence of a maxim that God only was Judge (*ḥākim*): (2) the provision in *Sūrah* iv, 34, for the appointment in certain cases of two *ḥakam* or "arbiters", whilst the seeking of a single *ḥakam* other than God is forbidden in vi, 114. Nevertheless the *ḥukkām* or "judges" are mentioned in ii, 184, as a recognized institution, though in a prohibitive sentence.

The sentence, therefore, is a succinct statement of the *Sources of Law*, while later in the document the author provides for the case in which these are not found sufficient. The two sources are (a) Texts of the *Qur'ān*, (b) Practice.

With regard to the first, there is the limitation to such part of the *Qur'ān* as is *muḥkam*, with reference to the important distinction in iii, 5, between texts that are *muḥkam* and such as are *mutashābih*. From xxii, 51, we should infer that the former word referred to some critical or editorial operation, and that the difference was between texts of ascertained and texts of doubtful genuineness. To follow the latter is said in the *Sūrah* to be a sign of apostasy and the desire to stir up dissension. Perhaps this text (iii, 5) is later than the Prophet's time.

To the second Source of Law, *sunnah*, an interesting epithet is also attached. This is "which may be followed". Lower down in the instructions *sunnah* appears in the copies of *Jāḥiẓ* and *Māwardī* as "the Prophet's *sunnah*", but the epithet "which may be followed" shows that this

cannot be meant, for any practice of the Prophet would deserve to be followed. A practice which may be followed is, then, a practice which was not abrogated by Islam, i.e. pre-Islamic or Arabian practice. In a marriage oration of the Caliph Ma'mun (quoted *Murāj al-dhahab*, vii, 9. ed. Paris: ii, 225, ed. Cairo) the same phrase occurs: "If there were about marriage no unequivocal text, and no practice that may be followed, save what God has created, i.e. the natural result," etc. Marriage was clearly in existence before Islam. In a speech of Hasan (quoted by Jāhiz, *Maḥāsīn*, 148, 3) the *sunan* are spoken of in the plural, i.e. the practice of the community. It is curious that in Turkish *sunnah* is used as a euphemism for "circumcision", which was assuredly a pre-Islamic practice. In a verse cited by Yāḳūt (*Uḍabā*, v)¹ the word is applied to the *budun*, or animals sacrificed at Meccah, which again dated from pre-Islamic times. The word seems originally to mean "a beaten track", being derived from *istanna*, "to gallop," and we think of a beaten track as beaten by a long series of persons rather than by one. The title of our earliest collection of traditions, the *muwatta'* of Mālik, means the same.

This theory, then, of the Sources of Law (compared by Mr. Amedroz to Common Law and Statute Law) implies that where there was no Kūr'anic enactment Arabian practice, provided it had not been abrogated, was to be followed. This is obviously a very different theory from that which ultimately prevailed, whereby "Islam had cancelled all that was before it", and the Prophet was the sole source of law, either by the Kūr'ān, which he had revealed, or his infallible utterances and deeds.

A remarkable case, in which we can trace the development of this doctrine, is to be found in the story of the arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, in which the person to whom these Instructions were addressed was one

¹ MS. *peneb me*.

of the arbiters. In the treaty between the two claimants, as given by Tabarī (i, 3336, 15), that which the arbiters cannot find in the *Qur'ān* is to be referred to "the *sunnah* which is just, combining rather than separating".¹ At a later time this is so expressed as to make it appear that what was meant was the *sunnah*, in the sense of the Prophetic Tradition.² Yet it seems clear that what is meant must be "practice, whereon the community are agreed rather than divided". The record which we have of the debate is imperfect, and indeed unintelligible, as appears from Wellhausen's analysis.³ What light could either the *Qur'ān* or the "practice" throw on the question of the succession? It is noticeable that suggestions which appear to have been offered on this occasion were to put the appointment into the hands of a commission, or to nominate the son of Omar. The former would be following Omar's precedent, the latter following one form of the hereditary principle, whilst the claims of 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah could both be supported by theories of succession.

A use of the word *sunnah* which is of some interest occurs in the remark of 'Alī, quoted by Tabarī, when he was compelled to erase the words "Commander of the Faithful" after his name. He says, "*sunnah* for *sunnah* and example for example," and proceeds to recount how the same thing had happened to the Prophet (i, 3335, 3). Perhaps the rendering "case for case" would be sufficiently accurate.

The maxim "Islam cancels all that preceded" probably referred originally to offences committed before conversion; pre-Islamic Arabian practice, so far as it did not interfere with Islam, was for a time maintained. The growth of

¹ السنة العادلة الجامعة غير المفارقة

² *Al-Fakhri*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 111, 3 a.f.

³ *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 58.

the Moslem community, so as to include a variety of non-Arab nations, and the absence of any Arabian code, speedily rendered this second source of law, Practice, too uncertain to be followed; the Practice or Precedent of the Prophet was substituted for it, and, as Goldziher has shown admirably, the deliberate invention of precedents was rendered almost necessary by the course of events and the requirements of the courts.

Understand this when considerations are put before you: Hammer renders "so fasse denn, was dir vor allem ziemt". The words *idhā ulliya ilaika* must be explained from Sūrah ii, 184: "Eat not your goods between you wrongfully, *فدلوها إلى الحكام*, that ye may eat a part of men's goods guiltily and knowingly." These words puzzle the commentators, but can scarcely mean anything else than "neither offer part of them as a bribe to the judges", after which "a part" is substituted for the whole, because a part will already have gone to the judges. The word is evidently identical with the Ethiopic *adlawwa*, "he pleased," or "he flattered": of which the *nom. agentis* is used for "partial", "unjust" of a judge (examples are given by Dillmann). The words of the Sūrah may then be construed literally "and curry the favour of the judges with them"; an even more literal rendering would be "and dangle them before the judges", or "depress the scale with them", since the word is in origin connected with the "pans" of the balance. In vii, 21, the second form is used with an accusative for "to cajole". It comes to mean "to adduce as a plea", e.g. Ṭabarī, i, 2045, 7 (with *bi*), but usually suggests that the plea is weak: and in some contexts definitely means "to ingratiate oneself", as in the verse (cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah, ii, 174)—

واجعل له نسباً يدلي اليك به فلعمة العلم تعالو لحمة النسب

"Make for him a pedigree whereby he may ingratiate himself with thee, for the bond of learning exceeds that of blood in strength."

The point, then, of this precept is that when pleas are urged, the judge is to bear in mind that it is his business to carry out law, whether written or customary; that it is not for him to decide on the abstract merits of a question. And this is the sense of what follows: *for it is useless to utter a plea which is not valid*: thus the argument (e.g.) of the suffragists that men and women are equal must not avail in the face of the text of the *Qur'an* which declares that "the male shall have the shares of two females".

Equalize all Moslems in your court and your attention: Mubarrad's text adds "and your justice", which also appears in Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn, though the arrangement of the words varies; it seems to injure the sense seriously. Without it the words are clear. *Āsi* (on which Mubarrad has some bad philology) is a dialectic equivalent of *sāwi*; so in the *Murāj al-dhahab* (ed. Paris, vii, 75), ii, 238,¹ the sixth form is used for "to divide equally" in the reflexive sense, in a line in which the third form is used for "to help" or "console". "Equality in court" means sitting side by side with other litigants. In the History of the Egyptian *Kādīs* (p. 64, B.M. Add. 23324, fol. 169b) the Caliph Manṣūr is requested to put himself on an equality with his opponent in his sitting; the Caliph descends from his throne and takes a seat next the other party to the suit. According to the Scholiast on Ḥariri (ed. i, p. 445) litigants *knelt* before the judgment-seat; and Baidāwī on *Sūrah* xix, 69, says the same. But according to Sharbīnī (Comm. on the *Minhāj*, iv, 369) it is more usual for them to stand.

The word rendered *attention* literally signifies *face*. It may mean "in your looks", i.e. let the expression on your

فتواسينا الالف اثلاثا¹

face be the same in all cases; and this view is supported by Nawāwī and others. Yet the reference is more likely to be to a Jewish rule that both litigants should be allowed the same time for their addresses.

So neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you: the antithesis between *sharīf* and *wadī'* is often found, e.g. *Murūj al-dhahab* (ed. Paris, vii, 80), ii, 239, "no one of either class would salute him."¹ It would be difficult to name the date at which the former came to mean of the family of the Prophet. *Moslems* is the correct rendering of *al-nās* (literally "the people"), for according to the "truer" view a Moslem should be given a higher place in court than a member of a tolerated sect (Sharbīnī, loc. cit.). 'Alī himself is quoted for this view.

The word for "to be partial" (*haif*) is interpreted by Mubarrad as *mail*, "inclination." In Sūrah xxiv, 48, it is used of partiality or prejudice against some one; and since in Syriac its analogue means "violence", that sense seems more natural than favouritism. Perhaps we should read *janaf* (Sūrah ii, 178).

The claimant must produce evidence: This is almost a translation of the Mishnic rule, המוציא מחברו עליו הראיה, "Whoso would get out from his neighbour, on him lies the proof." The Hebrew *r'āyāh* can be used either for a document or for witnesses' testimony, but seems normally to mean a document; thus, in the Mishnah of B. *Sanhedrin*, 31a, it is expressly contrasted with testimony, and is a thing which a man can keep in his *porte-monnaie*. Bokhārī must have assigned the same force to the Arabic equivalent *bayyinah*, for he quotes this maxim as based on the Kūr'ānic injunction to have all loans put down in writing and witnessed by two persons (ii, 282; Kaṣṭalānī, ed. vi, iv, 371), though not in the sense of signed by them. We

learn from Ibn Mājah (ii, 34) that some supposed the whole of this verse to be abrogated. In the *Hidāyah* (iii, 484) this maxim, with the following, are both ascribed to the Prophet.

From the defendant an oath may be exacted: According to the Jewish lawyers the oath in the intention of Scripture could only be demanded when part of the claim was allowed: the Rabbis introduced a somewhat less terrible oath for the case of complete repudiation of the claim.

Compromise is permissible between Moslems: Ibn Kūt. has "the people" for "Moslems", but they are synonymous. We should probably infer that the law does not contemplate it between Moslems and members of other communities. The law-books deal elaborately with this subject.

Provided no law be violated thereby: The illustrations given in the law-books are not very convincing. It is noticeable that the person to whom these instructions are addressed was afterwards one of the arbiters in the historic dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, and in the opinion of many compromised in a manner which seriously violated the law.

If you have given judgment, etc.: It is not clear whether the meaning is that precedents are not to be binding, or that any judgment is liable to be altered on reconsideration. The reading of Jāhiz, Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn, "justice is from eternity," favours the former view, while Ibn Kūt.'s reading, "may not be annulled," favours the latter. Both theories appear to be fraught with danger to society, though logically deducible from the theory that law is the will, not of the sovereign, but of God.

Use your brains, etc.: The writer now comes to the case in which the two primary Sources of Law fail.

Which perplex you: Mubarrad takes the word here used (*talajlaja*) to be a metaphor drawn from food that will not go down. In a letter to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, i, 78, 23) Omar (?) uses the active in the sense of "to

employ sophistry". In Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 233, 2, *تجلبج*, perhaps we should read *يلج في صدره*.

Study the theory of analogy: The conciseness of the style of these instructions suggests that the words *ashbāh* and *amthāl* are not synonyms, though the difference is not clear. It is probable then that this sentence should be rendered as above, rather than "study similar and analogous cases". Analogy was already studied by the Jews (see Ad. Schwarz, *die hermeneutische Induktion in der Talmudischen Litteratur*, 1909).

Then compare things: Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn read "and compare things with their likes", which favours the above rendering, whilst the text of Mubarrad and Ibn K̄ut. favours the literal translation. The word used for "compare", *k̄is*, seems certainly borrowed from the Jews, who use in this sense *hēkīsh*, which, according to Kohut and others, should be *hikkīsh*, literally "knock together, bring into collision", perhaps itself a translation of the Greek *συμβάλλειν*; just as the Talmudic *הוכיח* for "to refute" seems clearly a translation of the Greek *ἐλέγχειν*. The Arabic root *k̄ys* then turns the inflexional vowel into a radical, and omits the first radical; an interesting case of the history of Semitic roots. The use of the term makes it clear that Omar (if these Instructions be genuine) must have had a Jewish lawyer at his elbow.

And adopt the judgment, etc.: This clause is omitted by Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn. Mubarrad has it, but with "nearest to God" for "most pleasing to God". An obvious ground for its omission would be that it is at first sight illogical. For what the judge has to compare are not different judgments in the same case, but cases for which the two Sources of Law provide with cases for which there appears to be no such provision. This is done by discovering what in Jewish law is called *haṣṣad ha-shōweh*, "the point of agreement," between them. It

may happen that the unforeseen case has points of agreement with various others, leading to different conclusions : in this event the judge has to use his conscience.

If a man bring a claim in absence: The editions of Jālīz, Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn add "or a proof", evidently a gloss, interpreting the words of the text as "if a man make a claim, asserting that there is evidence for it which cannot be immediately produced". At the end of the sentence these authorities add "for that will be the best way to dispel doubts and clear up obscurity". According to this, the rule will provide for a case not noticed in the foregoing law of procedure. If the plaintiff produce evidence he wins his case. If he produce no evidence, and the defendant decline an oath, he also wins. But there is the third possibility that the plaintiff may say he can produce evidence, yet not at once. It will be better in that case to give him a term by which to produce his evidence than to offer the defendant an oath. The Jews allowed thirty days' grace for this purpose.

Yet it is not clear why the failure to produce the evidence should lose the plaintiff his case.¹ Hence it seems possible that the matter dealt with is *default*; on which the law-books give some elaborate rules, and for which the word here used (*ghā'ib*) is the technical term. The construction is curious, but perhaps not too crabbed for Omar. The difference, then, between this case and the other would be that, if the defendant do not appear, the plaintiff is cast unless he produce evidence; for the defendant's absence is not to be regarded as equivalent to his refusing the oath. And indeed in the *Minhāj* it is stated that evidence is indispensable in the case of a claim against an absentee.

The third possibility, viz. that it is the object of the

¹ The Jews suggest that further delay will afford suspicion of forgery or suborning.

claim which is absent, is indeed discussed in the law-books, but clearly is not dealt with here.

All Moslems are credible witnesses: Jāḥiz, Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn read, "credible against each other." This would imply that they are not credible necessarily in each other's favour; and indeed the Kur'ān (ii, 134) exhorts them to witness against parents, relations, and even themselves. The question of members of other religions is not touched. Mr. Amedroz (loc. cit., p. 1139) has called attention to the difficulties in which this subject is involved. The qualification of witnesses in the later law-books are far stricter than those with which Omar is satisfied. The Kur'ānic phrase is *dhū 'adl* (v, 105, lxv, 2), which appears to mean "possessed of fairness", i.e. just and upright. On the retention or suppression of "against each other" the interpretation of the next clause will depend.

Such as are suspected of partiality, etc.: Mubarrad renders these words "one whose pedigree or clientship is suspect", i.e. one who is suspected of falsifying his pedigree. But the true rendering appears to be what has been given, and the law-books (e.g. the *Minhāj*, ed. van den Berg, iii, 404; ed. Sharbīnī, iv, 399) go into this question of prohibited degrees for the purpose of evidence very elaborately. The same question occupied the Jewish lawyers, whose rules on the subject of evidence are similar in several respects. In the *Minhāj* evidence is not allowed in favour of parent or child (to any degree), but is admitted against them; it is admitted in favour of husband or wife, and in favour of brothers or friends. It is not admitted in favour of a slave or freedman (*mukātib*), etc. The annotator on Jāḥiz takes the right view.

The reading of Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn (*nasab* for *karābah*) is somewhat in favour of Mubarrad's rendering, but the above considerations show that it is erroneous.

God concerns Himself, etc.: The readings here vary very considerably. Ibn K̄ut. agrees with Mubarrad, except that the latter adds "and the oaths" after the word "evidence". The verb *dar'a* is used in the K̄ur'ān in the sense of averting punishment, "it shall avert punishment from her" (xxiv, 8); and there is a tradition in which the same word occurs, "avert penalties by doubts," i.e. suspicion (of the character of the witness) is sufficient to avert the penalty from the person accused. The true reading and interpretation are supplied by the words attributed to Omar by Bokhārī (ed. Kaṣṭalānī, iv, 377). "Now [since the Prophet's death] we only take you by your manifest actions; if a man make display of good [make a fair show], we trust him and favour him, and have nothing to do with his secret character; God deals with his secret character. Whereas if a man make display of evil, we neither trust nor believe him; even though he say that his secret character is good."¹ The word *bayyīnah*, then, in this sentence means not, as above, "evidence," but "outward conduct" as opposed to *ṣarīrah*, "secret character." God, while Himself inquiring into the secret character of Moslems, is satisfied if you attend to their outward conduct, and regard any Moslem as trustworthy so long as he is not a notorious evil-liver. The word *bayyīnah* is misunderstood by all save Ibn K̄ut., and since the oath plays in law as important a rôle as evidence (which the word meant above), there are two theories as to the import of the sentence, "God saves you further trouble by evidence." Either it *includes* oaths, in which case there will be no harm in adding the word, as is done by Mubarrad; or it *excludes* oaths, and since the oath has been mentioned

انما نأخذكم الآن بما ظهر من أعمالكم فمن أظهر لنا خيراً أمناه
 وقربناه وليس إلينا من سريره شيء الله يحاسبه في سريره ومن أظهر
 لنا سوءاً لم نأمنه ولم نصدقه وإن قال إن سريره حسنة

above, a statement must be introduced to show that oaths are not now required; and this takes the form, "God has excused you from oaths," which Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn prefix to the clause. The Beyrūt editor and von Hammer both read *īmān*, "faith," for *aymān*, "oaths," and the latter boldly renders, "God is forgiving to the Believer." De Slane's suggestion, "God is the only judge who has no need of an oath," is equally impossible.

Avoid fatigue, etc.: The true reading seems here to have been preserved by Mubarrad.

Display of annoyance: The reading of Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn is "the expression of annoyance", or reproaching the litigants. The form of annoyance suggested by the word in the text is that produced by what offends the senses, e.g. incorrect speech (cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā*, i, 24, 4 a.f.) or evil odours (*Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, 42, 1).

After this sentence Mubarrad inserts, *and irritation during the pleadings*, which adds nothing to the sense. Jāhiz similarly, "and irritation against the litigants." The copies vary very considerably in what follows. Mubarrad and Māwardī read "for by truth in the abodes of truth God magnifies the reward and bestows a good store [Māwardī 'name']"; but the Arabic seems clumsy if not incorrect. Ibn Khaldūn adds a word to improve the sense: "for by the *ascertainment* of truth in the abodes of truth," etc. This last reading is clearly interpolated; but there is little to be said for Mubarrad's reading either, which appears to be due to an objection felt to making the courts of justice themselves grant a right to a reward.

The last sentence is omitted by Ibn Khaldūn; it is also omitted by the Arabic Māwardī, but figures in the Persian translation. Mubarrad gives it in a form somewhat different from Ibn Kūtaibah's: "If a man's intention be sound and he turns towards himself [i.e. takes care of his

own conscience], God will look after his relations with other men; whereas whoso feigns before men what God knows him not to possess, shall be shamed by God (and what thinkest thou of the reward of others than God?) in His present provision and the stores of His mercy." The phrase *thawābi ghairi 'llāhi* seems unintelligible; the Persian translator quoted by Enger renders, "God shall shame him now, and what thinkest thou of the reward of God in the provision which He has promised out of the stores of His mercy?" But this is not convincing. Perhaps the original meant "shall shame him in this life, and how much more hereafter", and the form which the sentence assumes in Mubarrad's work is due to continuous interpolation. Jāhīz has, "If a man's intention be sincere in his relations with God, even against himself, God will provide for his relations with mankind."

The whole of the concluding sentence is perhaps rightly omitted by the Arabic Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn, since it should evidently have come after the words "leaves you to follow appearances" had it been part of the original document. For it is evidently intended to soften somewhat Omar's doctrine that no inquiry was to be made into the character of witnesses. If Providence takes care that the hypocrite is always unmasked, such inquiry is not so absolutely necessary as it would be if the unmasking were ordinarily left to the next world.

Māwardī offers two criticisms only on Omar's letter. One is that it contains no formal investiture. The other is the last point noticed, that it unreasonably limits the command of Sūrah xlix, 6, to weigh evidence, by taking too narrow a view of the meaning of the word *fāsiq*, "evil-doer," there employed. Māwardī thinks the objection may be got over by regarding this as a personal opinion of Omar.

Many equally grave objections occur to the European

reader. The assumption that all Moslem witnesses are credible involves the assumption that there will never be conflicting testimony; and the Judge is given no guidance for the case in which this occurs. Experts in legal matters will easily think of many more deficiencies.

Comparison between the various copies of this much-studied document suggests two reflections: one, the absolute untrustworthiness of oral tradition, even where only a few sentences have to be committed to the memory; the other, the difficulty of construing Arabic texts correctly.

IX

"ALI BABA AND THE FORTY THIEVES" IN ARABIC FROM A BODLEIAN MS.

By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

IF anything could make Sir Richard Burton turn in his grave, it would be to know that all the time he was having his unpleasantness with the authorities of the Bodleian, there reposed in that library an Arabic MS. containing the "Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves". Ever since Professor Ethé made his catalogue of the additional Arabic MSS. in the Bodleian, the treasure was waiting to be lifted by anyone who should take the trouble to run over that catalogue in its still manuscript form. But it is plain that no student of the *Arabian Nights* had done so, until, in September of 1908, Professor Ethé's catalogue was most courteously put into my hands, and I discovered that the one of Galland's stories of which absolutely no Oriental trace had ever been found, and the possibility, even, of the existence of which, as an Oriental story, had been denied, had been lying in the Bodleian in Arabic since 1860. I had just returned from a vain search for MSS. of the *Nights* in Cairo, Syria, and Constantinople to make this find in Oxford.

The MS. is in certain ways so mysterious, and its provenance so uncertain, that a somewhat minute description is necessary. It is a small octavo numbered "MS Bodl. Orient. 633". On the back is a bookseller's mark, "Rue Richelieu | a Paris | Librairie A. Franck 390." From this Franck it was bought by the Bodleian in 1860 for 8s.; but there the trail at present stops. Twice (fol. 1a and fol. 112a) a stamp occurs (V.L.), of which I can make nothing. It contains two stories. On a fly

at the beginning is a Latin title of the first, *Historia Chalife | Haroun Ar-ruschid, et | filie Khosrois, regis | Persarum*. On the next leaf, fol. 1a, is the same title in Arabic—

حكاية الخليفة هرون الرشيد | مع بنتكسرى على | التمام والكمال | تم

The story follows, and the Arabic title of *Ali Baba* is given on fol. 45a. *Ali Baba* extends to fol. 112a and closes the volume. The paper on which the two stories are written is different, but the hand, a very fine and legible one, is the same throughout, and is evidently modern. At the end the scribe gives his name as Yūḥannā ibn Yūsuf Wārisī (وارسي). Yūḥannā suggests a Christian, but the wording of the colophon is Muslim, or, at least, not specifically Christian. Wārisī, whether as *nisba* or as a family name after the fashion of Damascus, seems to be unknown. I have consulted Dr. Sarruf, the editor of the *Muqattam* and the *Muqtataf* and a Syrian by birth and education, and he has made wide inquiries, but with no result. Is it by chance a European name masquerading in Arabic? Yet that seems hardly likely.

We are, therefore, driven back upon internal evidence for any hypothesis of the origin of this form of *Ali Baba*. Of course, the important point is its relationship to Galland's French. Does it stand in the ancestry, or is it collateral to the ancestry of that version, or is it a descendant? It is unfortunate that there is no such direct evidence of date and place of MS. against the latter hypothesis as exists in the case of one of the two MSS. of *Aladdin*, but neither is there such evidence of French influence on its grammatical constructions, as exists in the case of the other *Aladdin* MS. (Zotenberg, *Histoire d'Alá al-Dín*, pp. 41 ff.). The only suspicious construction which I have noted is خوفًا لا (note 2, p. 346), which may connect with "de peur que . . . ne". But خوفًا من and خوفًا ان also occur.

There remains, however, another criterion. Although the honours in story-telling are pretty equally divided between the author of the Arabic *Aladdin* and Galland, yet there cannot be much question that Galland was a greater literary artist than the author of at least this form of *Ali Baba*. Is there anything, then, in this text that Galland would have found to his purpose and yet did not use? Or is there anything in Galland which an Arabic translator would surely have utilized? In dealing with a man like Galland and of Galland's methods, I hesitate to be dogmatic about the first question, but I have no doubt that there are points in Galland's version which even the most obtuse translator would not have neglected. Let anyone read the two accounts of how the oil merchant was taken in by Ali Baba, and of the night of terror which followed. In spite of the wordiness of the Arabic, Galland has all the advantage of picturesque detail. Morgiane needs the light to skim Ali Baba's pot of broth; she has to work under great pressure of haste; she sits and reflects that the robber captain cannot escape by the house door as it is double-locked. Of course, there are also additional details in the Arabic, but none, I think, of this picturesqueness. And, further, I am by no means sure that it was this text or one like it that lay before Galland.

The story is written in a pseudo-grammatical Arabic, with mistakes from time to time, and appearances of colloquial words. Fine writing was evidently an object, even to the use of purple patches of rhetoric more befitting a *maqāma*. A wide vocabulary is displayed and rhyming synonyms are scattered regardless of space. Yet the basis is evidently not one of the conventional tales of the rhetoricians, but a folk-tale with a widespread *Märchen* behind it. The most accessible European form of that *Märchen* is *Simeliberg*, No. 142 of Grimm's *Kinder und Haus-Märchen* (Reclam ed., vol. ii, pp. 222 ff.; other forms

and note on name in vol. iii, pp. 241 and 359). But no "Syrian Munshi", as Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole suggests (*Lane's Arabian Nights*, Bohn's Standard Library, vol. iv, pp. 412 f.), could have produced our *Ali Baba* from anything like the Grimm *Märchen*. The *Märchen* run together, it is true, but very much farther back, and we have only another illustration of the unity in that type of story which Artin, Spitta, and Stumme, to mention three only, have so fully demonstrated. It may, however, be a point of importance that the European analogues in this case seem to be German and Slavonic rather than Italian. It would be interesting to discover whether any similar story occurs in Turkish. *Baba*, in Galland also of the cobbler, points in the same direction. "Der arme und der reiche Bruder" in Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen* (Leiden, 1905), pp. 231 ff., is evidently of the same stock, but has been considerably modified. *Simeliberg* is much nearer *Ali Baba*.¹

My hypothesis, then, is that there existed in Syrian Arabic a folk-tale of *Ali Baba*, presumably with Turkish and Slavonic affiliations. This was taken by the redactor of our recension and worked over into what he considered elegant form and literary Arabic. But modern literary idioms—I mean such as occur in present-day *Nahwī*—coloured his style, and even some absolutely colloquial expressions remained unobserved. To these last I have drawn attention in the notes, and for the first Dozy will in general be found a sufficient guide. Of this recension, finally, I consider that the Bodleian MS. is a generally faithful representative.

But from what did Galland translate? Had he the

¹ I may leave in the hazard of a conjectural foot-note my guess that this Turkish-Slavonic-German *Märchen* extended only to the death of the envious brother. The story of the attempted revenge of the robbers and of their destruction is of other origin, and its analogues are South European. For it see Clouston's notes on the story in vol. iii of Burton's *Additional Nights*. Did the two stories meet in Syria?

story in a written form? If so, in a form of what kind? It is certain from Galland's diary (*Zotenberg*, pp. 28 ff.) that various stories were first related to him and thereafter given to him in writing by the Maronite of Aleppo, Hanna Diab, who had been brought to France by Paul Lucas, the traveller. On March 25, 1709, Hanna tells Galland some stories, and promises to put them in writing for him. Thereafter come various entries as to the telling of stories. On November 3, 1710, Galland enters in his diary that he has just finished reading the story of Aladdin, which had been written for him in Arabic more than a year previously by Hanna. From the close agreement of Galland's translation with the two manuscripts of *Aladdin* found by Zotenberg, it is plain that Hanna did not make his copy from memory. Also, this copy, which he gave to Galland, has not yet been found. But on May 27, 1709, Galland had inserted in his diary a brief abstract of *Ali Baba*. Unfortunately Zotenberg quotes a few lines only, but these are sufficient to show that Galland did not expand his story from that abstract. These are "Les Finesses de Morgiane ou les quarantes voleurs exterminés par l'adresse d'une esclave. Dans une ville de la Perse, vers les confins des Indes, il y avoit deux frères, l'un fort riche, . . ." Here, apparently, there is no mention of how Cassim had become rich through his wife inheriting wealth after marriage. On another side, the Bodleian Arabic text, with less probability, makes Cassim marry a rich woman, and thus shows that its form of the story is not dependent upon Galland. Further, it was only at the end of August, 1711, two years and three months after Hanna's recital, that Galland began to put in shape the story of *Ali Baba*. I can hardly believe, then, that writing after so long a time, and possessing only the abstract in his diary, he could have produced the existing close agreement in the skeleton of the tale between his rendering and this Arabic text.

Zotenberg, it is true, thought otherwise (p. 34), apparently on the basis of Galland's entry of August 24, but that entry does not necessarily involve that he did not also possess a written text. I regard it as probable, then, that there lay before him a text of this story, copied by Hanna. Whether that text was in simple language, like that published by Zotenberg of *Aladdin*, or had been rhetorically bedevilled like this Bodleian text of *Ali Baba*, cannot be certainly determined.

In editing, I have followed the MS. as closely as possible, endeavouring only to clear away evident surface errors and to reproduce correctly the final "learned" recension. To get back to the colloquial lying behind was evidently impossible, and, on the other hand, it was not my business to make this redactor write good Arabic. The varying orthography of *hemza* I have followed, and also the treatment of verbs final *wāw* and *yā*. Even the confusion of ز and ذ, ت and س I have respected, drawing the line, however, at such a pure transcriptional fantasy as البسوا for البشوا. لم دخل, too, I have left (cf. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, § 545) and all the idioms of أمّا. The feminine ة I have uniformly dotted; the redactor evidently prided himself on his *i'rāb*. All these changes, except the ة and a few perfectly purposeless slips, are recorded in the notes.

حكاية على بابا مع اللصوص الأربعين
والجارية مرجانة على التمام
والكمال والحمد لله
وحده

م

[f. 46a] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
حكى والله أعلم في غيبه واحكم فيما مضى وتقدم من

احاديث الامم الماسغية والشعوب الخالصة انه كان في غابر الزمان
وسالف العصر والوان في مدينة من مدن خراسان العجم رجلا
اخوان شقيقان احدهما يسمى فاسم والثاني يسمى على بابا وكان
قد توفي ابوهما وما خلف لهما الا تركته حتمرة ومستروكات غير غزيرة
واقترسا ما خلف لهما ابوهما ولو كان قليلا بالحد والانصاف من غير
انزاع ولا خلاف ثم بعد اقتسامهما مبراث والدهما تزوج فاسم
بامرأة غنية صاحبة املاك وبساتين وكروم ودكاكين مشكونة
بالبضائع الفاخرة والامتعة المشتمة الزاخرة فبدا [f. 46b] ياخذ
ويعطى ويمبيع ويشترى فانتسعت حاله وساعدته المقادير فصار له
صيت بين التجار ومثله بمن اهل اليسر والافتخار وما على بابا فقد
تزوج بنت ذات فاقة لا تملك درهما ولا ديناراً ولا بيتاً ولا عقاراً
ففق في مدة يسيرة ما كان اورثه¹ من ابيه فاستولى عليه بعد
ذلك الضيق مع غمومه والفقر مع شدته ودمومه فاحترق في امره
وعجز عن الحيلة في تحصيل قوته ومعبشته وكان عالماً لبيباً متفكهاً
اديباً فانشد يقول هذه الابيات² [من المتقارب]

يقولون لي انت بمن الوري	بعلمك كالليلمة المقمرة
فقلت دعوني من قولكم	[f. 47a] فلا علم الا مع المقمرة
فلورهنوني وعلمي معي	وكل الدفانير والمحبرة
على قوت يوم لرد الرهان	وارموا لي الفضة والمخبر

¹ So in MS. Is the prefixed *a* the Syrian colloquialism (Oestrup, *Contes de Danus*, pp. 130 f.) or simply a transcriptional error?

² These verses are given exactly as in the MS., except that there the *د* at the end of lines 1-3 is dotted. Line 4b is evidently corrupt. Cf. its different readings in the first Bulaq edition of the *Nights*, i, 51, *Bulaq II*, i, 71, *Calcutta II*, i, 141, and *Salhānī's* Beyrout edition, i, 118. None of these versions is convincing. The lines do not occur in *Calcutta I*, *Breslau*, or the *Galland MS.*

فأما الفقير وحال الفقير وعيش الفقير فما أكره
 ففي الصيف يعجز عن قوته وفي البرد يدف على مجمره
 تقوم عليه كلاب الطريق وكل ليئيم بدا ينهره
 إذا ما اشتكى حاله لامرأ فما في البرية من يعذره
 إذا كان هذا حياة الفقير فاصلح ما كان في المقبره

[f. 47b] فلما فرغ من انشاده قعد يفكر في حاله والى ماذا يركن
 مأله ويدبر في امر معيشته وفي الحيلة على تحصيل قوته وقال في
 نفسه اذا اشتريت بما تبقى عندي من الدراهم فاسأ وحميراً
 وصعدت بهم الى الجبل وقطعت من حطبه ونزلت ابيعه في سوق
 المدينة لأبّد ان يحصل لى بثمنه ما يزيل كربتى وما انفق على
 عيلى فاستصوب ذلك الراى وسعى في شرى الحمير والفاس واصبح
 متوجهاً الى الجبل مع ثلاثة حمير كل حمار قدر البغل ثم قضى
 نهاره في قطع الحطب وربط الحمول فلما امسى عليه الوقت
 حمل حميره ونزل بهم قاصد المدينة الى ان انتهى الى السوق
 فباع فيه الحطب فتساعده بثمنه على حاله ونفق على عياله
 [f. 48a] وانفرج كربه واتسع مرجه ثم حمد الله واثنى عليه وبات
 مسرور القلب قريراً العين مطمأن النفس فلما اصبح الصباح قام وعاد
 الى الجبل وفعل كما فعل بالامس وجعل ذلك دأبه كل يوم يصبح
 متوجهاً الى الجبل ويمسى راجعاً في سوق المدينة يبيع حطبه
 وينفق بثمنه على عياله ونظر من هذه الصنعة البركة وما زال على
 هذه الحالة الى يوم من بعض الايام بينما هو واقف يحطب في
 الجبل ان راى غباراً قد تار حتى سد الاقطار فانكشف الغبار وبان من
 تحته عدة فرسان كالليوث العوابس وهم غارقون في السلاح لابسون
 الدروع متقلدون بالسيوف معتقلون بالرماح ومتنكبون القيسان فخاف

[f. 48b] منهم على بابا وانزعج وارتعب وعمد الى شجرة مرتفعة وتسلق عليها واختفى بين اغصانها محترساً منهم ظاناً انهم لصوص فتوارى خلف الاغصان المورقة وصوب نحوهم الحدق قال الراوى لهذا الكلام العجيب والامر المطرب الغريب فلما سعد على بابا على الشجرة وميز الفرسان بعين الفراسة تحسقت انهم لصوص قطاع الطرق فعدهم وجدهم اربعين شخصاً كل واحد منهم راكب جواداً من احسن الخيل فازداد فرعه وكثر جزعه وارعدت فرايصه ونشف ريقه وعمى عن طريقه ثم وقفت الفرسان وترجلت عن خيولهم وعلّقوا عليها بمخالي الشعير وكل واحد منهم عمد الى خرج كان مربوطاً على ظهر جواده [f. 49a] وحلّه وحمله على عاتقه كل ذلك وعلى بابا يتلمص فيهم وينظر اليهم من فوق الشجرة ثم ان قايد اللصوص مشى امام القوم وقصد بهم ركن الجبل ووقف على باب صغير من الفولاذ فى محل كثير العشب حتى ان الباب ما كان يبان من كثرة العوسج والشوك وكان غفل عنه على بابا ولا نظره قط ولا عثر فيه فلما وقفت اللصوص عند باب الفولاذ قال قايدهم باعلا صوته يا سمسم افتح بابك ففى حال نطقه هذه الكلمات انفتح الباب ودخل القايد ومن خلفه اللصوص حاملين الخرجة فتعجب على بابا من امرهم وغلب على ظمّه ان كل خرج ملان من الفضة البيضاء والذهب الاصفر المنقوش وكان الامر كذلك لان هؤلاء [f. 49b] السراق كانوا يقطعون الطرقات ويشنون الغارات على القرى والبلاد ويظلمون العباد وكلما ينهبون قافلة او يغارون على قرية يحملون السلب الى هذا المكان المنقطع المحتفى البعيد عن الاعين ثم ان على بابا ما زال فوق الشجرة مختفياً ساكناً عديم الحركة لكن شاخصاً بصره فى اللصوص وراقباً افعالهم حتى رأهم خارجين

بالخرجة الفوارغ والقاييد امامهم فربطوها كما كانت على ظهـور
 الخيل وبعد ما لجموها ركبوا عليها وساروا طالبين الجهة التي اجوا¹
 منها وما زالوا يمعنون في السير حتى بعدوا وغابوا عن العيون هذا
 وعلى بابا ساكت من خوفه لا يتحرك ولا يتنفس وما نزل من
 فوق الشجرة الا لما بعدوا وغابوا [f. 50a] عن بصره قال الراوى
 فلما امن شرهم على بابا وسكن روعه واطمان نزل من على الشجرة
 ودنا من الباب الصغير ووقف متأملاً فيه وقال في نفسه اذا قلت يا
 سمسم افتح بابك كما فعل قايد السراق هل يفتح الباب ام لا
 فعند ذلك تقدم ونطق به-ذد الكلمات واذا بالباب قد انفتح
 وسبب ذلك ان هذا المكان كان من صنع الجان الماردسين وهو
 مرصود مطلسم بالطلسمات العظيمة ولفتة يا سمسم افتح بابك هي
 كانت السر المعين لتك الطلسم وفتح الباب ثم ان على بابا لما
 عاين الباب مفتوح دخل منه فما لحق يخطى العتبة الا والباب
 انقل عليه فانزعج من ذلك وارتعب وقال [f. 50b] كلمة لا
 يخجل قايلها لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم ثم لما تذكر لفتة
 يا سمسم افتح بابك سكن ما كان به من الرعب والخوف وقال لا
 يعنينى قفل الباب حيث انى عالم بسر فتحة ثم مشى قليلا وهو
 يظن ان المحل مظلّم فتعجب غاية العجب لما وجدده قاعة رحبة مضيئة
 بالرخام مبنية مشيدة الاركان ظريفة البنيان مخزون فيها جميع ما
 تشتهى النفس من المآكل² والمشارب فمنها عبر الى القاعة

¹ Apparently a Syrian colloquialism for جاوا. Cf. Oestrup, *Contes de Damas*, pp. 130, 147, and Hartmann in Meyer's *Arabischer Sprachführer*, p. 27.

² MS. ماءكل; according to the usage of the MS. this might mean either ماءكل or as I have printed above.

الطانية اكبر واوسع من الاولى فوجد فيها من الاموال والعجايب
 والتحف والغرائب ما يبيت منها الناظرون ويكل عن وصفها
 الواصفون مجموع فيها سبايك الذهب العيين وغيرها من الجين
 ودنانير منقودة [f. 51a] ودراهم معدودة وكل ذلك بالكيمان
 كالرومال والحصى لا يمكن فيه العد والاحصى ثم بعد ما دار في هذه
 القاعة العجيبة ظهر له باب اخر دخل منه الى قاعة ثالثة البهج
 واظرف من الطانية تحوى ما فى الاقطار والبلاد من اجود ثياب العباد
 يوجد فيها التناصيل القطنية الغالية الزاخرة وملابس الحرير والديبا
 الفاخرة فما من صنف قماش الا وهو موضوع فى هذا المحل سوى ان
 كان من الاقاليم الشامية او من اقصى بلاد افريقية حتى من الصين
 والسند ومن النوبة والهند ثم اقبل على فاعة المعادن والاحجار وهى
 اعظمها واعجبها لانها كانت تحوز من الدر والجوهر ما لا
 يضبط ولا يحصى [f. 51b] سوى ان كان ياقوت او زمرد
 وفيروز او زبرجد اما اللؤلؤ كان فيه بالكيمان ويبرى العقيق
 بجانب المرجان ثم منها دخل الى فاعة العطر والبخور والطيب
 وهى اخر القاعات فوجد فيها من هذا الثمن كل جنس ظريف
 وكل نوع لطيف فكانت رائحة العود والمسك فايجة وبهجة العنبر
 والزبد لايحة ونشرة العطر والند عابقة وطيبة الطيب والزعفران فايقة
 والصندل مطروح كحطب الوقود والمندل متروك كالعود المنفقد
 فاندش على بابا من روية هذه الاموال والذخاير² وتاد فكرة وحار

¹ ف in this MS. is used in three ways: classically with ف in sense "as for" but without ف; colloquially in sense "but". According to Hartmann in Meyer's *Arabischer Sprachführer* (pp. 150, 289), this would be a sign of Syrian origin, but Spiro (*Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*) gives *amma* as in use with that sense.

² So for ذخاير throughout.

له فوقف ملياً باهتاً ذاهلاً ثم تقدم يتاملها بالتدقيق فتارة بين
 الدرّ يقلب درة يتيمة [f. 52a] وتارة بين الجواهر يميز جوهرة
 كريمة ومرة يفرد القطعة الديباج واخرى يعجبه الذهب الوهاج
 وساعة يمر بين التفاصيل الابرسم الناعم الرطيب وساعة يستششق
 روايح العود والطيب ثم افتران هذه اللصوص ولو كانوا داموا سنين
 عديدة وايام مديدة في جمع هذه الاموال والعجايب ما قدروا
 يدخرون جزء منها وان لا بدّ هذا الكنز له وجود قبل ان اللصوص
 يعترضوا فيه وان على كل حال تمليكهم اياه ليس على وجه شرعى
 ولا على طريق العدل وان اذا اغتنم الفرصة واخذ القليل من
 هذا المال الغزير لا يقع عليه اثم ولا يعتريه لوم وثانياً بحيث ان
 المال كثير [f. 52b] ولا يمكنهم فيه العد والاحصى فلا يشعرون بما
 يواخذ منه ولا يدرون به فحينئذ اتفق رايه على ان ياخذ ما تيسر
 من هذا الذهب المطروح وبدا ينقل اكياس الدنانير من داخل
 الكنز الى خارجه وكل ما اراد الدخول والخروج يقول يا سمس
 افتح بابك فينفتح الباب ثم بعد ما فرغ من نقل المال حمل
 حميرة وستراكياس الذهب بشى قليل من الخطب وساق دوابه
 حتى وصل الى المدينة وقصد منزله وهو مسرور مجبور الخاطر قال
 الراوى ثم ان على بابا لما دخل بيته غلق عليه الباب احترازاً
 من هجوم الناس وبعد ما ربط حميرة في الاطبل وعلق عليها اخذ
 كيساً وصعد به الى عند زوجته [f. 53a] ووضعه بين يديها ثم نزل
 وحضر بغيره وما زال يحمل كيساً بعد كيس الى ان نقل الجميع
 وزوجته باهتة متعجبة من فعله فلما لمست كيس منهم وحست
 بخشونة الدنانير اصفر لونياً وتغير كونها لظنّها ان بعلياً سرق هذا المال
 الغزير فقالت له ما فعلت يا ميشوم ليس لنا في الحرام من حاجة

ولا في اموال الناس من رغبة اما انا فكنت قانعة بما قسم الله لي وراضية بفقرى وشاكرة بما رزقنى اياك ولا التفت الى ما في ايدي الناس ولا اريد الحرام فقال ليا يا امرأة طيبي نفسك وقترى عيما حاشا وكلما ان يدي تلمس الحرام اما هذا المال وجدته في كنز فانتزعت الفرصة [f. 53b] واخذته وجبته ثم ان حكى ليا على ما جرى له مع اللصوص من اوله الى اخره وايس في الاعادة افادة ثم لما فرغ من حديثه اوصاها على صون اللسان وكتمان السر فلما سمعت منه ذلك تعجبت غاية التعجب وسكن خوفها وانشرح صدرها وفرحت فرحا عظيما ثم ان فرغ على بابا الا كياساس في وسط المحل فصار الذهب كوما فيتمت الجارية واستكثرته وشرعت في عدّ الدنانير فقال ليا زوجيا ويلك ما تحسنين تعديديهم ولا في يومين وهذا شى لا فائدة فيه ولا يلزم فعله في هذا الوقت اما الصواب عندي اننا نحفر ليم حفرة وندفنهم فيها خوفا من اظهار امرنا وافشى سترنا [f. 54a] فقالت له ان كان مالك غرض في عدهم لا بد من كيلهم لنعلم بالتقريب قدرهم فقال ليا افعلنى ما بدا لك ولكن اخشى ان يدروا الناس بحالنا وان ينكشف سترنا فنزهدم حيث لا ينفع الندم فما التفتت الى كلامه ولا اكثرثت به بل خرجت لتستعير كيلة لان الله الكيل ما كان موجود عندها من فقرها وضعف حالها فذهبت الى سلفتها زوجة قاسم وطالبت منها كيلة فقالت ليا سلفتها حبا وكراومة ثم لما فاهمت لتخضرها ليا قالت في نفسها زوجة على بابا فقيرة وما ليا عادة تكيل فيا هل ترى ايش عندها اليوم من المحبوب حتى احتاجت الى الكيلة فحبت تطلع على ذلك وتعرف حقيقته فوضعت بعض [f. 54b] شمع في اسفل الكيلة ليلصق فيه الحب المكيول ثم اعطتها ليا فاخذتها

زوجة على بابا وشكرت سلفتها على ما صنعت من المعروف
وعادت سرعة وعجلة الى منزلها فلما استقرت فيه قعدت تكييل
الذهب فوجدته عشر كيلات ففرحت بذلك واخبرت به زوجها
فيؤى اننا ذلك كان حفر حفرة واسعة فدفن فيها الذهب ورد
التراب عليهما ثم بادرت زوجة على بابا في رجوع الكيلة لسلفتها
هذا ما جرى لهؤلاء واما زوجة قاسم لما انصرفت عنها زوجة على
بابا قلمبت الكيلة فرأت دينارا قد كان التصق في الشمع فاستغربت
ذلك لعلمها بنقر على بابا وقعدت ساعة [f. 55a] وهى في
حيرة ثم تحققت ان الشئ المكيول هو ذهب عين وقالت على
بابا مدعى الفقر وهو يكييل الذهب بالكيل فمن اين له هذه
السعادة وكيف ظفر بهذا المال الغزير فدخل في قلبها الحسد
واحرق فوادها وقعدت في انتظار زوجها وهى في اسوء حال اما
قاسم بعلمها كان عادته يبادر كل يوم الى حنوته ويستقيم فيه للمساء
وهو مشغول في البيع والشرى والاخذ والعطى فاستبطته¹ زوجته في
ذلك اليوم لشدة ما اصابها من اليم والحسد قاتلها ثم لما امسا
الوقت وجن الليل قفل قاسم حنوته وقصد بيته فلما دخلها رأى
زوجته وهى قاعدة عبوسة كئيبة باكية العين حزينة [f. 55b] القلب
وكان يحبتها محبة شديدة فقال لها ما اصابك يا قرة عيني ويا ثمرة
دواى وما سبب حزنك وبكائك² فقالت له ما انت الا مقتصر
الحيلة قليل المروة يا ليتنى كنت تزوجت باخيئك لانه ولو اظهر
النقر وابدأ الفاقة والدعى المسكنة عنده مال ما يعلم قدره الا الله وما
يحصى الا بالكيل اما انت المدعى النعمة والسعادة المفتخر بالغنى

¹ So in MS. for فاستبطته.

² MS. وبكائكى ; but evidently a slip of the scribe, of no significance.

ما انت الا فقير في الحقيقة نظراً لاختك لانك تعدد دنائيرك
 بالواحد واستغنعت بالقليل وتركت له الكثير ثم حكمت له على
 ما جرى لها مع زوجة على بابا وكيف استعارت منها الكيلة وكيف
 وضعت في قعرها بعض شمع وكيف التصق فيه الدينار فلما سمع
 [f. 56a] قاسم كلام زوجته وخاين الدينار الذي التصق في اسفل الكيلة
 تحقق بالسعادة اخيه فما فرح من ذلك بل تمكن المحسد من
 قلبه ونوى له سوء لانه كان حسود كسود لييم بخيل فبات تلك
 الليلة مع زوجته وهما في اشد حال من عظيم الغم والبم الهم وما
 قفل لهما جفنة ولا عين ولا لحقهما سنة ولا نوم بل ارفا وقلقا طول
 ليلتهما الى ان اصبح الله بالصباح واضاء بنورد ولاح فلما صلى الصبح
 قاسم قام ومضى الى عند اخيه ودخل عليه في بيته صلى حين
 غفلة فلما ابصره على بابا ترحب به واستقبله باحسن استقبال
 واخبر له الفرح والبشاشة واجلسه في صدر المكان فلما استقر في
 المجلس قال له قاسم [f. 56b] لماذا يا اخي تظهر الفقر والمسكنة
 وتحت يدك اموال لا تاكلها¹ النيران فما سبب بخلك وعيشتك
 الرذلة مع سعة الرزق والقدرة على الانفاق الرايد فما فايذة المال اذا
 ما استنفع به الانسان اما تعلم ان البخل محسوب في المساوي
 والرذائل ومعدود بين الطبايع اللئيمة الذميمة فقال له اخوه يا ليتني
 كنت كما ذكرت واما انا فتعبر على حالي ولست املك من
 المال سوى حميرى وفاسى واما كلامك هذا استغريته ولا عرفت
 له موجب ولا افهمه قفا فقال له قاسم مكرت وكذبك ما ينفعك
 الان ولا تستطيع اتخاذنى لان ظهير امرك وشاع ما كنت [f. 57a]
 تخفيه من حالك ثم اراه الدينار الذي التصق في الشمع وقال له

هذا ما وجدنا في الكيلة التي استعرتموها مننا¹ ولولا كثرة المال ما احتجتم اليها ولا كنتم تكيلوا الذهب بالكيل فعند ذلك علم على بابا ان سبب كشف سره واظهار امره هو قلة عقل زوجته التي ارادت كيل الذهب وانه اخطى اما طوعها في ذلك لكن اى جواد لا يكبو واى منهّد لا ينبو وفيهم ان لا يمكنه جبر ما انفرط منه الا باظهار سره وان الصواب عدم الكتمان واطلاع اخيه على قصيته وان على كل حال بحيث ان المال كثير ويزيد على تقدير الاوهام والظنون فلا ينقص نصيبه منه اذا قسمه مع اخيه وشاركه [f. 57b] فيه وان لا يقدروا يفتنوه ولو عاشوا من العمر مائة سنة واخذوا منه نقتهم اليومية ثم على موجب هذا الراى اخبر اخا بقصة اللصوص واحكى له على ما جرى له معهم وكيف دخل الكنز ونقل منه جملة من المال وكل ما اراد من المعادن والتماش ثم قال له يا اخى كلما جبته يكون بينى وبينك مشاركة نقسمه بالسوية وان اردت اكثر من ذلك احضره بين يديك لان مفتاح الكنز معى اعبر فيه واخرج منه على مرادى من غير عارض ولا مانع فقال له قاسم هذا قسم لا ارضى به اما مقصودى تدلى على محل الكنز وتطلعنى على سرّ فتحه لانك شوقتنى فيه واريد [f. 58a] رويته وكما دخلته انت واخذت منه مهما شئت مرادى اذهب اليه واشاهد ما فيه واخذ منه ما يعجبني وان ما وافقتنى على ما ارومه اشتكيتك الى عامل المدينة واطلعت على امرك ويحصل لك منه ما تكره فلما سمع منه على بابا هذا الكلام قال له لاي شىء تهّدنى بالعامل انا لا اخالقك في امر واعلمك ما تريد وعرفته وانما تسوقى نفسى كان

¹ So in MS. ; a colloquialism for *منا*. Cf. Willmore's *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*², p. 103, *minnina*.

بسبب اللصوص خوفاً من اذيتهم لك اما دخولك للكنز فلا يضرنى ولا ينفعنى وخذ منه كلما يعجبك لانك وان عثلت لا تقدر على نقل جميع ما يحويه والذي تبقيه لا يزال اكثر من الذى تاخذه باضعاف مضاعفة ثم دله على طريق الجبل وحمل الكنز وعلمه لفظة [f. 58b] يا سمسم افتح بابك وقال له احفظ هذه الكلمات جيداً احفظ واحذر ان تنساها لان اخاف عليك من غدر اللصوص ومن عواقب هذا الامر قال الراوى فلما عرف محل الكنز ووقف على طريق الوصول اليه وحفظ الانطاخ الضرورية انصرف قاسم عن اخيه فرحان غبر ملتفت الى تحذير وغير مكترث بكلامه ثم عاد الى منزله طليق الوجه ظاهر انسرور وحكى لزوجته ما حصل له مع على بابا وبعد ذلك قال لها فى غداة غد ان شاء الله انوجه الى الجبل واعود اليك بهما يزيد عن الذى اتى به اخى لان معاتبته كنت اضجرتنى وقتلتنى ومقصودى افعل شيئاً يكسبني رضاك ثم جـهـز عشر بغلات ووضع على [f. 59a] كل بغلة صندوقين فوارغ وجعل على كل بغلة ما يلزم من الماء واحمال وبات على نية التوجه الى الكنز والاستيلاء على ما يحويه من الاموال والذخاير¹ من غير ما يشارك فيها اخاه فلما برق الفجر ولاج الصباح قام اصلح بغاله وساقهم قدومه قاصداً الجبل الى ان انتهى اليه فلما وصل استدل بالامساير التى وصفتها له اخوه على وجود الباب وما زال يفتش عليه الى ان ظهر له فى ركن الجبل بين العشب والنبات فلما رآه بادر بقول يا سمسم افتح بابك واذا بالباب قد انفتح قدومه فاستعجب من ذلك غاية العجب وعبر الكنز سرعة وعجلة طمعا فى اخذ المال ثم بعد ما خطى العتبة [f. 59b] انقلع الباب عليه كعادته فتمشى

¹ So in MS. for والذخاير.

قاسم في القاعة الاولى ومنها انتبى الى الثانية والثالثة وما زال ينتقل من قاعة الى قاعة حتى متر على القاعات كلها فبهت مما رأى من العجايب واندھش مما وجد من الغرائب وكان يطير عقله من الفرح وطمع في اخذ المال باجمعه فبعد ما شق يمنًا ويسارًا وقلب ساعة ما اراد من الدراهم والمتاع رام الذهاب فاخذ كيس ذهب وحمله على عاتقه وتقدم به نحو الباب واراد ينطق بالالفاظ الضرورية لفتح الباب اعنى يقول يا سمسم افتح بابك فلم تج على لسانه وسبى عنها بالكلمة فقعد يتذكرها فما كانت تخطر بباله ولا تصورت في فكره بل نساها مطلقًا فقال يا شعيرة [f. 60a] افتح بابك فلم يفتح الباب ثم قال يا حنطة افتح بابك فما تحرك الباب ثم قال يا حمص افتح بابك فما برج الباب مغلقًا على حاله وما زال يذكر حبًا بعد حب الى ان ذكر جميع اسماء الحبوب ولفظة يا سمسم افتح بابك غايبة عن ذهنه فلما تحقق ذلك ورأى ان ما افاده شيئًا من ذكر اسماء اصناف الحبوب جميعها رمى الذهب من على مناكبه وقعد يتذكر ما هو الحسب الذى دله اخوه على اسمه فما كان يخطر بباله ابدًا فمكث مليًا وهو في غاية القلق والعناء كل ذلك وما امكن ان هذا الاسم يتصور في فكره فبدى يتأسف ويتألم وندم على ما فعل حيث ما ينفعه الندم وقال [f. 60b] يا ليتنى استقنعت بما اعرض على اخى وتركت الطمع الذى هو الان سبب هلاكى وبقي يلطم على وجهه وينتف لحيته ويمزق ثيابه وينثر التراب على راسه ويبكى بالدموع الغزيرة وتارة يصرخ وينوح باعلا الاصوات وتارة يبكى وهو ساكت كئيب فطالت عليه الساعات وهو في هذه الحالة وترادفت الاوقات وكل دقيقة مضت عليه يراها بمقام دهر وكلما طال قعوده في الكنز وكلما زاد

فزرعه وخوفه الى ان ايس من التجاة وقال انا هالك لا محالة ولا
سميل الى الخلاص من هذا السجن الضيق هذا ما كان من امره واما
ما كان من امر اللصوص انهم عشروا بقافلة فينا تجار ببضائعهم فتهبوا
[f. 61a] وغنموا اموالاً عظيمة فعند ذلك طلبوا الكنز ليمضوا
فيه الساب كما كانت عادتهم فلما دنوا منه اشرفوا على
البغال وهم وافقون بالصناديق فنوسوسوا منبهم ورايهم امرهم فحملوا
عليهم حملة الرجل الواحد فشردت البغال وتبددت في الجبل فما
الفتوا لها اللصوص بل وقفوا خبولهم وترجلوا عنها وحردوا سيوفهم
حذرًا من اصحاب البغال متوهمون انهم كثيرون فلما لم يروا احداً
خارج الكنز دنوا من بابه اما قاسم لما سمع دبدبة الخيل وصوت
الرجال صغابهم فتبين انهم السراق الذين اخبره اخود عنهم فرجا
التجاة ورام الفرار وتوارى خلف الباب [f. 61b] مستحضرًا للهروب
فتقدم قايد اللصوص وقال يا سمسم افتح بابك واذا بالباب قد
انفتح فعند ذلك هجم قاسم من الدمار هاربًا وللتجاة طالبًا وعند
هجمته عثر في القايد فاسقطه في الارض وعار يركض بين اللصوص
فانفلت من الاول والثاني والثالث لكن كاسوا اربعون رجلًا فما قدر
ينفذ من الكل فلحقه رجل منهم وطعنه طعنة في صدره خرج السنان
يلمع من ظهره وقضى محبه هذا جزا من استولى عليه الطمع ونوى
لاخوانه الغدر والخيانة ثم ان اللصوص لما دخلوا الكنز وبان لهم ما
أخذ منه غضبوا غضبًا شديدًا وغلب على ظنهم ان قاسم المقتول هو
غريمهم وانه هو الذى اخذ ما نقص من اموالهم لكن [f. 62a]
احتاروا كيف كان وصوله الى هذا المكان المجهول المنقطع المنحنى
عن الاعين وكيف علم سرفتح الباب وما يدرى به غيرهم الا الله
سبحانه وتعالى فلما راوه مرمى مقتول عديم الحركة فرحوا

واطمأنتوا¹ لظنهم ان ما عاد يرجع خبرد الى دخول الكنز وقالوا الحمد لله الذى اراحنا من هذا الملعون ثم لاجل ان ينگلوا به غيره ويخوفوه قطعوا جسده اربع قطع وعلقوها خلف الباب لتكون عبرة لكل من تجاسر على الدخول فى هذا المكان فبعد ذلك خرجوا وانغلق الباب كما كان فركبوا خيولهم وانصرفوا الى حال سبيلهم هذا ما كان من امر هؤلاء واما ما كان من امر زوجة قاسم [f. 62b] ابنا قعدت طول التبارى انتظاره وهى متعشمة بقضاء حاجتها ومتأمله باحضار ما تغويه من الدنيا ومستحضرة للمس الدنانير والفليسات فلما امسا الوقت وابطى عليها قلقته ومضت الى عند على بابا واخبرته بان بعليها توجه للجبل من الصبح وانه لهذا الوقت لم يرجع وانها خائفة ان يكون تعرض له عارض او اصابه مصيبة فطمئنها على بابا وقال ليما لا تيمتى لان غيابته لهذه الساعة لا يكون الا لسبب واطن انه توقف عن دخول البلد نهياً خوفاً² لا يشتهر امره وما مراده يدخلها الا ليلاً لاجل قضاء حاجته فى ستر وما يمتضى الا قبل من الوقت حتى تريه راجع اليك [f. 63a] بالمال واما انا لما بلغنى³ انه نوى الذهاب الى الجبل امتنعت من الصعود اليه حكم عادتى ليلا يتضايق من حضوري ويظن ان مرادى التجسس عليه ربنا يسر له ما عسر ويتمها عليه بخبر واما انت فارجعى بمتك ولا تخاف من شىء وان شاء الله لا

¹ MS. واطمأنتوا; I think he means as I have printed, but the writing of *hemza* is very irregular in this MS.

² Has this been influenced by the French "de peur que . . . ne"? It occurs again on f. 63b and f. 83a. *خوفاً ان* and *خوفاً من* also occur. *ان* would be good classical usage, but I do not think it occurs in this story.

³ MS. نغلىنى.

يحصل الاكل خير ويستظريه راجع اليك سائما غانما فعادت زوجة قاسم الى بيتها وهي في غير حال الطمان وتعدت كئيبة وفي قلبها من غياب زوجها الف حسرة فصارت تحسب كل حساب حالك وتظن الظنون السوء الى ان غربت الشمس واطلم الجو وجن الببل من خبر ان تراء راجع اليها فعند ذلك امتنعت من الاقبحاء وهجرت النوم وهي في انتظار فلما مضى [f. 63b] ثلثي الليل ولم عاينته عايذا ايسر من محبه وبدت تبكي وتذوح ولكن امسكت عن الصرخ والصياح كما تفعل النساء خوفا لا يدروا الجيرن ويسألونها عن سبب بكائها فبان ان امتنا في سحر ومحب وقلتي واسواس واهتمام وجزع وكأبة¹ واسوء الاحالات فلما ادركت الصباح سجدت بالذهاب لعند علي بابا واعلمته بعدم رجوع اخيه فكانت تحدثه وهي حزينة باكية بالدموع الغزار وفي حالة لا توصف فلما سمع علي بابا ما ابدت له من الخطاب قال لاحول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم انا احتررت في سبب غيابه لهذا الوقت لكن امضى بنفسى اكشف عن خبره واوقفك على تحقيق امره واعمل الله ان يكون المانع خبر ولا العارض [f. 64a] سوء او خبر ثم اصلح في الحال حميرد واخذ فاسه وقصد الجبل كما كان يصنع في كل يوم فلما دنا من باب الكنز وما وجد البغال وراى اثر الدماء قطع العشم من اخيه وتيقن ببيلاكه فتقدم نحو الباب وهو مرعوب حاسس بالذى جرى وقال يا سمسم افتح بابك فعند قوله ذلك انفتح الباب ووجد جسم قاسم مقطوع اربع قطع ومعلق خلف الباب فاقشع بدنه من روية ذلك واصطقت²

¹ So in MS. Is it for كآبة or for كآبة? There is a tendency to write the *hemza* after the *alif*.

² So in MS. for اصطكت.

سنانه وتقلصت شفتاه وكاد ان يغشى عليه من الرعب والفرع وحصل له غم شديد وتأسف على اخيه تأسفاً عظيماً وقال لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم انا لله واتا اليه راجعون المكتوب ما منه مهروب وما قدّر على المرء في [f. 64b] الغيب لا بُدّ ان يستوفاه ثم رأى ان البكاء والحزن لا فائدة فيهم في هذا الوقت ولا عايدة وان الاولى والاخرى استحضار الحيلة واسنعمال صايب الراى وسديد الحزم وتذكر ان تكفين اخيه ودفنه من الواجبات عليه وفرض من فروض الاسلام فعند ذلك اخذ ارباع جثته المقطوعة وحملهم على حميرة وسترهم بشيء من القماش وضاف على ذلك ما عجبه من دخاير¹ الكنز وهو ما خفّ حمله وعلى ثمنه وكمل حمل حميرة بالخطب ثم صبر ملياً الى ان دخل الليل فلما اظلمت الدنيا قصد المدينة ودخلها وهو اشدّ حالة من الوالدة الشكلى لا يدري ما التدبير في امر المقتول وماذا يفعل [f. 65a] وما زال يسوق حميرته وهو غارق في بحر الافكار الى ان وقف عند بيت اخيه وطرق الباب ففتحت له جارية سودة حبشية كانت عنده برسم الخدمة وهى من احسن الجوار وجهاً واطرفين قدّاً صغيرة السن سميحة الوجه كحيلة العين كاملة الوصف واحسن من ذلك كانت ذات راى سديد وعقل ثاقب وهمة عالية ومروءة زائدة في وقت الحاجة وتغوق في تدبير لحيل الرجل الماهر الحادق وكانت اشغال البت مركونة عليها وقضاء الحوايج مغروضة اليها فلما دخل على بابا الحوش قال لها هذا وقتك يا مرجانة واحتجنا الى تدبيرك في امر مهم سابينه لك قدام سيدتك فامضى معى [f. 65b] حتى تسمعنى ماذا اقول لها ثم تركت الحمير في الحوش وصعد الى عند زوجة اخيه وطلعت

¹ So in MS. for دخاير.

خلفه مرجانة وهى حايرة مرتابة مما سمعت منه فلما ابصرته زوجة قاسم قالت له ما واراك¹ يا على بابا اخير ام شر هل بان له اثر او كشفت له على خبر عجل على بالظمان وبرد نار فوادى فلما ابطى فى الجواب فطنت بحقيقة الحال واخذت فى الصرخ والندب فقال لها امسكى الان عن الصرخ ولا تعالى صوتك² خوفا² ان تسمع الناس بخبرنا ونكونين سبب هلاكنا الجميع ثم حدثها على ما صار وعلى ما جرى له وكيف وجد اخاه مقتولا وجسد مقطوع اربع قطع ومعلق داخل الكنز خلف الباب [f. 66a] وبعد ذلك قال لها اعلمى وتحققى ان اموالنا وارواحنا واهالينا من مواهب الله الهبة وعواريه المستودعة فافرض علينا الشكر اذا اعطى والصبر اذا ابتلى والجزع لا يرد ميئا ولا يدفع حزنا فعليك بالصبر وما عقب الصبر الا الخير والسلامة والتسليم لاحكام الله اولى من الجزع والتعرض والراى السديد والصواب الان ان اكون لك بعلا وتكون لى اهلا واتزوجك وحرمتى لا يصعب علينا ذلك لانها عاقلة عفيفة النفس والفرج ذات بر وتقوى ونكون الجميع اهل واحد والحمد لله عندنا من الاموال والخيرات ما يغنيننا عن الشغل والعناء والكد فى طلب المعيشة واستوجب [f. 66b] منا ذلك الشكر للوهاب على ما اعطى والثناء عليه فيما انعم فلما سمعت زوجة قاسم كلام على بابا سكن بعض ما كان بها من الجزع وشديد الغم وانقطع بكائها وجفت دموعها وقالت له انا لك جارية مطيعة وخادمة سمیعة ومهما رايت صلاحا اطاعك فيه ولكن كيف الحميلة فى امر هذا المقتول فقال لها اما المقتول ففوضى امره الى جاريتك مرجانة لما تعرفى من وفور

¹ Is this "What has hidden thee, detained thee?" or "What is behind thee, what dost thou bring?"

² MS. خوف.

عقلها وجودة فهمها وسداد رأيها واهليتها لتدبير الحيل ثم تركها وانصرف الى حال سبيلها اما الجارية مرجانة لما سمعت كلامه ونظرت سبدها وهو مقتول ومقطوع اربع قطع وفهمت [f. 67a] سبب ذلك بالتدقيق طمّنت سيدتها وقالت ليا لا تهتمى وارتاحى على من جهته لانى سادّبر لك فيه امراً يحصل لنا منه الراحة ولا ينكشف سترنا ثم خرجت وقصدت دكان صيدلانى كان فى الشارع وهو رجل شيخ طاعن فى السن مشهور بالمعرفة فى ابواب الطب والحكمة وموسوف بالحدائق فى علم طبخ الادوية ومعرفة العقاقير ومفردات الطب وطلبت منه معجوناً لا يوصف الا فى الامراض الثقيلة فقال ليا من احتاج الى هذا المعجون فى منزلكم فقال له سيدى قاسم لانه اصابه مرض شديد قد اصرعه وصار الان فى حالة العدم فقام العطار [f. 67b] وناولها المعجون وقال ليا لعل الله يجعل فيه السفاء فاخذته من يده ودفعت له ما تيسر من الدراهم وعادت الى البيت ثم اصبحت باكر النهار ورجعت الى عند الصيدلانى وطلبت منه دواءً لا يُسقى الا عند قطع الاياس فقال ليا اما نفع معجون امس قالت له لا والله وسيدى على اخر رمق وصار ينازع فى الروح وسيدتى اخذت فى البكاء والانين فاعطاها الدواء فاخذته ودفعت له ثمنه وانصرفت ثم مضت الى عند على بابا واخبرته بما دبرت من الحيلة واوصته انه يكثّر من الدخول فى بيت اخيه ويظهر الحزن والكآبة ففعل كما اوصته فلما راوه اهل الخط [f. 68a] داخل وخارج من بيت اخيه وعلى وجهه اثر الحزن سالوه عن سبب ذلك فاخبرهم بعله اخيه وانه ثقل عليه المرض فشاع ذلك فى المدينة وتفاوضت فيه الناس فلما كان من الغد نزلت مرجانة قبل انشقاق الفجر وشقت فى شوارع المدينة حتى اجتازت برجل

اسكاف اسمه الشيخ • مصطفى طاعن في السن خليف الهامة قصير
 القامة طويل اللحية والشوارب كان يبادر في فتح حنوته وهو اول
 السوق في ذلك والناس تعرف منه هذه العادة فاقبلت عليه
 وسلمت عليه بادب وحشمة وجعلت في يده دينارًا فلما رأى
 لونه الشيخ • مصطفى قلبه مليًا في [f. 68b] يده وقال هذا استفتاح
 مبارك لانه فهم انها تريد منه • صلحة فقال لها اشرحى لى • ما
 عندك • من الاغراض يا سيدة الجوار لانفسهم لك فتالت له ايها
 الشيخ خذ خيطًا وابرًا واغسل يديك والبس نعلك • ودعنى
 اعصب عيني • وانفص واذهب بى في قضاء امر لطيف تكسب
 فيه الاجرة والاجر • يحصل لك • منه ادنى ضرر فقال لها ان كان
 تطلمبنى شىء • يرضى الله والرسول فعلى الراس والعين لا اخالك
 فيه • واما ان كان شىء • من المعاصى والجنائيات او من المآثم¹
 والخطايا فلست اطاعتك فيه واقصدى غيرى في فضائها فقالت
 له لا والله يا شيخ [f. 69a] • مصطفى ما هو الا من المباحات
 والجابزات ولا تخشى • من شىء • وعند قولها ذلك وضعت في يده
 دينارًا ثانيًا فلما ابصره ما امكنته المخالعة والتقصير وثب قائمًا على
 قدميه وقال لها انا في خدمتك ومهما امرتينى به نقضيه لك ثم
 اغلق باب دكانه واخذ ما يلزمه • من خبط وابر وغير ذلك من الله
 الخياطة • اما مرجانة كانت قد استحضرت² على عصابة فعجلت
 باخراجها وعصبت بها عينيه حكم الشرط لاجل ان لا يمكنه ادراك

¹ MS. المآثم.

² Evidently means "to prepare, or provide one's self with"; but I can find that meaning in *Spiro* only, p. 139. "to bring, prepare, procure." The word occurs elsewhere in this story, ff. 62b, 70a, 86a, and 103b. On ff. 62a and 86a it is used in the sense "prepare one's self for (ل)", like the 5th stem in *Dozy*.

المحل الذى تقصد به الذهاب اليه فاخذت ببسده وسارت به وهو
يمشى خلفها فى الشوارع والازقة كالاعمى لا يدري اين يذهب وما
المقصود بذلك فما زالوا ماشيين [f. 69b] معاً وهى تارة تاخذ
على يمينها وتارة تعطف على يسارها وتطوّل فى مسيرها لاجل ان
تنوّهه ولا يفهم اين تقصد به ولا زالت تقود على هذه الصفة الى ان
وقفت على بيت المرحوم قاسم فطرقت الباب طرقة لطيفة ففى
الحال فتحوه لها ودخلت بالشيخ مصطفى وصعدت به الى ان اوقفته
فى المحل الذى فيه جسد سبدها فلما استقر به حلت العصابة من
على عينيه اما الشيخ مصطفى لما انكشفت عيناه ورأى نفسه فى
محل لا يعرفه ونظرا امامه جسد الغتبل خاف وارتعدت فرايصة
فقال له مرجانة لا تخف يا شيخ ولا عليك من بأس المقصود
منك فقط¹ ان تخطّ اجزاء هذا الرجل المقتول خياطة
[f. 70a] جيّدة وتجمع ارابه حيث يكون جسده قطعة واحدة ثم
ناولته ديناراً ثالثاً فاخذ الشيخ مصطفى ووضع فى عيه وقال فى نفسه
هذا وقت الاخذ بالحزم واستحضار الراى الصائب انا فى محل لا اعرفه
وبين قوم اجبل ما هم عازمون عليه فان خالفتهم لا بد ان يؤذونى
فما يسعنى الان الا الانقياد لما يريدونه وعلى كل حال انا برى
من دم هذا الرجل المقتول وخلص حقه من قاتله على الله سبحانه
وتعالى وما فى خياطة جسده من محرمة ولا يقع علىّ بذلك ذنب
ولا يلزمنى عقوبة ثم قعد وشرع فى خياطة اجزاء القتيل وجمعهم حنى
صاروا جسد كامل فلما فرغ من عمله وتم المقصود [f. 70b] قامت
مرجانة عصبت عيناها ثانياً واخذت بيده ونزلت به الى الزقاق

¹ This extraordinary form occurs twice, here and on f. 76b; I have therefore felt compelled to retain it. Is it influenced by *abadan*?

وسارت من شارع الى شارع وعطفت من عطفة الى عطفة وهى تقود الى ان وصلت به الى السدكان قبل ان تخرج الناس من بيوتها فما احدى درى بهم فعند وصولها للسدكان ازال العصابة من على عيونهم وقالت له اكنتم هذا الامر واحذر ان تتكلم به وتحدث عنما رايت ولا تكسر فضولاً فيما لا يعنيتك ربما تقع فيما لا يرضيك ثم دفعت له ديناراً رابعاً وتركته وانصرفت فلما عادت الى البيت احضرت الماء الساخن والصابون وقعدت تغسل جسد سبدها حتى طهرته من الدم ثم البسته ثيابه ورقدته فى منجعه [f. 71a] فلما سم ذلك ارسلت خلف على بابا وزوجته فلما حضرا اخبرتهما بما فعلت وقالت لهما اعلنا الان بموت سيدى قاسم واخبرنا الناس به فعند ذلك مسكن النساء فى البكاء والعويل وولول بالندب والنعي ومسخن ولطن على وجوههن حتى سمعت الجيران وحضرت الاصحاب وعزوهن عليه فزاد السكاء ونما الندب وانطلق الصرخ وعلا النوح فشاخ فى المدينة خبر موت قاسم فصار المحبون يتراحمون عليه والاعداء يتشامتون فيه فبعد ساعة حضرت المغسلون لمغسلوه حكم العادة فنزلت مرحاة واخبرتهم انه مغسول محنط ومكفن واعطتهم اجرتهم زيادة عن المعتاد [f. 71b] فانصرفوا وهم مجبورون الحاطروا استفتهم عن سبب ذلك ولا سالوا عنما لا يعنيتهم ثم بعد ذلك حضروا بالنخس فنزلوه ووضعوه فيه ومنصوا به الى التربة والناس شايعون جنازته ومرجاة والنساء والنايجات ماشيات من خلفهم يمينين وينوحن حتى وصلوا الى التربة فحفروا له ودفنوه رحمة الله عليه ثم عادت الناس وتفرقوا وانصرفوا الى حال سبيلهم فعلى هذه الصورة خفى امر قتل قاسم وما فطن احد بحقيقة الحال وظلت الناس انه مات حتف انفه ثم بعد انقضاء عتتها تزوج على بابا

بأمره أخيه وكتب عقد نكاحها واستغنى بها¹ [f. 72a] فاستحسن
الناس فعله ونسبوه إلى فرط محبته لأخيه فبعد ذلك نقل حوايجهم
في بيتهما وسكن فيه هو وزوجته الأولى ونقل أيضاً فيه الأموال التي
أخذها من الكنز ثم افترق في أمر دكان المرحوم أخيه فكان قد رزقه
الله بولد قد بلغ من العمر اثنتي عشرة سنة فكان سابقاً يخدم رجلاً
تاجراً وتعلم منه صنعة التجارة حتى أنه صار ماهراً فيها فلما احتاج
أبوه إلى أحد يضبط الدكان أخذه من عند التاجر وجعله فيه يبيع
ويشتري وسلم إليه جميع البضائع والامتعة التي خلفها عمه وأوعده
بالزواج أن سلك سلوك الخير والمجاهة وتبع طريق العدل والصلاح
هذا ما كان من [f. 72b] أمر هؤلاء وأما ما كان من أمر اللصوص
أنهم لما عادوا إلى الكنز بعد مدة يسيرة ودخلوا فيه وما وجدوا جثة
قاسم علموا أن أطلع على أمرهم غر واحد من الغرء وأن المقتول
له رفقاء وأن سرهم صار شايع بين الناس فعظم عليهم ذلك واغتموا
له غماً شديداً ثم افترقوا ما أخذ من الكنز فوجدوه يبلغ إلى شئ
كثير فاغتاظوا لذلك غيظاً شديداً فقال لهم القاييد أيها الأبطال
وفرسان الحرب والقتال هذا وقتكم في أخذ الثار والانتقام ظننا أن
فاحش الكنز رجلاً واحداً والحال أنهم جماعة لا نعرف عدد أشخاصهم
ولا ندري أين محل سكنهم فاحسن نحاطر بارواحننا ونرمي
أنفسنا [f. 73a] إلى المهالك لتجمع الأموال وغيرنا يستنفع بهم
من غير عنا ولا تعب فهذا أمر عظيم لا نطبق احتماله فلا بد من
تدبير حيلة نل بها إلى عدونا وأن عشنا به لانتقم منه أشد الانتقام
ولا قتلته بهذا الحسام ولو كان في ذلك فنى الروح فهذا وقت السعى

¹ I cannot find this form anywhere, but it apparently has the meaning of *أفضى إلى* in *Laue*, p. 2414a, ll. 18 ff.

واظهار المروءة والنجسارة والنشاط تغرّقوا وادخلوا القرى والسواد ودوروا في
الامصار والبلاد وتجسسوا الاخبار واسألوا ان كان قنبر اغتنى او قتل
وانقبر لعل تستدلوا على عدونا ويجمعكم الله به وبالنصوص نحتاج
الى رجل ذى حيلة وخداعة تكون عنده مخوذ الرجال ينفرد بالبحث
هذه المدينة لان غريمننا من اهلها من غير شك ولا
ريب [f. 73b] فيتربى بزى التجار ويدخلها بلطف ويستنشق
اخبارها ويسال عن احوالها وعن الحوادث التى حدثت فيها وعن من
مات او قتل في هذه المدة القريبة وعن اهلها وبمته وكيف جرى فيه
ربما يستدل بذلك على المطلوب لان امر المقتول لا يخفى ولا
بد ما شاع¹ خبره في البلد ودروا بالتصّة الكبار والصغار فان ظنر بعدونا
او اخبرنا عن محله يكون له علينا الفضل المنبف وازيد في مرتبته
وارفع درجته واجعله ولى عهدى وان عجز عن الامر المطلوب منه
وما فى بعيده وخاب املنا فيه نعلم انه احمق جاهل ضعيف الراى
قصر الحيلة عديم التدبير فتجازيه على سوء فعله [f. 74a] وبطلان
سعيه ونقتله قتله شنيعة لان لاجاجة لنا بقليل المروءة ولا فائدة في
ابقاء عديم البصيرة ولا يكون لاصاً ماهراً الا الرجل الجاهض العاقل
بساير فنون الحيل فما تقولون في ذلك ايها الشجعان ومن فكم
يتصدر لهذا الامر العسر المتلف فلما سمعوا مقالته وما ابدى لهم من
الخطاب استصوبوا رايه وقبلوا الشروط التى شرحها لهم وتحالفوا عليها
وتعاهدوا على وفائها ثم قام من بينهم شخص طويل القامة غليظ
الجثة وتصدر لارتكاب هذا الطريق الصعب الوعر وقيل على نفسه
الشروط المتقدم ذكرها التى كابوا توافقوا عليها فقبلوا اقدامه وزادوا
في اكرامه ومدحوا [f. 74b] شجاعته واقدامه واستحسنوا جود

¹ Cf. *la budd ma yiktib* in Spiro, p. 34.

احكامه وابرامه وشكروه على مروتته وجراته وعجبهم قوته وجسارته ثم
 اوصاه القايد بالاناة والاخذ بالحزم وباسنعمال المكر والخداعة والحيل
 الخفية وعلمه كيف يدخل المدينة في صفة تاجر يريد التجارة في
 الظاهر اما في الباطن على نية التجسس وبعد ان فرغ من توعيته
 تركه وانصرف وتفرقت اللصوص اما الرجل السارق الذي قدم نفسه
 فداءً عن اخوانه لبس لبس التجار ونزى بزيتهم وبات على نية التوجه
 الى المدينة فلما ولّى الليل واقبل الفجر سار على بركة الله تعالى
 قاصداً ابوابها ودخل منها الى شوارعها [f. 75a] وراحبها وشق في
 اسواقها ودروبها واكثر الناس غارقين في نرير¹ المنام فما زال يمشى
 الى ان عطف على سوق الحاج مصطفى الاسكافي فوجده فانح حنوته
 وقاعد يخيّط في بعض النعال لان كما ذكرنا كان يباكر في نزول السوق
 وكانت عاداته يفتح قبل اهل الخط فاقبل عليه الجسوس وسلم عليه
 باحسن سلام وبالغ في التحية والاکرام وقال له بارك الله في همتك
 وزاد في حرمتك انت اول اهل السوق في فتح حنوتك فقال له
 الشيخ مصطفى يا ولدى السعى في طلب الرزق خير من النوم وهذا
 عادتى في كل يوم فقال له اللص لكن يا شيخ اخذني العجب
 كيف تحسن الخياطة في هذه الساعة قبل طلوع [f. 75b] الشمس
 مع ضعف بصرك وكبر سنك وقلّة الضوء فلما سمع منه الشيخ
 مصطفى هذا الكلام التفت اليه مغضباً ونظر اليه شراً وقال له اظنك
 غريب من هذه البلدة لان لو كنت من اهلها ما كنت تنطق بهذا
 الكلام حيث انى موصوف عند الغنى والفقر بحذاقة النظر ومشهور
 عند الكبير والصغير بجودة المعرفة في صناعة الخياطة حتى ان جماعة
 اخذوني بالامس لاخيظ لهم ميّتا في محل قليل النور فخيظته

¹ So in MS. for لذيذ, which occurs also on ff. 88b and 93b.

خياطة جيدة ولولا حذاقة بصرى ما قدرت افعل ذلك فما سمع السارق هذا الكلام الا واستبشر ببلوغ المرام وعلم ان ساقته القدرة الالهية حتى عشر في مطلوبه [f. 76a] فقال له وهو يظهر التعجب انت ساه يا شيخ واظن انك ما خيطت الا الكفن لانى ما سمعت قط ان الميت يتخيط فقال ما قلت الا الصدق ونطقت بالواقع لكن الظاهر لى منك انك مقصودك تطلع على اسرار الناس فان كان هذا مطلوبك فانهب عنى وانصب حيلك على غيرى ربما تجد فضولى كثير الكلام اما انا اسمى الصامت لا ابوح بما اريد كتمانته ولا ابقى¹ احدثك في شان ذلك هذا واللص زاد يقينه وتحقق ان هذا الميت هو الرجل الذى قتلوه في الكثر فقال للشيخ مصطفى يا شيخ لا حاجة لى باسراك وسكوتك عنها خير لان يقال ان كتمان السر من شيم الابرار [f. 76b] وانما مقصودى منك فقط² ان تدلنى على بيت هذا الميت ربما يكون من اقاربى او من معارف فيجب على ان اعزو اهله عليه لان لى مدّة مديدة غايب عن هذه المدينة واجتعل ما حدث فيها في ايام غيابتى ثم وضع يده في جيبه واخرج ديناراً جعله في يد الشيخ مصطفى فابى ان ياخذة الشيخ وقال للصوص تسالنى عن شى لا استطيع اجاوبك عنه لان ما جابونى في بيت الميت الا بعد ما جعلوا على عبنى عصابة فاجهل الطريق الموصل اليه فقال له اللص اما الدينار او هبته لك سوى ان كان تقضى حاجتى ام لا فخذد بارك الله لك فيه لا الزمك برده ولكن من الممكن [f. 77a] انك اذا قعدت تفكر قليلاً تستدل على الطريق الذى سلكته وعينيك مغمضة فقال له الشيخ مصطفى

¹ MS. ولا بقى.

² See note I on p. 352. قط occurs a few lines above.

لا يَمَكْتَى ذَلِكُ إِلَّا إِذَا كَانَ تَرِبَطًا عَلَى عَيْنِي عَصَابَةً كَمَا فَعَلُوا بِي فِي
 ذَلِكِ الْوَقْتِ لِأَنِّي ذَاكَرْتُ كَيْفَ أَخَذُوا بِيَدِي وَكَيْفَ مَشُونِي وَكَيْفَ
 عَطَفُوا بِي وَكَيْفَ أَوْقَفُونِي فَحِينَئِذٍ رُبَّمَا اهْتَدَى بِذَلِكَ عَلَى الْمَحَلِّ
 الْمَطْلُوبِ وَادَّتْكَ عَلَيْهِ فَفَرَحَ اللَّصُّ لَمَّا سَمِعَ هَذَا الْكَلَامَ وَاسْتَبَشَرَ
 وَنَاولَ لِلشَّيْخِ مُصْطَفَى دِينَارًا ثَانِيًا وَقَالَ لَهُ نَفْعُكَ كَمَا ذَكَرْتَ ثُمَّ نَهَضَا
 الْاِثْنَانِ قَسَايِمَانِ عَلَى أَقْدَامِهِمَا فَعَلَقَ الشَّيْخُ مُصْطَفَى دُكَانَهُ وَاللَّصُّ
 أَخَذَ عَصَابَةً وَرَبَطَهَا عَلَى عَيْنَيْهِ وَأَخَذَ بِيَدِهِ وَمَشَى مَعَهُ فَصَارَ الشَّيْخُ
 مُصْطَفَى يَأْخُذُ عَلَى يَمِينِهِ وَتَارَةً [f. 77b] يَعْطِفُ عَلَى يَسَارِهِ
 وَسَاعَةً يَمْشِي قَدَامَهُ وَيَفْعَلُ كَمَا فَعَلْتَ بِهِ الْجَارِيَّةُ مَرْجَاةً إِلَى أَنْ
 انْتَهَى إِلَى دَرْبٍ خَطِي فِيهِ بَعْضُ خَطَوَاتٍ¹ وَوَقَفَ وَقَالَ لِللَّصِّ اظْهِنِ
 كَانَ وَقُوفِي فِي هَذَا الْمَحَلِّ فَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ حَلَّ اللَّصُّ الْعَصَابَةَ مِنْ عَلَى
 عَيْنَيْهِ وَكَانَ بِأَلَمَرِّ الْمَقْدَرِ صَارَ وَقُوفَ الْإِسْكَافِ حِذَا بَيْتِ الْمَحْرُومِ
 قَاسِمٌ فَسَأَلَهُ اللَّصُّ هَلْ يَعْرِفُ رَبَّ هَذَا الْمَنْزِلِ فَقَالَ لَهُ لَا وَاللَّهِ لَأَنَّ
 هَذَا الشَّارِعَ بَعِيدٌ عَنْ دُكَانِي وَلَا لِي مَعْرِفَةٌ بِأَهْلِ الْخَطِّ فَشَكَرَ اللَّصُّ
 وَأَعْطَاهُ دِينَارًا ثَالِثًا وَقَالَ لَهُ أَنْصَرِفْ إِلَى دَعَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فَعَادَ الشَّيْخُ
 مُصْطَفَى إِلَى دُكَانِهِ وَهُوَ مَسْرُورٌ بِكَسْبِ الثَّلَاثَةِ دَنَانِيرٍ أَمَّا اللَّصُّ وَقَفَ
 يَرِاقِبُ الْبَيْتَ وَيَتَأَمَّلُهُ فَرَأَى أَنَّ بَابَهُ يَشَابَهُ [f. 78a] بَيْتَ بِيوتِ
 الْحَارَةِ كُلِّهَا فَخَافَ يَتَوَدَّ عَنْهُ فَأَخَذَ اسْتِفْدَاجًا وَجَعَلَ بِهِ عَلَيْهِ عِلَامَةً
 صَغِيرَةً بِيَضَاءٍ لِيَسْتَغْدِلَ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ رَجَعَ إِلَى عِنْدِ أَصْحَابِهِ فِي الْجَبَلِ وَهُوَ
 مَسْرُورٌ مَحْبُورٌ الْخَاضِرُ وَهَاتِيقٌ بِأَنَّ الْحَاجَةَ الَّتِي أُرْسِلَ مِنْ أَجْلِهَا
 قُضِيَتْ وَأَنَّ مَا بَقِيَ إِلَّا أَخْذُ الثَّارِ هَذَا مَا كَانَ مِنْ أَمْرٍ أَمَّا مَا كَانَ
 مِنْ أَمْرِ الْجَارِيَّةِ مَرْجَاةً أَنَّهَا لَمَّا قَامَتْ مِنَ النَّوْمِ وَعَلَتْ صَلَاةَ الصُّبْحِ

¹ Means apparently "a road of only a few paces length running through a *khuff*". On *darb*, *khuff*, etc., see de Sacy, *Abd-allatif*, pp. 384 f.

كما كان عادتها كل يوم اصلحت حاجتها وخرجت لاحضار ما
تحتاج اليه من الماء كل والمشارب وعند عودها من السوق ابصرت
على باب البيت علامة بيضاء فتأملتها واستعجبت منها ورأيتها
ذلك وقالت في نفسها من الجائز [f. 78b] ان يكون ذلك من
لعب الاطفال او نقش نقشود صبيان الحمار ولكن بالاصح ان هذه
العلامة فعل عدو قديم او حشود ليهم لامر سوء يقتصدد ويثخن خبيسة¹
يضمه فمن الحزم ان نشوّه ونفسد عليه تدبيره المنحوس ثم اخذت
اسفداجا وصورت على ابواب الجمران علامات تشابه العلامة التي
رقمها اللص وعلمت بنفذ العلامة نحو عشرة ببيان من
ابواب الحمار ثم دخلت السميت وكتمت هذا الامر هذا ما
كان منها وما كان من امر الرجل السارق انه لما قبل على
اصحابه في الجبل اظهر لهم النرح وبشرهم ببلوغ امليهم وانراكت
مرامهم وبثرب الانتقام من غريمهم ثم اخبرهم كيف صدق
اجتيازهم [f. 79a] برجل اسكاف كان خيّا القليل وكبف استدل به
على بيته وكبف وضع عليه علامة خوفا من الشيطان والتغفل عنه
فشكره القايد ومدح مروته وفرح بذلك غاية النرح وقال للملصوص
فرقوا جمعكم والبسوا² ثياب العوام واخفوا سلاحكم وافصدوا المدينة
وادخلوا فيها من مناهج مختلفة ويكون اجتماعكم في الجامع الكبير
واما انا وهذا الرجل اعنى الجاسوس نطلب بييت غريمنا فاذا
وجدناه وحققناه نرجع اليكم في الجامع وتناوزروا هناك على ما
يجب فعله وتنفقوا³ على ما يكون فيه الصواب سوى ان كان من

¹ So in MS. for خبيثة .

² MS. والبشوا .

³ MS. and وتناوزروا .

هجوم البيت [f. 79b] ليلاً أو غير ذلك فلما سمعت اللصوص
خطابه استحسنوه واستصوبوا كلامه ووافقوا مرامه ثم انهم تفرقوا ولبسوا
ثياب العوام واخفوا من تحتها سيوفهم كما امرهم القايد ودخلوا
المدينة من طرقات مختلفة خوفاً من اشعار الناس بهم وصار
اجتماعهم في الجامع الكبير حكم اتفاقهم اما القايد والنجاسوس ساروا
طالبين زقاق خصيم فلما وصلوا اليه رأى القايد بيتاً بعلامة بيضاء
فسال رفيقه ان كان هو البيت المطلوب فاجابه بنعم ثم وقع منه
التفاتة الى بيت اخر فرأى ايضاً على بابه علامة بيضاء فسأله اينهما
البيت المقصود الاول ام الثانى فاحتار اللص وعجز عن
الجواب [f. 80a] ثم خطى القايد خطوات فوجد نيف وعشرة
بيوت بعلامات فقال له انت علمت على هذه البيوت جميعها او
على واحد منهم فقال بل على واحد فقال القايد وكيف الان هم
الان عشرة او ازيد قال لا اعلم سبب ذلك فقال له هل تفرق بين
هذه البيوت الذى ميزته وبيدك علمت عليه قال لا لان البيوت
تشبه بعضها بعضاً واليبان على نمط واحد وصورة العلامات صورة
واحدة فلما سمع القايد هذا الكلام علم ان لا يفيدة حاجة من وقوفه
في هذا المحل وان لا سبيل الى اخذ الثار في هذه المرة حيث ان
امله عاد خائباً فرجع بالرجل للجامع وامر فرسانه [f. 80b] بالعود
الى الجبل وادعاهم ان يتفرقوا فى الطرقات كما فعلوا وقت مجيئهم
فلما اجتمعوا عند الجبل فى المحل المعتاد قص عليهم ما اتفق له
مع اللص وانه عجز ان تمييز ببت عدوهم ثم قال لهم يجب علينا
الان تنفيذ الحكم فيه على موجب الشروط والمواثيق التجارية بيننا
فاجابوا على ذلك بالامتنال اما السارق النجاسوس حيث كان
شجاع صلد القلب فما تاخر عند سمعه هذا الكلام ولا جبن بل تقدم

وهو ثابت الجاش خالٍ عن الاستيحاء وقال بحق استوجبت الموت والعقوبة بفساد رأى وقلة حيلتى حيث انى عجزت عن ادراك الامر المطلوب منى ولا رغبة لى بعد ذلك فى البقاء والموت خير من [f. 81a] الحياة فى عار فعند ذلك سل القايد سيفه وضربه ضربة على عاتقه اطاح راسه عن بدنه ثم قال يا رجال الطعن والقتال من فيكم صاحب بسالة وباس شجع القلب قوى الراس ينصدر لهذا الخطب العسر الجسيم والامر المتلف العظيم فلا يتقدم عاجز ولا ياتينى ضعيف فلا يقبل¹ الا اذا راى سديد وبطش شديد وفكر صديد واحتيال عتيد فقام رجل من بين القوم يسمى احمد الغضبان وهو طويل القامة غليظ الهامة هائل المنظر قبيح المنبر اسمر اللون شنيع الصورة شواربه كشوارب الحرسايد النيران ولحيته كالحية التيس بين المعز والخرفان [f. 81b] وقال يا جماعة الامائل ما يصلح لهذه المصلحة الا انا واحضر لكم ان شاء الله بالخبر الصحيح وادلكم على بيت الغريم اوضح دلالة فقال له القايد التصدر لهذا الامر لا يكون الا على الشروط التى قدما ذكرها فان رجعت خائبا ما ينالك² متنا الا رمى الرقبة وان عودت³ مظفرا نزيد مرتبتك واكرامك ونرفع درجتك واعظامك ويحصل لك كل الخير ثم ان احمد الغضبان لبس ثياب التجار ودخل المدينة قبل انشقاق الفجر وقصد من غير توان حارة الشيخ مصطفى الاسكافى التى كان استدل عليها من كلام رفيقه فوجده قاعدا فى دكانه فسلم عليه وجلس عنده ولاطفه فى الكلام واندرج [f. 82a] معه فى الحديث الا ان فتح سيرة الميت وذكر كيف خيطه فطلب منه احمد الغضبان ان يدلّه على البيت

¹ MS. اقبل.

² So in MS. Is it for *yunallak* or must we read *tanallak*?

³ So in MS.

فامتنع من ذلك الشيخ مصطفى وابا ان يتكلم فلما رغبه بالمال
 ما استطاع المخالفة لان المال سيم صايب وشفيع لا يُرد فعند ذلك
 ربط عصاة على عينييه وفعل كما فعل قرينه السابق ذكره ومشى معه
 حتى انتهى به الى حارة المرحوم قاسم ووقف حذا بيته فبعدها
 اهتدى على البيت ازال العصاة من عينييه واعطاه ما كان اوعده من
 الاجرة وخلى سبيله¹ ثم ان احمد الغضبان لما اهتدى على
 مطلوبه خاف ان يتوده عنه فاحترأ [f. 82b] من وقوع ذلك جعل
 على باب البيت علامة صغيرة حمراء صورها في محل مخفى وظن
 ان ما احد يبصرها ثم عاد الى عند اصحابه واخبرهم بما صنع وهو
 فرحان لا يشك بالتجاسس ومتيقن ان ما احد ينظر العلامة لكونها
 صغيرة ومخفية هذا ما كان من امرهم واما ما كان من امر التجارية
 مرجانة انها اصبحت باكر النهار وخرجت على جاري عادت بها
 لاحضار اللكومات والبقل والفاكهة والنقل وبقية لوازم البيت فلما
 رجعت من السوق ما خفى عليها العلامة الحمراء بل وقع بصرها
 عليها وعابنها فرابها ذلك واستغربته وفهمت بفراستها وغزارة
 عقلها [f. 83a] انه فعل عدو غريب او حسن قريب يريد السوء لاهل
 المنزل فلاجل ان تتوهه² صورت بالاحمر على ابواب الجيران
 علامات على شكل هذه العلامة وجعلتهم في الموضع الذي اختاره
 احمد الغضبان وكتمت ذلك وسكنت عنه خوفا لا³ يحصل منه
 لسيدها قلق او تشويش هذا ما كان منها اما السارق لما وصل الى عند
 اصحابه قص عليهم ما جرى له مع الاسكاف وكيف اهتدى على بيت

¹ In *Spiro*, p. 181, *ahla sahyloh* = "he set him free, he discharged him". Dozy has phrases somewhat similar, but not the same, using the second stem.

² MS. تتوّه.

³ Cf. n. 2 on p. 346.

الغريم وكيف علّم عليه بالاحمر ليستدل عليه في وقت الاحتياج فعند ذلك امرهم القايد بلبس ثياب العوام وبأخذ من تحتها السلاح وبدخول المدينة من طرقات مختلفة ثم قال لهم ويكون [f. 83b] اجتماعكم في المسجد الفلانى تجلسوا فيه الى ان نعود اليكم ثم انه اخذ احمد الغضبان ومضى معه في كشف البيت المطلوب ليستدل عليه ويخففه فلما وصل الى الشارع المعروف عجز احمد الغضبان عن تمييز البيت لسبب كثرة العلامات الموضوعة على الابواب فامّحجّل من روية ذلك وسكت عن الكلام اما القايد لما رأى عجزه عن معرفة البيت طرق¹ وعبس وعضب غضباً شديداً لكن الضرورة الزمته بكتم الغيظ في هذا الوقت ورجع في المسجد بالسارق المكسوف فلما اجتمع باصحابه امرهم بالرجوع الى الجبل فتفرقوا وعادوا منفردين الى محل سكنتهم وجلسوا للمشورة فعند ذلك [f. 84a] اخبرهم القايد بالواقع وان ما ساعدتهم المقادير على اخذ الثار وكشف العار في ذلك اليوم لسوء تدبير احمد الغضبان وعجزه عن معرفة بيت الغريم ثم جرد سيفه وضربه به على عاتقه حتى طارت هامته وفارقت جثته وسجّل الله بروحه الى النار وبئس القرار ثم تفكّر القايد في هذه القضية وقال في نفسه رجالى يصلحون للقتل والطعن والنهب ولسنكّ الدماء ولشنّ الغارات ولكن ليس لهم افهام في ضروب الحيل وابواب الخداعة فان ارسلتهم واحداً بعد واحد لقتل هذه المصلحة عدمتهم على هذه الصورة من غير فائدة ولا تحصيل عايدة فالاصوب ان اباشر بنفسى هذا [f. 84b] الامر العسر ثم اخبر اللصوص بذلك وان ما يعنى الى المدينة الا هو

¹ Apparently to be read as passive; see *Lanc*, p. 1851a, sub مَطْرُوق. We would say "he was knocked out".

فقالوا له الامر امرك والتهى نهيك فافعل ما بدا لك فعند ذلك
غير ثيابه واصبح متوجهاً الى المدينة وطالبا الحاج مصطفى الاسكافي
كما فعلا رسوليه المتقدم ذكرهما فلما وجده اقبل عليه وسلم عليه
ولاطفه بالكلام واندرج معه في الحديث الى ان فتح سيرة الميت
المقتول وما زال يسايره ويوعده بالمنقوشات الى ان ارصاد ووافقه
الشيخ مصطفى على مقصوده ونال منه القايد ما اراده من معرفة
بيت عدوه هذا على الصورة التي ذكرناها انفا فلما وقف عند البيت
اعطى [f. 85a] للشيخ مصطفى جايزته زيادة عنما كان اوعده به
واصرفه ثم رقب البيت وتأمل فيه ولا الزمه وضع علامة عليه بل عد
ابواب الحارة الى حد¹ باب البيت المقصود وحفظ عددها ونظر في
طيقانه وشبابيكه وميزه تمييزاً بليغاً حتى عرف جيد المعرفة هذا
وهو يتمشى في الشارع خوفاً لا يرتابوا اهله من طول وقوفه ثم عاد الى
اصحابه واخبرهم بما صنع وقال لهم عرفت الان بيت غريمنا فاتي
ان شاء الله وقت الانتقام واخذ الثار فافتكرت على طريق الوصول
الى ذلك ووسيلة الدخول والاشجام عليه فساشرحه لكم فان رايتموه
مناسب شرعنا في عمله وان [f. 85b] ما استصوبتموه فالذى في
ضميره حيلة انفذ من حيلتي فليظهرها ويتكلم بما بدا له ثم انه
اطلعهم على ما اضره ونواه فاستحسنوه وتوافقوا على فعله وتوافقوا
باليمان² ان ما احد منهم يتاخر عن صاحبه في طلب الثار فعند
ذلك ارسل جماعة منهم في البلاد القريبة وامرهم بشري اربعين
فربة من القرب الكبار وارسل البقية من رجاله في القرى المجاورة
واوصاهم بشري عشرين بغلة فلما ابتاعوا ما امرهم به حضروا بالجميع

¹ Semi-colloquial for حنى .

² So in MS. = نالايمان .

بين يديه ثم فتقوا فم كل قرية على حد ما تسع دخول الرجل وكل واحد من هذه اللصوص دخل في قرية من القرى المفتوحة وبيده خنجر فبعد [f. 86a] ما دخلوا الجميع وصاروا في هذا الحبس الضيق خيط القاييد الافمام كما كانت ولطخ القرب بالزيت حتى يظن الناظر فيهم انهم سلاسل زيت وحمل كل قربتين على ظهر بغلة. اما القريتان الزايدتان فعلاهما زيتًا بالحقيقة ووضعهما على بغلة منهم فصاروا العشرون بغلة محملين تسع عشرة بالرجال وواحدة بالزيت لان كان عدد اللصوص ثمانية وثلاثين رجلًا بعد فقد الاثنين الذين فتلها القاييد ثم لما تم استحضار ساق البغال قدومه ودخل بهم المدينة بعد غروب الشمس لما امسا المساء واطلم الضوء وطلب منزل على بابا الذي كان مبرز وعرفه [f. 86b] جيد المعرفة فلما وصل اليه وجد على بابا بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منه نطعة ومتكى على وسادة سليخة فنظر فيه فوجده مسرورًا محبوبًا مجبور الخاطر في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل الى عنده سلم عليه محتشمًا بادب وخشوع وهيبة وخضوع وقال له انا رجل غريب البلاد بعيد الوطن نأى المسكن قد اشتريت جانب زيت متعشمًا ان ابيعه بفصل ورجع في هذه المدينة فما امكنتي الدخول فيها الا مساءً لطول المسافة ووعث الطريق فوجدت الاسواق مغلقة فدرت محتارًا على محل او ماوى ابات فيه مع دوابى [f. 87a] فما وجدته فما زلت سائرًا الى ان اجتزت بك في هذا الوقت فحال ما نظرتك حمدت الله واثنيت عليه لاستبشارى بأجاج حاجتى وبلوغ اربى لان الكرم ظاهر فى وجهك الكريم والمروءة لايحة فى عينك السليم فلا شك انك من اهل الخير والتجاح والتقوى والصالح فهل لك ان تبيتنى عندك فى هذه الليلة وتاوى بغالى

فبقي لك على الفضل الجميل والاحسان الجزيل وتكسب أجرى
 عند الكريم المئان الجازى الاحسان بالاحسان والمتجاوز عن السيئات
 بالغفران وفي غداة غد ان شاء الله انزل السوق وابيع زيتى وانصرف
 عنك شاكراً ولجميلك مادحاً فاجابه على بابا بالرضا والقبول
 قايلاً [f. 87b] له مرحباً واهلاً بالآخ الطارق علينا انت غيفنا اليوم
 المبارك وتانسنا في هذه الليلة السعيدة وكان على بابا عندد الكرم
 والجلود وكان سخياً حسن الاخلاق جميل الاوصاف صاف النية لا يظن
 في الناس الا خيراً فصدق ما افترى عليه التاجر الكذوب ولا خطر في
 باله انه قايد لصوص الجبل ولا عرفه لان ما كان رآد الآ مرة واحدة وفي
 غير هذا الزى فزق على عبيد عبد الله وامرد ببادخال البغال
 فامثل عبد الله امرد ودخل القايد خلف دوابه لنزول الاحمال
 فنزل هو وعبد الله القرب عن البغال وصفوهم جنب الحيايط في
 ساحة الدار ثم اخذ العبد البغال وادخلهم [f. 88a] الاصطبل
 وعلق عليهم بالشعير اما القايد كان قصده يبات في الساحة عند
 قربه واعتذر من دخوله القاعة متعللاً بخوف الثقلة لاهل الدار ولكن
 في الحقيقة لاجل ان يملك غرضه ويمكنه فعل ما انطوى عليه من
 الخيانة فما وافقه على بابا على ذلك بل حلف عليه بالدخول
 وما زال يلح عليه حتى ان اجزبه¹ قهراً على رغم من مراغفه فما
 امكنه المخالفة ودخل معه فوجد القايد نفسه في قاعة واسعة
 مليحة قد بلط ارضها بانواع الرخام بدايرها اسرة متابلة بعضها بعضاً
 مفروشة بالفخر النطاع والفرش وفي صدر المكان سرير اعظم منهم
 مفروش بالحريز الملوكي بمراتب مفضضة [f. 88b] وستور مكللة
 فاجلسه على بابا على ذلك السرير وامر بوقود الشموع وارسل

¹ So in MS. for جذبه ز for ذ and prefixed Syrian a.

لمرجانة واخبرها بحضور غيظه وامرها ان تصنع للعشاء ما يليق به
 من لثريز¹ الطعام ثم بعد ذلك جلس الى جانبه واخذ في منادته
 ومسامرته الى ان اتى وقت العشاء فحين ذلك مدوا الخيوان²
 وحضروا بالطعام في اوانى الفضة والذهب وقدموا المائدة بين يدي
 القايد فاكل هو وعلى بابا من جميع الالوان حتى اكتفا ثم رفعوا
 الطعام وحضروا بعقيق المدام فدار الكاس بينهما فلما فرغا واكتفا
 اكلاً وشرباً قعدا ثانيًا في حديثهما ومسامرتهما الى حصة من الليل
 فلما آن وقت السرقاد والاصطجاع قام القايد ونزل في الساحة
 [f. 89a] قايلاً ان قبل النوم يريد الكشف على دوابه واما في الحقيقة
 لاجل ان يتفق مع اتباعه على حال³ فدنا من الاول الذى كان
 كما قلنا داخل القرية الاولى وقال له بصوت منخفض اذا رميت
 عليكم حصى من الطاقة فشقوا القرب مخناجركم والمحقونى ثم قال
 للثانى مثل ذلك وللثالث الى ان انتبى الى الاخر واما على بابا
 حيث كان نوى دخول الحمام في صبيحة هذه الليلة وصى مرجانة
 بتجهيز القوط اللازمة له وامرها ان تعطينه لعبد الله وتصنع له مرقه
 لحم يشربها عند خروجه من الحمام ثم اوصاها ايضاً باكرام الضيف
 وانها تغرش له فرشاً ناعماً لايقاً بمقامه وتخدمه بنفسها وتقوم معه
 بوجوب وحقوق [f. 89b] الضيافة فاجابته بالسمع والطاعة ثم انه
 ذهب الى مضجعه واضطجع ونام ورجع الان الى حديث القايد
 ونقول وبالله التوفيق انه لما اتفق مع اصحابه واحفاده ودبر معهم
 ما وجب فعله طلع الى عند مرجانة وسالها على محل مرقده
 فاخذت شمعة واوصلته الى مقصورة مفروشة بافخر الفراش فيها

¹ لذيز . So in MS.

² خيوان . So in MS.

³ "For a moment" ?

جمع ما يحتاج اليه من فرش وغطاء¹ وشبر ذلك من الله النوم
ومست علىه وعادت الى المطبخ في امثال ما امرها به سبدها
فجيزت القوط والله الحمام وسلمت الجميع للخدام عبد الله ثم
ركبت اللحم وقادت النار تحت الدست هذا كله وضوء السراج
يضعف فلما قليلاً من عدم الزيت حتى [f. 90a] انطفئ من
اصله فافتتدت كوز الزيت وجدته فارغاً وحيث كان الشمع فرغ
ايضاً احترت في امرها لانها كانت محتاجة للملح لاجل تمام طبخ
المرق فلما رأى عبد الله حيرتها قال ليا لا نبتئ ولا تصجرى لان ما
زال² الزيت موجوداً في الدار وهذا بكثرة هل نسيتى قرب التاجر
الغريب الملايين زيت الموضوعين في ساحة البيت فانزلى خذى
ما شئتى منهم واذا صبح الصباح دفعنا له نحن الزيت فلما سمعت
منه هذا الخطاب استحسنه ما فيه من الصواب وشكرته على
شورته الحميدة ونزلت بالكوز ودنت من القرب اما اللصوص كانت
قد خجروا من طول [f. 90b] فعادهم في سجنهم الضيق وتعبوا من
الحنى ظبورهم فضافت انفسهم وتكسرت اعضاؤهم وانيشمت
اعضاءهم ولا بنى لهم صبر على هذا الحال ولا طاقة الى طول
الحبسة فلما سمعوا صوت مرجانة ظفروا في غنلتهم انه صوت القايد
لاجل نغبتهم منهم الفناء فيهم وغلبة امر ربهم فقال لص منهم هل
انى مبعاد الخروج قال الراوى لهذا الكلام العجيب والامر المطرب
الغريب لما سمعت مرجانة صوت رجل يتكلم من داخل القربة
فزعت فزعاً شديداً وارتعدت فرايتها من الوجع وارتعبت رعباً
عظيماً وشبرها كانت سقطت من الغزع او صرخت [f. 91a] لكن

¹ So vocalized in the MS.; the first vowel is colloquial: see *Spiro, ghata*.

² MS. ما زال.

كانت صندرها شجاعة، القلب وسرعة النضفة، فحفظت في الحال صورة
 الواقع وفيهمت اسرع ما يسلخ البصر انتم لصوم واصديين خيانه
 فديرت من غمر ابطاء ما يناسب من التدبير لعلها انهما ان
 صرخت او تحركت هلكت من غمر سكت وملك سبدها وجميع
 اهل البيت فامسكت عن العويل والحركة وسرعت من غير نهالة¹
 في فعل ما نوبه من الحمه فتنقصت صوتها واجابت اللص الاول
 فايته بما نى فلما ما نعى من الوقت الا المسموم دبت من العربة
 الثامه فسألها اللص الثاني كما سألها الاول واجابته على صورة
 الجواب المذكور وما زالت [f. 91b] تهر على الثوب ويكلمونها
 النصوص واحد بعد واحد وهي تجاوبهم ويصرخون الى ان انتهت الى
 قرب الزيت في اخبر الصنف فلما لزوا الصمت فبغت انهم
 خالسين من الرجال فحركتهم ولما تحننت انهم ملان من الزيت
 فاحت واحد منهما واخذت منه في كوزها ما نبسر وعادت الى
 المطبخ ولعت السراج ثم عمدت الى دست كبير من النحاس
 الاحمر ونزلت به في الحوش وعبت من الزيت وطلعت ركبته على
 النار وكثرت وقود المحطب تحت منه الى ان غلى الزيت فلما تم
 غلانه نزلت بالدست وصمت بالكوز الزيت في قم كل فرة حيث
 وقع الزيت الساخن [f. 92a] على راس النصوص فافناهم وهلكوا
 عن اخرهم ثم لما تحننت ان ما نعى منهم بقية وانهم ماتوا
 باجمعهم رجعت في المطبخ ونمت طبخة مرقه اللحم حكم ما
 اوصاها سبدها فبعد ما خلصت اسغالها طغت النار والسراج وجلست
 تنظر ونراى ما يفعله الخايد اما هو لما دخل المقصورة التي
 اصلحت له خلق الباب وطفى الشمعة واضطجع على فراشه كالنائم

¹ So in the MS., but I cannot find this form anywhere.

ولكن ما برج يخطانا ومنتظرا انتهاز الفرصة ووقت يمكن فيه فعل
 ما اضمره لاهل البيت من سوء فلما نامت على ضامه العميون
 وعدمت الحركة قام ساكنا واطلع محترسا فحببت لها راى نورا
 ولا سمع حسا ظن ان نامت [f. 92b] اهل البيت كلنا فاخذ
 حصى وطرحه في الساحة على موجب اتفاق سبع اصحابه وعبر
 قهلا ينتظر خروج رجاله فلما تموا ساكنين ولا بان لهم حس ولا حركة
 اخذ العجيب وقذف حصى اخر من الطافة وحكم سقوطها على
 الغرب فلما زالوا ساكنين وما تحرك احد منهم فتوسوس من ذلك
 وعاد ثالث مرة يرمى من الحجاره وانتظر من غير فائدة خروج
 اللصوص فلما ايس من ذلك دخل في قلبه الخوف ونزل لكشف
 ما حل بهم وما سبب وقوفهم فعند فرة من الغرب طلعت على
 مراغده رايحة كريهة وزحمة التريت الساخن فتطير² من ذلك وازداد
 فزع ورعده ثم مر عليهم وهو يخطا بهم بهم واحدا بعد واحد
 [f. 93a] فلما زالوا ساكنين صامتين فعند ذلك حرك الغرب وقلبها

¹ "They remained silent." For *تم* in Syrian Arabic, see *Oestrop*, p. 156, and *Hartmann*, under *bladen*. Hartmann gives *tamm* and *damm* as Syrian forms, but *damm* as Egyptian. For Egyptian see *Spiro*, under *تن*; *Willmore*, §§ 218 ff.; *Spitta*, *Grammatik*, pp. 328 ff. But in Egyptian the construction is different, the subject being expressed by a suffix. For Algeria, Beausnier, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Alger, 1887), p. 68, gives *وتموا رايحين*. "de la ils s'en tirent." But the original form was *تم*. This was apparently recognized first by Stumme, who has a short note on an occurrence in his *Tunisische Märchen*, i. 25. See also Landberg's *Hadramout*, pp. 276 f. and index, p. 537, under *تم*, *تمى*, and *تن*. The form *تم* occurs several times in the Galland MS. of the *Arabian Nights*; see, for example, in my print of the "Story of the Fisherman and the Jinni", p. 16, last line, *وتموا ساكرين*. *تم* occurs also in *Breslau*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, *تم*, but Dozy does not seem to have quite grasped its meaning.

² *تمصاير*. MS.

ونظر داخلها فوجد رجاءه هالكن مايتين فلما رأى ما أخذ من قرب الثريت فبهم على اى صورة فنبوا وسبب هلاكهم فاضم لذلك غمًا شديدًا وبكى على فقد اصحابه بكاء عزيزًا وخاف على نفسه من التنبض فنوى الثروب والثرار فبل ان يسدوا عليه الطرق فلاجل ذلك فتح باب البستان ونسلى على الحايط ونظا فى الشارع وفتر هاربًا للاجاز طالبًا وللعان فاصدا وهو كئيب مكدود بانغم وفى قلبه الف حسرة هذا ومرجاة فى كمستيا ترصد فلما علمت انه فارق البيت وحرب نزلت وضلت باب المسنان الذى [f. 93b] كان فتحه المص وعادت مكانها هذا ما كان متبا واما ما كان من امر على بابا انه لما اصبح الله بالصباح واضاء بنورد ولاج وسلمت الشمس على زين الملاح استنظ من منامه ولذيد احلامه ولبس ثيابا وخرج طالبًا دخول الحمام وعبد عبد الله خلته يحمل الله الغسل والنوط اللازمة له فعبر الحمام واغسل واستراح وهو فى غاية البسط والسرور لا يدري ما حصل فى منزله فى هذ الليلة ومن اى خطر امجاد الله ثم لما فرغ من الغسل لبس ثيابا تانما وعاد الى بته فعند دخوله الساحة رأى الثروب فى محلم فاخذد العجب من ذلك وقال لمرجاة ما بال هذا التاجر الغريب يأخر عن نزول [f. 94a] السوق فخالته يا سبدي كتب الله لك عمرا طويلا وقضى لك حظا غالبا لان سلمت فى هذ الليلة من خطر عظيم والجاك الله بحسن نبتك من الهلاك ومن قتله شمنعة انت واهل ببتك والذين كانوا حنروا لك حنيرا اوفعيم الله فيه وجزاهم على سوء نيتهم والخيانة عقيبها الخيبة والعطب وابقت كل شى على حاله لتنظر بعينك ما كان اهب لك التاجر المفترى عليك وخيانته وشجاعة جاريتهك مرجاة فتقدم وابصر ما فى باطن هذ الثروب فعند ذلك

تقدم على بابا فلما رأى في فلب القربة المجاورة له رجلاً يمدد
 خنجر أصفر لونه وتسمير كونه وتاخسر خايفا فقالمت له لا تخف
 [f. 94b] لأن هذا رجل مبيت نم أورت¹ بقمة القرب فوجد في باطن
 كل قربة رجلاً مبيتاً ويده خنجر فوفف ساعة خايفا وينظر نارة الى
 مرجاته ونارة الى القرب وهو باهت مرعوب لا يدري ما الخنجر فقال
 ليا عجلى على بتفسير ما عايته واوجزى في الكلام لأن اربعينى ما
 رايت غاية الرعب فذالت له تأنى درجة ولا تعلمى صوتك ليلا
 يدري الحجيران بما لا يناسب نشر بل هو نفسك واذهب الى
 فاعتك واجلس على تختك حتى تستريح واحصر لك مرقعة
 اللحم التى طبختها لك فشرينا ويسكن ما اصابك من الفزع ثم
 مصت الى المطبخ واتت له بالمرفقة وناولته اياها فشرينا ثم بدت
 مخاطبه بهذا الكلام [f. 95a] امرتنى امس بتجيزاته الحكماء وتصنيع
 مرقعة لحم فبينما كنت مشغولة فى امتثال ذلك اذ انطى سراجى
 من عدم الزيت فضلمت كوز الزيت ووجدته فارغاً فاحترت فى
 امرى الى ان قال لى عبد الله لا تحملى هم ذلك لأن ما زال
 الزيت موجود عندنا بكثرة وانزلى خذى ما يلزمك من قرب
 التاجر المايث عندنا وغدا يدفع له ثمه فرايت شوته حميدة
 ونزلت بالكوز فلما تقدمت الى عند القرب سمعت من داخلها
 صوت رجل يقول دل انى وقت الخـروج فعلمت انهم فاصدين
 خمانة فقلت له من غير وجل ولا خوف لا ولكن ما بقى من الوقت
 الا البشير فمررت على بقمة القرب وجدت [f. 95b] فى باطن كل
 قربة رجلاً سالتنى هذا السؤال او خاطبني بما يقارب هذا الكلام
 فجاءت بهذا الجواب الى ان انتهيت الى قربتين ملانين زيت

¹ Colloquial for *أرتة*. See *Spiro*, p. 214.

فعبثت منيهم كوري وولعت سراجي واخذت دسًا كبيرًا ولبت، من
 الزيت وركبت، على النار حتى غلى الزيت وصببت منه، في قم كل
 مرة، حتى ملكت السراق من تأثير الزيت الساخن كما رايت ثم
 طغت السراج ووقنت اصد الرجل التاجر النحاشين الافاك الكذاب
 فرايت، يتدفع حصي من الطافة لمنه رجاله، وكرر فعل ذلك مرارا
 فلما نوفقوا عن الخروج وايس من روبيتم نزل ينظر ما سبب
 نومهم فراحهم فنيوا عن اخرهم فعند ذلك خاف على نفسه،
 من القبض [f. 96a] او القتل فنسلى على حايط البستان ونط
 منه، في الشارع وفر هاربا فابيت ان استبقظك خوفا من نجيته اهل
 الدار فانتظرت رجوعك لافض حلت النصة، فهذا خبري مع هؤلاء
 النجبة¹ والله، اعلم فالان ينبغي ان اخبرك بشي حصل من قريب
 وكنتم، عنك وهو ان من مدة يسير وانا راجعة من السوق ابصرت
 على باب بستان علامة، بضاء فحصل عندي من روبيتا ارتياب
 ونسويش وعلمت ان هذا فعل عدو ضمير لنا السوء فلجل ان
 اتوّد²، صورت على ابواب بيوت الجيران علامات كبذه العلامة
 بعيننا تم بعد اكم³ يوم رايت علموا باب دارنا بعلامة حمراء
 فجعلت على ابواب الجيران بيذا [f. 96b] اللون علامات
 شايينا وكنتم ذلك عنكم خوفا⁴ ان ترتابوا منه، فلا شك ان
 واضعن العلامات هم هؤلاء الرجال الميتمون وانتم اللصوص الذين
 عثرت بهم في الجبل فبحيث عرفوا طريق منزلنا لراحة لنا ولا امان

¹ Dozy gives from Boethor *خمن* as a plural of *خائن*, but I cannot find *خيمه* anywhere.

² MS. *اتوّد*.

³ Colloquial, "some, a few," see *Spiro*, under *كلم*.

⁴ MS. *خوف*.

طال ما واحد منكم موجود على وجه الأرض فينبغى اننا نكون
 على حذر من كيد الذى حرب لانه لا شك ان يسعى في هلاكنا
 فيجب علينا حرس انفسنا وانا اكون اولكم في الاحتراس والانتظة
 قال الراوى فلما سمع على بابا خطاب جاريته مرجانة استعجب
 غاية العجب مما جرى له ولما من غريب الالتفات وقال ليا ما
 سلمت من هدد ورطة ولا نجوت من هدد الخطرة الا بقدرته الخالق
 المنان المنعم [f. 97a] علينا بالفضل والاحسان وبسدادة رايت
 وجوده فطنتك ثم شكرها على حسن فعلها وشجاعة قلبها وجزالة
 رايها وجوده نديبرها وقال ليا من هذا الوقت انت حرّة معتوقة
 لوجه الله وفصلك علينا باقى وساجازيك بكل خير فكما قلتى لا
 شك ان هؤلاء الرجال هم لصوص الغابة فالحمد لله على خلاصنا
 منكم فيلزمنا الان دفتيم وستر ما جرى لنا معكم ثم نادى عبد الله
 عبده وامر به باحصار معولن فاخذ هو واحد ودفع له واحد وشرعا في
 حفر خندقا طويلا في البستان وجزبوا¹ اجساد اللصوص واحدا بعد
 واحد ورموهم فيه وردوا [f. 97b] الشراب عليهم حتى غاب اثرهم
 اما البغال فباعوهم في السوق على امرار مختلفة وكذلك فعلوا
 بالثوب فبذا ما كان من هؤلاء اما ما كان من امرقايد اللصوص انه
 لما فرّ هاربا من تمت على بابا واتى الى الغابة ودخل الكثر في
 الحس حال بكى على وحدته ووحشته وقعد يتأسف ويتالم على
 خيبة امه وعكس عمله وفقد رجاله وكرد الحياة وتمنى الموت
 قائلا يا اسفاد عليكم يا ابطال الزمان يا رجال النسيب والطعن يا
 فرسان الجدال في حومة الميدان يا لبست اتاكم الموت في وسط
 الحرب والمقاتل ولعيتهم الوفاة والنموت في الخصام والمجدال اما موتكم

¹ So in MS., cf. [جزء] on p. 366, n. 1.

حتف [f. 98a] انكم عار وانا الشقى سبب هلاك من كنت
افديهم بالروح يا ليت¹ شئت كاس الرءاء قبل ما اشاهد هذا
البلاء ولكن ما انتانى المولى عز وجل الاخذ بالشار وكشف العار
وسانتقم من عدوى اشر الانتقام واذوقه ألم العذاب وعظيم العقاب
وانا الكافى على فعل ذلك ووكنت وحدى والذى عجزت عنه
بالرجال الكثر ان الله ان شا الله بمنردى نم بات وباله يجول في بحر
الافكار ومنه مسغول بطلب حيلة يصل بها الى غرضه وهجر لذيق
المنام واصبح برك عزيزه الطعام ثم انصى رايه على تدبير حيلة
ظن ان يدرك بها امه ووفى على امر يفعله متاهلا ان
[f. 98b] يقال به مراد ويشتى به امر اغف فلما اقبل النبار بدل
ملبوسه واخذ ثياب التجار ووافى المدينة اسناجر متصورة في احد
الخانقات الكبار واخذ حنونا في سوق التجار فنقل فيها من الكنز
على امرار متفرقة بضايح متممة طريفة وامشقة مذهبة نفيسة فمتها
النفائيل الهندية والطافات الشامية والسياب الديباجية والخلع
المسنية والملابس الابريسمية والجوهر المعدنية هذا كله من نهب
البلاد واموال العباد الموضوعة في الكنز ثم فعد في حنوته في بيع
وشراء واخذ وعطاء مع الناس وصار يسامح في الاسعار ويكس في
الامان ويتبادل الناس بما يشتهون [f. 99a] ويخاطبون بما يرغبون
الى ان اشتبر امره وشاع ذكره وانتشر خمره واتسعت سببه فزارود
اكبار ونزاحمت عليه الصغار وهو يقبل الناس بمعروف وبشاشة
ويعاملهم باللين والنباشة ويفتخر لهم سماحة الوجه وحسن الاخلاق
ولطف في خطاب وحسن في جواب حتى ان حبود الناس باجمعهم

¹ MS. يا ليت شعري . of which I can make nothing

² MS. عزيز .

وهذا كله ضد طبيعته لان كان جُبل على التساوة والغلاظة والغباوة
والنظافة ومعتاد على القتل والنهب وسفك الدماء والسلب لكن
الضرورة لنا احكام واحوجته الى فعل ذلك فما من يوصف بعلم
ولا فضا ولا من يرجع اليه في انفاق ولا امضاء ولا امام مسجد
[f. 99b] ولا خطيب ولا ذى فتوى يسأل فيجيب ولا من يجتنب
في رأى فيخطى او يصيب ولا مجدل حديث ولا متكلم في مديم
وحديث ولا معروف بدين وصلاح ولا فرسان حرب وكناج ولا راسق
سنيام ولا طاعن برواح ولا غارب بضجاج ولا باد ولا حاضر ولا مقيم ولا
سائر ولا اول ولا آخر ولا مسرف باطن ولا معلى في ظاهروا عرب ولا
عجم ولا راعى ابل ولا غنم ولا صاحب مائة¹ ولا دار ولا ساكن في حضر
ولا بادية² ولا صاحب بيوت ولا جدار ولا ملجئ في البحار ولا سائر في
البرارى والتغفار حتى اتى الى عندد وابتاع من قماشه ومتاعه
وزارته كل جارية رومبة خماسية القد سائلة الخد قايمة
[f. 100a] النيد عبطا السوالف عظيمة الروادف لنا عيون كعيون
الغزلان وحواجب كالقبسان واذان كالكيسان وصدر كالرومان وفم
كخاتم سلبمان وشفت كالعقيق والمرجان وقد كغصن البان واعتدال
كالخيزران وانفاس كالبالسان تجلى اليوموم باعطاف فلما الرحيم
ونشقى السقيم بكلامها المحلو الرخم وبادرت الى عندد كل صبية
فمرية كحيلة الطرف متممة الظرف كاملة الوصف ثقبه الردف
معتدة الانف مكلمة الشفتين مودة الخدين خريفة البدين ثقبه
الردفين دفيقة الساقين كحيلة العينين حمرة الوجنتين بنا من الحسن
والجمال والنباء والكمال والقد والاعتدال ما يعجز [f. 100b] المتكلم

¹ MS. [باد] of which I can make nothing. I conjecture with diffidence.

² MS. وبادية بدار.

البليغ عن وصفه، ولا يبلغ العالم الواصف الى ذكر نصفه، وسارعت الى
لدائه، كل عجز بوجه، مسموط وحاحب ممعوط وجسم احرب وشعر
اشيب ووجه اغيب وطرف اصمش وساق اخضر وفم ابخر وقدم
مايل ومنظرهايل ومخاط سايل ولون حاييل شخاخة، رشاحة، نازلة،
اللعاب والمخاط كثيرة الغسا والشرط¹ عديمة الصمت والنشاط زايد
في الكلام والعباط تعرف النفوس من صورتها وتفر من رويتها وجالس،
كل شاب اذج² المحاجبين خفيف العارضين مورد الوجهتين قد
دب عزارد³ وازهرت انوار واطيرت افمارد وخضت اوزارد يتمايل
من العجب والتب، ويتبين من الدلال ما فيه، ويفطر الشيد من فيه،
[f. 101a] وحضر الى حنوته، كل امرئ ظريف ذي طرف ضعيف
وعذار خفيف وثوب نظيف بوجه، اقمر وخذ احمر وجبين ازهر وب،
ايضا عين كحيل وخذ اسيل وخصر محيل وردف ثقبيل وساق صقيل
تشقى السقيم رويت، وتبرى الكلم مشاهدته، وقلب بضايحه، كل كبل
كامل السن قوى الصرس والسن طويل الغامة كبير النامة، وافر اللجة،
والمحاجبين جعد الشعر في العارضين به من البطالة والبسالة ما يفوق
الفارس الشجعان ويضاهى الاسد الغضباني واشترى من سلعة، كل
شيخ حرم طاعن في السن افرع الراس ضعيف البصر متكى على
عصا قد مارس الامور وآدب السنين والدهور [f. 101b] وشابت
لحيته من نوايب الزمان وانحنى ظنيره من تداول الليالي⁴ والايام
ونطق لسان حاله، يقول شعرا [من البسيط]

¹ So in MS. for والشرط.

² So in MS. for أزج.

³ So in MS. for عذار.

⁴ MS. الليالي.

ارعسنى الدهر اى رعشه، والدحر ذو فؤده وبطس
 قد كنت امشى ولست اعما، والموم اعما ولست امسنى
 وهو يقبل كل منتم بالرحب والسعة، ويساوى بين القوى والضعيف
 والذمى والسرىف ولا يفرق بين الامير والمأمور والظليق والمأمور
 ولا بين الجليل والمحقر والغنى والفقر بل يعظم العالم الاديب
 كما لا يحقر الوارد الغريب وينفض الحبيب ويكرم الحجار
 القريب حتى عمت القلوب محبته وشملت النفوس
 [f. 102a] مودته، وقدّر التقادر حسن جلالة، لا مراد انفازد¹
 وحكم قضاء على عباد ان حنوت هذا العدار صار يواجه حنوت
 ابن على بابا وكان اسمه محمداً فبحبث كانوا جمران وجبت
 عليهما حقوق المجاورة فلجل ذلك نعارفا ونوالفا ولا كان احد منهما
 يعرف من هو صاحب، وما هو اصله، فازداد بينهما الود والمحبة وصارا
 يجلسا عند بعضهما ولا احد منهما يصير عن جارد فتصدف في بعض
 الايام ان على بابا جاء لعند ابنه محمد لتقصد الزيارة طالبا التزدد في
 سوق التجار فوجد التاجر العريب جالسا عند فاول ما ابصره القايد
 عرفه جيد المعرفة وتحقق انه غريمه الذي جاء [f. 102b] في
 طلبه ففرح لذلك غاية الفرح واستبشر بفصاء حاجته وبلغ اربه
 وباخذ الثار لكن كتم هذا ولا غير هيئته، وبعد ما انصرف على بابا
 سال عنه ابنه، متطاعرا ان لا يعرف، فقال له محمد هذا هو ابى فلما
 فهم ذلك وتحققه صار يكثر من الجلوس عند محمد ويزيد في اكرامه
 ويبالغ في احترامه، ويظهر له اللثة والمحبة والصدقة والمودة وقد
 كان يدعيه عندد لاكل الطعام ويصنع له الولائم والضيافات ويطلب
 للسبرات ولا يصير عنه في المناديات والمسامرات وينادي به البدايات

¹ So in MS. for انفازد.

النفيسة، والتأخف الظريقة هذا كله، لتتغيب¹ غرض كان أصمرد
 وشمكنين ما كان انطوى عليه من الغدر والخماسة [f. 103a] أما
 محمد لما شاهد فرط معروف، ورأى حسن عشرته، وزيادة صداقته، حبّه
 ووصلت محبته، فمعه للعاية، وودد إلى النباية، لما كان يظن فيه، من
 خلوص النية، وصدق الطوية، وكان لا يصبر عنه ساعة واحدة ولا يفارق،
 لا لبس ولا تبارفحكى لا لب، ما كان يصنع به، من المعروف التاجر
 الغريب وما اضطره، من الود والمحبة، وإن، رجل غنى كريم سخي
 ومن الأمائل وبالغ في مدحه، وذكرانه، يدعيه، عندد في كل وقت لاكل
 الطعام اللذيذ ويبيديه، بالتأخف النفيسة، فقال له ابود واجب عليك
 يا ابني ان تقابلته بما يعاملك به، وتصنع له وليمة، وتدعيه، ويكون
 ذلك في يوم [f. 103b] الجمعة، فإذا خرجتما معا من صلاة الجمعة
 في وقت الظهر ومرتما على بيننا فاعزم عليه بالدخول فاكون
 مستحضرا على ما يناسب ويليف لثام هذا الضيف الجليل فلما
 كان يوم الجمعة مضى التأييد وقت الظهر إلى المسجد وصحب، محمد
 فبعد ما صلاة الجماعة خرجا معا لقصد التمشد في المدينة
 فمازالا يجولان فبنا إلى ان انتهيا إلى شارع على بابا فلما وصلا
 لعند البيت عزم محمد على رفيقه بالدخول لاكل الطعام قايلا له،
 ان هذا منزلنا فابى وامتنع من ذلك بضروب من العلل فاكد
 عليه، محمد وحلف عليه، وما زال وراد حتى رضى قايلا له، وافقك
 على مرادك لاني حلف الصحبة ولا جبر بخاطرك [f. 104a] لكن
 يكون على شرط انكم لا تضع مسلحا في الطعام لاني اكره ذلك غاية
 الكراهة ولست استطيع أكله ولا اشم رائحته، فقال له، محمد هذا امر
 هين وبحيث ان معدتك لا تقبل الملح لا يحضر بين يديك الا

¹ So in MS. for لتتغيب.

طعام من دون ملح فلما سمع كلامه فرح في الباطن فرحاً شديداً لأن
 نهاية مقصوده كان الدخول في البيت وكل ما صنع من المحل كان
 لاجل ادراك هذا الغرض وتحصيل هذه الامنية فحينئذ ايقن باخذ
 النار وتحقق تمكن الانتقام وقال في نفسه اوفعهم الله بين يدي
 من غير محالة ولا شك فلما خطا العتبة ودخل الدار ترحب
 به على بابا وسلم عليه بغاية ما يكون من الادب والحشمة
 [f. 104b] واجلسه في صدر المكان بطنه اب تاجر جليل ولا عرف
 انه صاحب الزيت بنفسه بسبب تغيير زييه وصورته ولا خطر بباله
 انه ادخل الديب بين الغنم والاسد بين النعم وقعد يحادثه ويوانسه
 اما ابنه محمد فاتى لعند مرجانة واوصاها بعدم ادخال الملح في
 الاطعمة كون ان ضيفهم لا يقدر على اكله فاستعجزها ذلك لانها كانت
 صنعت الطعام فالنزمت بطبخ خبره من دون ملح لكن استغربت
 ذلك وراينا امرد واشتاق اننا ننظر من هو هذا الرجل الذي لا
 رغبة له في الملح ولا يذوق من دون الناس كلها لان حقيقة¹ هذا
 الشئ لا يسمع به ولا يتفكر فلما استوى [f. 105a] الطبخ وأن
 وقت العشاء حملت المائدة هي وعبد الله وقدمها بين يدي
 الجماعة فعند ذلك لاحت متبا التفاتة الى التاجر الغريب
 فعرفت في الحال لثراستيا وجودة فطانتيا² وتحققت انه قائد اللصوص
 من غير شك ولا ريب ثم اطالت فيه النظر فابصرت تحت ردايه
 يد خنجر فقالت في نفسها فيمت الان سبب امتناع هذا الملعون
 عن اكل الملح مع سيدي وهو انه يريد قتله فاستدبر فعل ذلك
 واستنحش بعد اكل الملح لكن باذن الله تعالى ما ينال مقصوده ولا
 ابقية يتم ذلك ثم انصرفت لاشغالها ووقف عبد الله للخدمة

¹ To be read. I suppose, حقيقة.

² فطانتيا. MS.

أكلوا من جميع الألوان وصار على بابا يكرم غيبه، ويعزم عليه،
 [f. 105b] بالاكل فلما اكتشوا رفعوا الطعام واحضروا المدام والنقل
 والحلاويات والفاكهة والمسكرات فاحتلوا ونفّسوا ثم دار بينهم
 الكاس والملعون يناولهما الشراب ويمتنع من الشرب ومقصود
 بذلك سكرهما ويبقى هو يتقازن دون سكر بكمال عقله ليملك
 غرضه، وحوان اذا غلب عليهما السكر واما يغتنم الفرصة يريق
 دماهما ويتقلبهما بخنجر ثم يغتر داريا من باب البستان كما فعل
 سابقا فبينما هم على هذه الحالة اذ دخل عليهم مرجانة وعبد
 الله، اما مرجانة فكان عليها قميص شبك¹ اسكندرانى وجبة
 ديباج ملوكى وغير ذلك من الثياب الفاخرة وكانت ممنطقة
 بمنطقة ذهبية [f. 106a] محبوكة بانواع الجواهر قد غم خصرها
 وابرز ردفيا وعلى راسها شبكة من اللؤلؤ وداير عنقها عقد من الزمرد
 والياقوت والمرجان نبد من تحتها، نبداتها كانها فحلين² رومان وهى
 مزينة بالحنلى والحلل وكانها كانت زهر الربيع فى اول ابتسامه
 والبدر فى ليلة تمامه، واما عبد الله فكان لابس ايضا الثياب
 الفاخرة وبیدد طبل يضرب عليه، وهى ترفص رقص اهل الصناعة
 فلما رآها على بابا فرح وتبسم وقال لينا مرحبا للجارية الانيسة
 والخدمة النخيسة والله نعم ما فعلتى لاننا كنا مشتاقين للرقص فى
 هذه الساعة، ليتم حظنا وسرورنا ويكمل طربنا وحبورنا [f. 106b] ثم
 قال للتايد هذه الجارية ليست لينا مشيل لانها ماهرة فى كل شى
 وناضجة فى الخدمة ولا يغيب عنها فن من فنون الادب قد حوت
 المحسن والمحاسن وسدادة الراى وسرعة الفطنة وهى معدومة المثل

¹ MS. شبك .

² So in MS. for فحلا ; colloquial *jahlain* or *fahlēn rummān*.

في مثل هذا الزمان فلما على الجميل وهي عندي اعز من البنت فانظر يا سبدي الى جمال وجبها ورشاقة قدما وحسن رقصها وظرف حزمها ولطف حركتها واما هو فكان غير راعي لكلامه، ولا صاغى لحديثه بل غايب عن وجوده من شدة غمه، وخيظه على دخول هذين الشخصين الذين افسدا عليه، ما اعتد من السوء على اهل المنزل وما اضمره من العدر والخيانة، ثم ان مرجانة رقصت رقصة حسنا يضاهي [f. 107a] رفض اهل الصناعة، وغلّت فيه، الى ان جذبت خاتجرا كان على منطقتها ورقصت به، وهي ماسكاد¹ في يدها كما هي عادة العرب فتارة تقع نصله على صدرها وتارة على صدر على بابا وتارة تقرب من صدر ابنه، محمد وتارة تجعله على صدر القايد ثم اخذت الطبل من يد عبد الله وقدمته، لعل بابا واشارت عليه ان يعطينا شيئا فاروى لها دينارا ثم انتقلت بالطبل لعند ابنه محمد فروى لها دينارا اخر ثم دنت من القايد بالخنجر من يد الطبل من يد فاراد ان يعطينا شيئا ولذلك وضع يده في جيبه فبينما هو على هذه الحالة، ملجى باخراج ما تبسر من الدراهم اذ غرزت الخنجر في صدره فشق شققة عظيمة [f. 107b] ومات وعجل الله بروحه الى النار ويؤس القرار فلما شاهدنا على بابا وابنه ما فعلت قاما مسرعين ووقفنا مغرعين وصرخا علبنا قائلين لها يا خايمة يا بنت الزانية يا عاهرة يا قليلة الاصل ما سبب هذا الغدر التزيع وما احوجك الى هذا الفعل الشنيع فدوميتينا في بلوة لا نأجو متبا ابدًا وتكونين سبب هلاكنا وفقد ارواحنا لكن اول ما تعاقب² انت يا ملعونة، وان سلمت من يد الحكم لا تسلمي

¹ So in MS. for ماسكتة; colloquial; see *Willmore*, § 116, p. 100.

² MS. يتعاقب.

من ايدينا فقاتلت لهما من غير وجل ريفضا¹ نفسكما واسكننا روعكما
ان كان هذا جزا من تنديكما بروحيا فما بتسى احد يتصدر لفعل
الخير فلا تعجلا في بسوء الظن لئلا يعاقبكما الندامة [f. 108a] بل
اسمعا حديثي ثم اقتبسا على بما شئتما هذا الرجل ليس هو تاجر
كما يزعم وكما تظنان بل هو فايد لصوص الغابة الذي ادعى اولا انه
بياع زيت وادخل الرجال الكثيرة في منزلكما في باطن القرب
لنشلكما وخراب دابركما فلما افسدت عليه مكبدته وخاب امله
وامسبت، لزم الفرار وخلا الديار فما اعتبر بذلك ولا ارتدع بل ازداد
حنفا وحفدا على وعليكما وصمم على نية النجاسة فلاجل تحصيل
مناد وادراك رجاء فتح حنوتا في سوق اتجار واشحمه بالبضائع
الناخرة النفيسة ثم استعمل المكاييد الخفية والحيل المخفية
والدسائس الكفرية حتى احتال على سيدى محمد وخادته
[f. 108b] باظهار المحبة الكاذبة والمودة الباطلة وما زال ورا
بالمخادعة حتى امكنه الدخول في منزلكما والجلوس بينكما على
مايدة واحدة وحينئذ كان منتظرا انتهاز الفرصة ليغدر بكم ويقتلكما
اشرقته وبمضى اثركما معتمدا في ذلك على حدة سلاحه وقوة
عضده وساعده ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم والحمد لله الذى
عجل عليه بالعطب والدمار على يدي فانظرا الى وجهه وافترسا فيه
فيبان لكما صدق مقالى ثم كشفت عن ردايه واورتهما² الخنجر
المخفى تحت ثيابه فلما سمعا جوابيا وما شرحت لهما في خطابيا
وميزا تمييزا بليعا وجه التاجر الكذوب الغدار [f. 109a] عرفاد جيد
المعرفة وتحققا انه بياع الزيت بعينه وبروية الخنجر علما صريحا ان

¹ So in MS. for روضا.

² MS. ازدا.

³ So in MS. for وارتهما, cf. n. 1 on p. 370.

انجاهما الله من خطر عظم ومن عذب جسم بوسيلة جاريتيهما
 مرجانة وثخنتا صدق مقالها وعظمت لديهما جرأة قلبها وفعالها فعند
 ذلك شكرهما على فعلها الحميد ومدحا جود رايتها السديد ثم
 ان قال لها على بابا لما استغثتك سابقا او عدتكي على اكثر من
 ذلك فبقتصى في هذه الساعة ان اوف بعدي وانجز بوعدى وان
 ابين لك ما كنت اضمرت في مقابلة ما صنعني معنا من الخير
 واجازيك على حسن فعلك وهو ان زوجتك بابنى محمد فما
 نقولان في ذلك فاجابه محمد [f. 109b] قايلا لك السمع
 والطاعة فيما دبرت ورسمت ولا اخالك فيما نبيت وافسمت
 ولو كان شئ يشجرني او يثقلني اما زواج مرجانة فهو غاية مرادى
 ونياية ومقصودى وذلك لانه كان يعشتها من زمان وشغف فيها وص
 الى الغاية وادرك النياية لما كان فيها من الحسن والجمال والبياء
 والكمال ولما حوت من جودة التريجة وحسن الاخلاق ولما جمعت
 من كريم الاعل وطيّب الاعراق ثم شرعوا في دفن القايدين فحشروا له في
 البستان حميرة واسعة قبرود فيبسا ولحف باعجاب المحرومين الكثرة
 الملاعين وما شعر احد من خلق الله ببذد الامور الغريبة والانتافات
 [f. 110a] العجيبة واما ما كان من امر حنوته انه لما غاب عنه مدد
 مستطيلة من الزمان وما ظهر عنه خبر وما بان له اثر استولى بيت
 المال على ما كان يحويه من المتاع وعلى غير ذلك من امواله
 وممتلكاته ثم لما استكثروا واعطوا في اوطانهم ارتكنوا¹ ورافت الامور
 وظهر السرور وارتفع السرور تزوج محمد بالجارية مرجانة وكتب عقد
 نكاحها عند قاضى المسلمين ودفع لها صداقيا والتزم بما تأخر منه
 جمعوا الناس واقاموا الافراح وسبوا في الليالى الملاح وعملوا الولائم

¹ MS. ارتكنوا.

والضبايات وجمعوا ارباب الملاهي والمغانى واهل السخريات الى
ان جلوسها عليه، وخلصا بها [f. 110b] وازال بكارنيا ودام الفرج ثلاثة
ايام ثم لما مضى سنه كامله من بعد هذد الامور نوى على بابا
الذهاب الى الكنز وكان يمنع من ذلك بعد موت اخيه خوفا
من غدر التصور فلما اباد الله منيهم بمائة وثلاثين رجلا على يدي
مرجائه وهلك بعدهم التايد من ان الماني منيهم رجلا لان كان
عندهم في الجبل ووجدتهم اربعين شخصا فلذلك توفت عن الذهاب
هذد المدة كثيرا خوفا من غدرهم فلما عدم خبرهم ولا ظبر لهم اثر
بعين نفقدهم وتجاوز على التوجه فاخذ معه ابنة رجل يرب الكنز
ويعلمه سر الوصول اليه والدخول فيه فلما دارا من الكنز وجدا
العشب [f. 111a] والعويج والشوك قد نكثف قرب الباب
وسد الطريق فعلموا من ذلك ان من مدة مستطيلة لم يدخل في
الكنز انس انيس ولا حس حسس فعند ذلك تبغذا بلاك اللصين
الباقيين وزال خوفهما وتجاوزا على التقدم والعبور فاخذ على بابا
فاسه وقطع العشب والشوك حتى اتسع له المنيج ومنك الوصول
الى الباب ثم قال يا سمسم افتح بابك فانفتح الباب ودخل منه
هو وابنه ففرجه على ما يحوي من الاموال والغرايب والتخف
والعجايب فميت من روي ذلك وتعجب غاية العجب فلما جالا
في الكنز دارا وشقا في فاعانه وسارا واكتفا [f. 111b] من تقلب
الجواهر والمعادن عزوا على الرجوع فعند ذلك اخذا ما عجيبه
من لطائف الكنز وهو ما خف حملهم وظلي لهم وعادا الى منزلهما
وسرين ولكسب الاموال فرحانين وما زالوا ينتقلون من الكنز ما
يريدون وهم في ارغد عيش واحناد الى ان اتاهم هادم اللذات ومفرق
الجماعات ومخرب التصور ومعمر القبور وهذا اخر ما انتبى اليينا من

حديثهم وناية ما بلغنا من اخبار قديمهم وحديثهم من خط العبد
 الفقير الراجي غفران مولاد العلى القدير يوحنا بن يوسف وارسى
 تجاوز الله عن زلاته وسبائاته واجزل ثوابه وحسناته وجعل
 [f. 112a] الفردوس مشواد ودار النخل مأواذ انه على كل شى قدير
 وبلاجابة جدير¹

. حديث MS.¹

SENNACHERIB'S CAMPAIGNS ON THE NORTH-WEST AND HIS WORK AT NINEVEH

By T. G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

THE British Museum having been fortunate enough to acquire a new historical document from Assyria of considerable importance, it has been thought that (notwithstanding that an excellent translation and commentary upon it, from the pen of the copyist of the text, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, has been published) a few notes concerning it would not be without interest to the readers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and more particularly those whose studies deal with the pre-Christian Semitic East, especially the tract lying north-west of the Persian Gulf.

The inscription referred to is one of the large cylinders, or rather prisms, which the Assyrian kings were accustomed to use for the recording of the events of their reigns: and, incidentally, their own military glories, and their architectural works. The occasion of their composition was generally the last-named, and the king made use of the opportunity thus offered to give an account of his achievements on the field of battle. Warlike by nature, the Assyrians regarded military prowess as being of the greatest importance. After that came the building or rebuilding of the temples of their gods, who gave them the victories of which they boasted: and hardly second to this was the building of palaces, the outward and visible sign of their own power.

This newly-acquired prism-cylinder, which closely resembles many others from the same country, is of baked clay, and has, upon its eight faces, an inscription of

740 lines devoted to the campaigns and the architectural work of Sennacherib, king of Assyria from 704 to 681 B.C. Though all the campaigns recorded here are given by other texts, and are therefore well known, the inscription upon this cylinder is a document of the first importance, in that it not only treats of two campaigns in which he did not personally take part, but it throws fresh light on the personality of that remarkable and somewhat ruthless king, who, whatever he may have been to those who saw in him a merciless enemy, was for his own countrymen a wise and beneficent ruler, advancing the welfare of his subjects by every means in his power.

There is no need to go through the history of the reign of Sennacherib further than to say that the present text gives, in the selfsame words as the other inscriptions of his reign,¹ the usual honorific introduction: his first campaign, which was against Merodach-baladan: his second, which was directed against the Kassites and the Yašubi-galleans: his third, which was against Hatti, the object being to chastise Hezekiah and set things right, in accordance with his own views, at Ekron: his fourth, which was against the Chaldean state of Bit-Yakin: and his fifth, undertaken to subjugate certain cities occupying the mountain fastnesses of Mesopotamia. It is after these narratives that the sections containing the account of certain important campaigns not conducted by himself, but by his generals, begin. The following is the text of these in transcription, with translation appended (Col. IV, ll. 61 ff.):—

61. *Ina limu Šul-mu-bēli ša-kin āl Ri-mu-si*
62. *u-Ki-ru-a ūm-bēl-āli ša āl Il-lu-ub-ri*
63. *ūm-ārdu da-gil pa-ni-ia ša iz-zi-bu-šu ilāni-šu*
64. *ba-hu-la-te āl Hi-lak-ki*
65. *uš-bal-kit-ma ik-su-ra la-hu-za*
66. *nīšē a-ši-bu-ut āl In-gi-ra-a u āl Tar-zi*

¹ The Bellino-cylinder, Taylor-cylinder, and other texts.

67. *i-da-a-šu is-hu-ru-ma gir-ri mât Qu-e*
 68. *iš-ba-tu ip-ru-su a-lak-tu*
 69. *am.Šabē isqāšti na-ši tuk-ši â as-ma-ri-e*
 70. *isnarkabāti sisē ki-sir šurpā-ti-ia*
 71. *u-ma'-ir ši-ru-uš-šu-un*
 72. *ša ba-hu-la-te âl Hi-lak-ki*
 73. *ša i-da-a-šu is-hu-ru*
 74. *i-na ki-rih šal-i mur-si iš-ku-un taḫ-ta-šu-un*
 75. *âl In-gi-ra-a âlu Tu-ar-za ik-šu-du-ma*
 76. *iš-lu-lu šal-la-su-un*
 77. *ša-a-šu ki-rih âl Il-lu-ub-ri âl du-u-ru-ti-šu*
 78. *ni-tum il-mu-šu-ma iš-ba-tu mu-šu-šu*
 79. *i-na qar-ruḫ su-pi-e muu-gal-li dū-ri*
 80. *â lah-ban-na-te mi-l-hu-šu zu-uk šépē*
 81. *taḫ-da-a-šu iš-ku-un-ma iš-ba-tu âla*
 82. *m.Ki-ru-a amṭabēl-âli a-di šal-lat âlāni-šu*
 83. *â nišē âl Hi-lak-ki ša i-da-a-šu*
 84. *iš-hu-ru a-di emere âlpr â še-e-ni*
 85. *a-na âl Ni-na-a a-di maḫ-ri-ia âb-lu-ni*
 86. *ša m.Ki-ru-a ma-šak-šu a-ku-us*
 87. *u-tir-ma âl Il-lu-ub-ri a-na eš-šu-te as-bat*
 88. *nîšē mâtṭāti ki-šit-ti qātē-ia i-na lib-bi u-še-ših*
 89. *šukukki uAššur bēli-ia ki-rih-ša u-šar-ma*
 90. *âbunurâ-a ša âmuparâti u-še-piš-ma*
 91. *ma-har-šu ul-zi-i-z.*

61. In the eponymy of Šalmu-bēli, governor of the city of Rinnusu,

62. Kirua, prefect of the city of Illubru,

63. an official dependent upon me, whose gods forsake him,

64. caused the people of the city Hilakku

65. to revolt, and gathered an army.

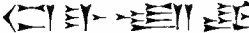
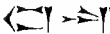
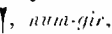
66. The people inhabiting the cities of Ingirâ and Tarsus

67. rallied around him and the road of the land of Que

68. they occupied—they stopped the way.

69. The bowmen, shield (?) and spearmen,

70. chariots, (and) horses of the army of my kingdom,
71. I sent against them.
72. As for the people of the city of Hīlakku
73. who had rallied to his side,
74. they accomplished their defeat among the difficult mountains.
75. They captured the cities Ingirā (and) Tarsus, and
76. carried off their spoil.
77. Him within the city of Illubru, his fortified city,
78. they surrounded with a barrier, and took his exits.
79. With advance of engines, catapults, fortifications,¹
80. and earthworks, attack of foot-soldiers,
81. they accomplished his overthrow, and took the city.
82. Kirna, the governor, with the spoil of his cities,
83. and the people of the city Hīlakku who had
84. rallied to him, with asses, oxen, and sheep,
85. they brought to Nineveh to my presence.
86. I flayed off the skin of Kirua.
87. I returned and took the city of Illubru anew.
88. I settled therein the people of the countries, the conquests of my hands.
89. The emblem of Aššur my lord I set up within it—
90. I caused my memorial-slab of alabaster to be made, and
91. set it up before it.

¹ The characters which I have translated "catapults, fortifications"—a provisional rendering—are , *numgalli duri*, translated by King "great flies of the wall", though he further suggests that they were siege-engines, "probably with an armoured roof expanding rearward like a fly's wings." As all Assyriologists know, the character *num* ("fly") is used, in the Flood-legend, to indicate something corresponding with the rainbow in the Biblical account, and a great cross-bow or ballista may have suggested, to the imagination of the Assyrians, a giant fly with outspread wings. It is also noteworthy that the word for "lightning" in Sumero-Akkadian is , *num-gir*, "fly-sword." Cf. also , *zumbi-abni*, "the fly of stone," perhaps a catapult or ballista for throwing great pebbles. In Boissier's *Dirination*, p. 6, this group should be followed by ZA-GIN, Semitic *zumbi dānu ukū*, "lapis-fly," a name probably due to its colour.

From this campaign we learn that "the city of H̄ilakku" (from which the name of Cilicia apparently comes) was the capital of the district known as Que, a tract often invaded by the Assyrian kings; and it is therefore probable that Que was the Assyrian designation of the district known classically as Cilicia, though there is naturally doubt whether the boundaries coincided, even approximately. The residence of the governor was called Illubru. The name of the governor, Kirua, suggests that he was not an Assyrian, which would explain how it was that he desired to throw off the Assyrian yoke. To accomplish this, he persuaded the people of the city of H̄ilakku to revolt. Having been joined by the people of Ingirā and Tarzu (Tarsus), Kirua seems to have felt himself strong enough to resist the forces which, as he expected, Sennacherib would send against him. Being a mountainous region, they thought they could hold the Cilician way (*girri māt Que*), and thus stem the tide of invasion. In this they were disappointed, however, for after defeating the united forces, in the difficult mountainous country (where the Cilicians naturally expected to be successful), the Assyrians captured Ingirā and Tarsus. Kirua was then besieged within his capital Illubru by the Assyrians, with all their warlike devices (for at this time they apparently aimed at efficiency, and evidently with much success). The end was what a governor who had turned traitor might expect, for he was brought to Nineveh on the capture of his city and flayed, in all probability alive. The wording of the record leads one to think that the Assyrians had to abandon the city, probably for fear of being cut off from their base. A second expedition was therefore sent to retake it, and to settle therein captives from other lands which the Assyrian arms had conquered.

According to Alexander Polyhistor, it was in consequence of having received a report that the Greeks had made a descent upon Cilicia that Sennacherib marched against

them. He fought with them a pitched battle, in which, though he suffered great loss, he nevertheless overthrew them, and erected upon the spot a statue of himself as a monument of his victory, ordering his prowess to be inscribed thereon "in Chaldean characters", in order to hand down the record to posterity. Sennacherib does not claim to have set up an image of himself, but only a symbol of his god ASSUR. He placed there, however, a memorial-slab giving an account of the conquest, and though it is not mentioned, there may well have been a bas-relief, representing the king, above the inscription. Polyhistor states that Sennacherib marched to the conquest of Cilicia in person, but the cylinder indicates that this was not the case, so that he did not in reality know what his generals there had done in the matter of memorials of the exploit.

Polyhistor also states that Sennacherib built (better rebuilt) the city of Tarsus, after the likeness of Babylon, and called it Tharsis.¹ If this were really the case, excavations on the site might result in the discovery of a record of the fact that the Assyrian king had become a creator rather than a destroyer, for Babylon itself suffered greatly at his hands in consequence of his resentment at the opposition to his rule which it had offered, and which his son Esarhaddon's mildness and favours towards the city were powerless to remove. Perhaps, however, it was rather to make a rival than a counterpart of Babylon that Sennacherib desired. With regard to the change of name, that the new inscription does not throw much light upon—perhaps it was at a later date that the change took place. The spelling on the cylinder is 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Tar-zu*, and 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *Ta-ar-zu*, both of which were read in the same way.

¹ So according to the Armenian text—cf. Schoene's Eusebius, col. 27, and *Eusebii Pamphili Chronicon Bipartitum*, by P. Jo. Baptist Aucher, Venice, 1818, p. 21.

namely, *Tarzu*, or, possibly, *Tharzu*. The presence of *z* for Armenian *s* is in accordance with the spelling which was common among the Semites, the Phœnician form of the name being תרז.

The name of the city is found as early as the time of Shalmaneser II, who, in his Black-Obelisk Inscription, states that, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, having crossed Mount Amanus for the seventh time, he went for the fourth time against the cities of Kati, ruler of the Qauians (people of Que or Cilicia). After subjugating Tanakun, a fortified city belonging to a chieftain named Tulka, and ravaging the land of Lamena, Shalmaneser marched against Tarzu (Tarsus), which submitted, and paid tribute in silver and gold. Kati, the ruler of the city, was deposed, and his brother Kirri raised to the sovereignty over the people in his stead.

Though this is the only previous mention of Tarsus, it is not the only mention of Que or Qau, as Cilicia was called, in the Assyrian inscriptions: and there is no knowing at present how far back their connexions with, and consequently their incursions into, that district go, for the Cappadocian inscriptions, which are essentially Assyrian, show that Assyrian influence had reached that point, and probably gone even farther west, about 2000 years B.C. or earlier. Tukulti-Ninip (Tukulti-En-usāti), about 1275 B.C., warred in the same direction, but it is doubtful whether he went so far as Cilicia. Among the predecessors of Sennacherib who warred in that part of Asia Minor, however, may be mentioned Tiglath-pileser III, who received tribute from Urikku or Uriaiku of Que, and Sennacherib's father Sargon, who seems to have taken a city in that province whose name begins with Ab- . . . , which had been already captured by Mitâ, king of Muski or Mesech. Other cities of Que, which Sargon afterwards refers to as having been annexed by Mitâ, are Harrua and Ušnanis, which had been in his possession some time. These were

restored to their original province, probably under an Assyrian governor—to whom, indeed, Sargon refers; and it is to his efforts that the success of the Assyrian arms seems to have been due.

The second additional campaign contained in the new text took place apparently during the following year, and follows immediately upon that translated and discussed above. It refers to operations in Tubal, but is unfortunately not so well preserved, though several of the lines can be restored from duplicate texts:—¹

1. *I-na li-mu Aššur-bêl-ušur úrēluša-kin . . .*
2. *a-na áli Til-ga-ri-[im-mu]*
3. *a-lum ša pa-a-ti máat Tu-[ba-li]*
4. *ša m. Hi-li-i šarru-tu-[us-su]*
5. *ir-ku-su iḥkakk[ē-ia]*
6. *as-su-uk-ma úrēlušabē gišqáštu na-ši [tuk-ši]*
7. *ú as-ma-ri-e iḥnarkaboti si[sē]*
8. *ki-šir šarru-ti-ia u-ma-ir ši-ru-uš-ša*
9. *álu šu-a-tum ni-i-tum al-mu-ma*
10. *i-na maš-pak e-pi-ri á kur-ru-u[b šu-pi-i]*
11. *mit-hu-su zu-[uk šépē i]š-ba-[tu álu]*
12. *nišē a-di ilāni [a-sib lib-bi-su am-nu šal-la-ti-iš]*
13. *Alu šu-a-tum [iq-qu-ru]*
14. *a-na tili [á kar-me u-tir-ru]*
15. *i-na šal-lat mátaf[i (pl.) ša aš-lu-lu]*
16. *šelašá le'im [iḥqášti . . . a]-ri-t[u]*
17. *i-na [lib-bu-šu-nu a]k-šur-ma*
18. *ē[li ki-šir šarru-ti-ia] u-rad-di*
19. *[si-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri] ka-bit-tu*
20. *[a-na gi-mir karāši-ia] bēl-pihāti (pl.) -ia*
21. *[u nišē ma-ḥa-za-ni-ia] rabāti*
22. *[kima ši-e-ni lu]-u-za-iz*

1. In the eponymy of Aššur-bêl-ušur, prefect of . . .

2. to the city Til-garimmu,

¹ I have adopted the restorations given by Mr. King in the British Museum publication referred to.

3. a city of the borders of the land of Tubal,
4. whose kingdom Hidi
5. had consolidated, my weapons
6. I sent down, and bowmen, bearers of shields
7. and lances, chariots, horses,
8. my royal force, I sent against him.
9. I surrounded that city (with) a wall, and
10. with heaping-up of embankments, and advance of
siege-engines.
11. attack of infantry, they took the city.
12. The people with the gods dwelling within it I counted
as spoil.
13. That city they destroyed :
14. to a mound and heaps they reduced (it).
15. Among the spoil of the lands, which I carried off
16. 30,000 [bows and . . .] shields
17. I collected among them, and
18. added to the (military) store of my kingdom.
19. [The rest of the] heavy [spoil of the enemy]
20. [to the whole of my camp], my provincial governors,
21. [and the people of my] great [cities]
22. like sheep I distributed.

Til-garinnu has been identified with the Biblical Togarmah, but it cannot be said that the two forms afford satisfactory material for a philological comparison, at least in the present state of our knowledge. Sennacherib had already made an expedition into the neighbourhood of Tubal, when he went against Tamurru, Sarum or Sarma (𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶), Ezama, Kipsu, Halbuda, Qûa, and Qana, "whose situations are placed, like the nest of an eagle, the prince of birds, upon the height of the land Nipur, a difficult mountain." The king complains of the difficulties and fatigues of the march, and of having to rest sitting upon a stone, and drink cold water from a bottle of skin. On this occasion

he attacked also the cities of Maniae of the city of Ukku, which he captured, carrying off their spoil, together with the plunder of thirty-three cities of the neighbouring district. Sennacherib's bull-inscriptions, Nos. 2 and 3, speak also of a march to Hilakku (Cilicia), whose people dwelt in lofty wooded heights; but he slaughtered them "like lambs". To this he adds (as also in the text of his memorial-slab) that he captured and reduced to ruins the city Til-garimmu, on the borders of the land of Tubal. It seems not improbable that this latter reference, which is tacked on to the end of the account of the expedition to the mountain-cities, is the same as that of which a longer account is given in the new cylinder-inscription.

But the longest section of the text on this new and exceedingly interesting cylinder is that recording Sennacherib's work at Nineveh, in the walls of which the monument in question is supposed to have been found. This portion of the text, which occupies no less than three-quarters of column v, and the whole of columns vi, vii, and viii (345 lines), gives an idea of the importance which Sennacherib attached to the work. Whether the length of this part shows he had recognized that he would be remembered as a builder rather than as a conqueror, or that he desired to be so remembered, is doubtful, but fate had ordained that he should go down to posterity as the ruthless and rapacious ravager, who more than once felt the heavy hand of the vengeful and jealous God of the Hebrews.

The introduction to the account of the work done at Nineveh, which occupies twenty-nine lines, gives a general description of the Assyrian capital as the city beloved of the goddess Ištar, wherein exist all the shrines of the gods and goddesses. It is described as the eternal ground-work, the everlasting foundation, whose design had been fashioned and whose structure shone forth from of old with the writing of the (starry) heavens. It was a place

craftily wrought, wherein was the seat of the oracle, and all kinds of art-works, every kind of shrine, treasure, thing of delight (?). It was there that all the kings his fathers had ruled the land of Assyria before him, and had directed the followers of the god Enlil.¹ None of the kings, however, had turned his mind, as Sennacherib had done, to the widening of the city's area, to building the city wall, to straightening the streets, and none of them had had his attention directed to digging a canal, nor planting a plantation. Nor had he set his mind upon the palace therein, the lordly habitation, whose site had become too small, and whose construction was not artistic. It was to all these things that Sennacherib, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, turned his mind and his attention, according to the will of the gods.

For this purpose he set the people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Mannites or Armenians, Que and Hilakku (both mentioned as countries, though in the historical part the latter appears as a city), the land of Pilišti (Philistia), and the land of Tyre. All these nationalities, who had not submitted to his yoke, he carried away, and placed them in servitude, and they made the bricks for the extension and beautifying of the city. The former palace, which extended to 360 cubits in length and 95 in breadth, he found too small for his needs, and also too plain in its architecture for his taste, notwithstanding that they had had alabaster (?) quarried in the city of Tasiate on the Tigris, and brought down on rafts (literally "ships") for the winged bulls and lions which ornamented the gates of the palace. For these rafts they had cut down great trees throughout their land. It was at the time of the spring floods in the month of Iyyar that they brought them over with difficulty to the Nineveh side of the river. "At the crossing of the quay walls,"

¹ Probably the Babylonians in general, in which case "the older Enlil" may not be intended, but Bel-Merodach.

Sennacherib says, "the great boats [*u²ma-gula*] sank deep, their crews groaned, their bodies were distressed; with hardship and labour, toilingly they brought them, and set them up in their gates."

This palace, however, was doomed to disaster, for the River Tebiltu, a violent stream, had since remote days sought to reach the palace, and in its flood had caused damage to the foundation, and destroyed the platform or terrace. This small palace Sennacherib pulled down entirely, turned the course of the Tebiltu from the middle of the city, and directed its outflow to the district behind. With the aid of great blocks of stone, reeds, and other material, Sennacherib reclaimed from another river, the Khosr, a piece of land 340 cubits in length by 289 in width, taking also a portion of ground belonging to the city, in accordance with the plan. This was added to the extent of the former platform, and its surface was raised to a height of 190 *tipki*. In order that this sub-structure should not be weakened in course of time by the violence of the current, the terrace-foundation was faced round with great blocks of stone. The palace itself was enlarged to a length of 700 great *suklum* and a width of 440, and palaces (that is, separate sections or divisions of the whole structure) were then built, and adorned with gold, silver, bronze, *santu*-stone, *tur-mina-banda*-stone,¹ white limestone, ivory, *ušu*-wood, *urkarinnu*-wood, palm, cedar, cypress, *burašu*, *ēlammaku*, and *sindūt*-woods. He then caused a gateway to be made after the likeness of that of a Hittite palace. Beams of sweet-smelling cedar and cypress, the produce of Amanus, and Sirara of the white mountains, were then set up over them, and doors of cedar, cypress, *burašu*, and *sindūt*, covered with a plating of copper, were hung in its gateway. Some of these details are naturally difficult to understand, because there are no remains of the superstructure of the palace;

¹ King: *braccia*.

but excavations have shown that the Hittite palaces, like those of Assyria, were decorated with winged bulls and lions, and it would seem, therefore, as though the Assyrians borrowed the style from them. This probability, moreover, is all the more worthy of notice, because Assyrian sculpture seems to be midway between that of Babylonia and the Hittites, the Assyrians having apparently come into contact with the nations to the north and west of them at an early date (it is known that there was an Assyrian colony at Kaisariéh about 2000 years before Christ) and absorbed many new ideas upon art and other things, whilst still keeping, however, their own national characteristics.

In the shrines which were within the royal chambers, Sennacherib opened *apti birri*, regarded as meaning "light-holes", or windows. This is followed by a description of certain female winged colossi of a white stone and ivory, which, he says, carried *illurn*, possibly columns placed upon their backs as an artistic support for the top of the shrine or recess. These female colossi are described as being mantled in the power of life with strength and lustiness, and curving their fingers (or talons), as Meissner and King seem rightly to translate. "I set (them) up in their gates (entrances) and caused (them) to pass as a wonderment," says the king. If one might make a suggestion with regard to these interesting decorative statuettes (for such they seem to have been), they were probably the same as, or similar to, the beautiful winged lioness found by the late George Smith in 1873-4. "A very curious and beautiful little specimen [he says], discovered at Kouyunjik, is a small model in fine yellow stone of a winged cow or bull, with a human head, the neck adorned with a necklace, the head surmounted by a cylindrical cap adorned with horns and rosette ornaments, and wings over the back. On the top of the wings stands the base of a column, having the uniform pattern found on Assyrian

bases." ¹ He gives the dimensions as being 3 inches long, present height (the feet being broken off) 3 inches, probable original height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, height of base of column three-quarters of an inch: total breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The object found by George Smith might also be regarded as a winged lioness-sphinx as well as a human-headed cow, there being no indication of the udder whatever. The nearly cylindrical hat is adorned with three horns springing from each side (six in all) and terminating in front. The rosettes at the top are surmounted by a row of feathers, and the feathers of the wings extend down as far as the thighs of the fore-legs.

Architectural details concerning the newly-erected palace follow. He speaks of the lighting of the recesses of the chambers, which he made "like the day", and the interiors he surrounded with decorative ornaments of silver and copper (is this the Assyrian for bronze made with an alloy of silver?). They were also decorated with burnt brick and valuable stone, one of the kinds mentioned being lapis-lazuli. Some of the great trees used for the decoration and building of his palace, Sennacherib says, were planted in secret places among the mountains within the land of Sirara, and their position—the place where they grew—was revealed to him by his gods Aššur and Ištar, lovers of his priesthood. The stone (marble or alabaster) used was that regarded in the times of his fathers as precious for the decoration of the sheath of a sword. This was discovered in the land (or mountain) of Ammanana, and the *tur-mina-banda*-stone used for the great receptacles of the palace, which had never been seen before, occurred in the city of Kabri-dargilâ, on the boundary of Til-barsip (identified with the modern Birejik). The white limestone used for the winged bulls and lions, and the sculptured images of alabaster, which was found in abundance, came from the district of the

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, by George Smith (2nd ed., 1875), pp. 430-1.

city of the Balatians near Nineveh. The bulls and lions were made in a single block of stone, and it is noteworthy that the transportation of these, probably for the palace in question, is represented more than once on the slabs from Sennacherib's palace, which were discovered by Layard and are now in the British Museum. Everyone recognizes in them wonderfully instructive illustrations of the way in which the great Assyrian palaces were constructed—how the mounds were raised by the forced labour of many captives, and how the unfinished colossal bulls were dragged up to their places on the platforms. The king speaks of the female colossi as being perfect in form, and their bodies as shining like the bright day—words doubtless intended to describe the brilliant effect which they must have had when first set up in all their original and pristine newness. The slabs used in the construction of the palace were cut off on both sides whilst still in their mountain, detached, and transported to Nineveh. Some of the winged bulls, lions, and female colossi, however, were completed in the district of the Balatians, and brought to Nineveh (to all appearance) afterwards.

At this point Sennacherib touches upon another subject, namely, the casting of bronze. He says that when in earlier days the kings his fathers desired to make an image of themselves in bronze to set up within the palaces, they caused all the artisans to groan in their reproduction, and from want of instruction and comprehension of the matter, poured out oil and sheared sheep in their land for the work of their desire. Whether this refers to divination by means of oil and the making of offerings, as King suggests, I am unable to say, but it seems very probable. Sennacherib, however, "the chief of all kings, who has knowledge of work of every kind," through the clever understanding which the (divine) prince Nin-igi-azaga (the god Êa) had conferred, by his own research,

he took into deep consideration, and by the counsel of his understanding and the inquiry of his mind, he constructed the bronze-work and produced it artistically. By his superior science, therefore, he was able to make great columns of bronze, and colossal lions "open of knee"—that is, in all probability, with the legs separated from each other, and not joined by the core of metal which the kings preceding him had to content themselves with when they caused similar work to be executed. Of great beams and smaller woodwork he made, therefore, the framework for twelve great polished lions, with twelve glorious (bull and lion) colossi, which were perfect in form: and twenty-two female colossi mantled with glorious strength and benevolence, and abounding in exuberant force.

According to the command of the god, then, Sennacherib made moulds of clay, and poured the bronze within them, and as in the casting of half-shekel pieces, he made their form perfect. Two of these brazen colossi were overlaid with what is suggested to have been gilding, and were placed, with others of limestone and male and female colossi of alabaster, in the gates of his palaces. The king then speaks of the "sublime columns of copper", with the great columns of cedar, the produce of Mount Amanus, which he covered with copper and lead (probably an alloy formed with these two metals), and erected upon lion-colossi, setting up beams as a framing for their doorways. Then upon female colossi of alabaster, with those made of bronze, which were covered with gilding ('), and yet others made of a substance called *gu-anna* (possibly a kind of zinc), whose forms were brilliant, he erected columns of all the kinds of wood regarded by the Assyrians as precious—*ušu*-wood, cypress, cedar, *duprānu*, pine, and *sindā*, on which a plating of *pasulli*-metal and silver was placed, and erected as the colonnades (') of "his lordly dwelling".

To this point the text agrees with that of Meissner and Rost in their *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, taken from texts

already well known. The references to images of mountain-wethers which that edition contains are omitted, but the great slabs of *tor-mina-banda*, alabaster, etc., for the walls of the chambers are referred to, though in a somewhat shorter form than in Meissner and Rost. In both texts the slabs are described as being produced wonderfully, from which may be gathered that the king refers to the bas-reliefs with which they were sculptured. Next comes his account of the irrigation-works which he instituted. In order to have water daily in abundance, he caused swinging beams and buckets of bronze to be constructed, and set up the necessary framework over the wells—a description of the *shadouf*, with which many travellers in the East are well acquainted. “As for those palaces,” says Sennacherib. “I caused them to be produced beautifully—the surroundings of the palace I made delightful as the wonderment of multitudes of people—I called its name ‘The Palace which has no rival.’”

The next thing described by Sennacherib is the great park, “like *Monmt Amanus*,” which he planted, wherein were all herbs and fruit-trees, trees produced on the mountains, and in the land of Chaldea, with trees bearing wool. This, as Mr. L. W. King points out,¹ must be a reference to the growing of cotton, as is shown by the statement that the material was used for clothing (see below). Here, again, the text differs from that translated by Meissner and Rost, which also refers to the park (or, rather, plantation) in question, but omits the description of the wool-trees.

And now we come to Sennacherib's work upon the city of Nineveh, that great city concerning which there is still so much mystery—mystery which will continue to exist until not only the ruins of the site in its narrowest

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, December, 1909, pp. 339 ff.

sense, but all the outlying districts, including the suburbs incorporated as time went on, shall have been explored.

From ancient times, the king says, the area of the city had been 9300 cubits in its circuit (*tisīt lūim šalšet meat ina isten āmmat šābat limēti-šu*), and he makes the rather surprising statement that the princes going before him had not caused the inner and outer walls to be constructed, which, if true, shows how confident they were that the place would never be taken by an enemy, at least in their time. This, however, must have made it all the easier for the king to add the extra 12,515 (cubits) by which he claims to have enlarged its extent. This text also gives us the important information that the *suklum*, a measure of which the equivalence has been hitherto unknown, is the same as the $\equiv\text{III}\equiv$, which is generally read *āmmat*, or cubit. The great wall of which he records the laying of the foundations was called *Bud-ingula-bi-la kurra-šaša*, which he translates as *dāru ša umrīru-ša nakīru saḫpu*, "The wall whose glory overthrows the enemy." He made the brickwork 40 (?) cubits thick, which would probably not greatly exceed the estimate of the late George Smith, who reckoned it to have been about 50 feet, but added that excavation would probably decide that point—it would certainly decide the length of the measure designated $\equiv\text{III}\equiv$ or *suklum*, as used in Assyria. The height of the walls he raised to 180 *tipki*, which, according to Diodorus, should amount to a total of about 100 feet. In this great wall he caused to be opened "to the four winds" fifteen gates—"before and behind, on both sides, for exit and entrance." He then proceeds to give their names:—*Libur-iššak-Aššur*, "May the viceroy of the god Aššur be strong," was the name of the gate of Aššur of the city of Aššur; *Sapin-gimir-nakiri*, "the overwheeler of the whole of the enemy," was the name of the gate of Sennacherib of the land of Halzi; whilst *Enlil mukín-palā*, "Enlil

establisher of my rule," was the appellation of the gate of Šamaš of Gagal. *Šu-Sin-āhē-ēriba itti manzalti-ērikki kinni-pasi-šu*, "Establish the reign of Sennacherib with the constellation of the coat-of-mail," was the long name of the gate of Enlil of the city of Kar-Ninlil: whilst the covered gate had the comparatively short name of *Mušēsat-šir-āsakki*. "Sender forth of the flesh of the fever." The gate of the city Šibaniba was called *Dunnuq ašnan ā rubši (?) kirib-ša kīan*, "the choice of wheat and cattle remains within it:" whilst the gate of Ḫalahhi (Halah) in Mesopotamia—probably not Cilicia, which is Ḫilakku—was called *Babilat ḫizib ḫursāni*, "the bringer of the produce of the wooded heights." These were the gates looking towards the sunrise, facing the south and east.

Turning to the other side, *Adad šarik ḫengalli ana mātī*, "Hadad, bestower of abundance on the land," was the name of the gate of Adad as god of richness of vegetation: *Ura šāyēš zamaṇi* (var. *agḡabi*)-ia, "Ura, destroyer of my enemies," was that of the gate of Hadad of the city of Tarbišu: and *Nannara nasir āgi bēlūti*-ia, "Namar, protector of the crown of my dominion," was the name he appropriately gave to the gate of Šin, the moon-god. This made a total of three gates facing the north.

The third and final section gives the names of the five gates on the west. *Ēa mušēšir kappi*-ia, "Ea, the director of my water-springs," was the name of the gate of the watering-places; *Mušēribat miḫirti dadmi*, "the bringer-in of the tribute of the peoples," was that of the Quay-gate; *Katrē Sumu'ili ā Tēme kirib-ša irrub*, "the presents of the Sumu'ilites and the Tēmites enter within it," was the name of the gate of the land of Bari. *Pakidat kalama*, "the guardian of everything," was the gate of the tribute palace or armoury—possibly a museum of all that the Assyrians considered as curious and precious in the way

of tribute, gifts, and trophies. Finally, there was *Šar-ur mušamqit a(y)ab šarri*, "Šar-ur, who overthrows the foe of the king," which was the name of the gate *ḫandlāri*, a word of doubtful meaning. "Altogether five gates of the direction of the west."

Here Sennacherib gives an account of the outer wall, named *Bal-niq-erim-ḫuluhḫa*, "that which terrifies the enemy," as he translates it. The depth of the foundations of the wall was for the purpose of frustrating any attempts at undermining. Digging down 54 *gar*, the workmen reached "the waters of the underground courses", and at that point blocks of stone were placed as a foundation, and it was then carried up to the height fixed upon for the coping with further massive blocks. *Unakkil šipir-ša*, "I made skilful its work," the king concludes. He then repeats that he enlarged the area of Nineveh, the city of his dominion, broadening its open spaces, and making it bright "like the day"—an improvement which Oriental cities often want even more than Occidental ones. The outer wall, which he had caused to be constructed, he made high like a mountain. Above and below the city he constructed plantations setting therein the vegetation of the mountains and the countries around—all the (sweet-smelling) herbs of the land of Heth (Palestine and Phœnicia), and plants called *marri*, among which, more than in the homeland, fruitfulness increased. Every kind of mountain-vine, and all the fruits of the nations, (sweet-smelling) herbs, and *šindū*-trees Sennacherib planted for his subjects (*ba'ali*: probably the higher classes of the people—lords or chiefs—are meant).

And this naturally leads the king to speak of the arrangements he made for the water-supply, which was of the utmost importance, not only for his parks and plantations, but also for the city in general. The water of the Khosr, an important stream flowing through

Nineveh, had taken a low level for a considerable time, and "among the kings my fathers no one confines them, and they flow into the Tigris", he adds, using the present tense to give greater vividness to the narrative. To increase the sources of supply, therefore, he dug and caused a watercourse to be carried from the borders of the city of Kisirû, through height and lowland, and made the water available for the district of Nineveh, conducting it among those orchards by means of irrigation-channels. For the purpose of arranging the work and seeing for himself, he made a journey to a place called Bit-rêmâme, at the foot of Musri, a mountain, and ascending to the city of Elmuua-qinnâ with some difficulty, found wells above the cities Dûr-Istar, Šibaniba, and Sulu. The springs of these he enlarged, and turned into a reservoir. Difficult mountains and steep places were cut through with pickaxes, and the outflow was directed to the land around Nineveh. "I strengthened their channels like the heaping up of the hills," the king says, "I placed those waters within them—according to the plan I added them to the waters of the Hûsur (Khosr) for ever." With these, apparently, he watered all the people's orchards, and in winter a thousand cornfields above and below the city.

To stop the force of the current the king created a swamp, and planted reeds and rushes within it, and let loose there wild-fowl, wild-swine (lit. swine of the reeds), and some kind of forest-animal, possibly deer. In accordance with the word of the god (of the place), the vines, all the fruit-trees, the *širdû*-trees, and the herbs, thrived considerably more than in the homeland: the cypress, palm, and all the trees flourished, and produced shoots plentifully. The reed plantations prospered, the birds of heaven and the wild-fowl of distant places built their nests, and the wild-swine and forest-creatures spread abroad their young. The trees useful for building,

which grew on the spot, he used in the construction of his palaces. The trees bearing wool they stripped, and beat out for garments.

The completion of the work upon the palace was marked by a great festival, worthy of such a king, who, whatever may have been his conduct with regard to other nations, was at least mindful of the welfare of his own people. The gods and goddesses of Assyria were assembled in the palace, and victims in great number were sacrificed, and there the great king offered his gifts. There was oil from the *sindû*-trees (which must therefore have been the olive, or something similar), with produce from the plantations more than in the lands whence the trees therein came. At the dedication of the palace, he says, he saturated the heads of the people of his land, probably with the oil of those trees, and he filled their bodies with wine and mead. The inscription ends with the usual exhortation to those "among the kings his sons" who should come after:—

"For after days, among the kings my sons, whose name Aššur shall call for the shepherding of land and people—when this wall grows old and decays, let him renew its ruin, let him find the inscriptions written with my name and anoint them with oil; let him sacrifice a victim, and restore them to their place. Aššur and Ištar will hear his prayers."

After a double-ruled line comes the date—

"Month Ab, eponymy of Ilu-itti-ia, governor of Damascus."

A duplicate text gives another date, containing the day of the month (8th, 18th, or 28th), in the eponymy of . . . -uṣur, probably Nabû-bêl-uṣur, governor of a place ending in . . . -nunna. This official was eponym for the preceding year, so that the inscription was written in the year 696 B.C., and the cylinder itself a year later, namely, 695.

How many modern rulers could say that they have done as much for the capital of their country as Sennacherib claims to have done for Nineveh? He probably did not do it with his own money, but he saw to the work, and seemingly superintended it. The labour, too, was cheap, for it was that of the men captured in his wars, and tells, as only too commonly in those barbarous days, of the infliction of unspeakable hardship and misery on many of those unfortunate men, as may be judged from the representations of the task-masters over them, who, it is clear, were not sparing of the whip. We see the winged bulls, of colossal dimensions, sometimes lying down on the sledges (which are in the form of a boat or Assyrian ship), sometimes standing up, carefully propped so as to prevent breakage, being dragged and forced forward, upon rollers, by means of ropes and enormous levers. In the background are the soldiers of the guard, and behind them extensive wooded hills. In other sculptured pictures, however, it is apparently the pleasure-grounds of the palace which we see, with a background showing an avenue of trees, alternately tall and short, on the banks of the river, whereon are boats, and men riding astride on inflated skins. At what is apparently yet another stage of the journey, we see the great king himself in his hand-chariot superintending the work. The background consists of reeds and rushes, wherein are deer and a wild sow with a litter of young. One of the slabs copied by Layard he describes as "Obelisk or stone in boat". This is apparently floating in the water, and being dragged by long rows of labourers, who tug at the ropes attached to it. Many of them are naked, and all seem to be toiling in the water. The ropes attached to the boat-like sledges or rafts are excessively long, and even in the incomplete state of the slabs as Layard saw them, thirty-six men to each may be counted. The great pioneer of

Assyriological exploration gives an excellent drawing of a winged bull and winged human figure from one of the gates in the old wall of Nineveh, showing how very excellent the work of Sennacherib's stone-carvers was. It is said that some of these sculptures have of late years been destroyed, and if this be the case it is an irreparable loss. Fortunately, we have Layard's drawings of this and other monuments, but though really excellent they are but a poor substitute for the colossal originals.

When this paper was read before the Society some interesting points were raised in the discussion, and it has been thought that it would be useful to refer to the following among them:—

The size of Nineveh.—According to George Smith, the west face of the wall is over $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the north about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the east about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and the south rather more than half a mile. The inscriptions seem not to recognize any extension of the city outside the walls, except that portion which was called *Rēbit Nīnuā*, which probably means “the extension of Nineveh”, and is identified with the Biblical Rehoboth-Ir. As an explanation of the expression in Jonah that it was an exceedingly great city of three days journey, it has been suggested that we should include Ninroud on the south and Khorsabad on the north, a distance of about 30 miles, which, at a speed of about 10 miles a day, would take three days to traverse. For further details, see *Murray's Illustrated Bible-Dictionary*, pp. 599–604.

The currency used in Assyria.—To all appearance, the Assyrians had no coinage, but used pieces of gold and silver of the weights required, and perhaps marked with their value. Coined money seems to appear only in the reign of Cambyses, and is referred to on tablets from Babylon. Unless Sennacherib confuses the two processes

of casting and striking (which is not likely), the pieces of precious metal used as a medium of exchange were cast.

Were the winged bulls a Hittite design?—As far as we know, the winged bulls were wholly Assyro-Babylonian—it was only their arrangement as the decorations of the gates which was of Hittite origin, and if this be the correct explanation it is confirmed by recent discoveries (see Garstang in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, December, 1908, pls. xl, xli.). It is to be noted, however, that Aššur-našir-âpli, king of Assyria 885 B.C., also placed winged lions or bulls at the entrances of his palace.

The Arameans.—These people probably settled first in the Aramean states, the positions of which are well known (Aram Naharaim, Aram Zobah, etc.), and only migrated to Babylonia at a comparatively late date. They spoke several slightly-varying dialects, that of Sam'alla (Zenjirli) being one of the most interesting.

XI

BUDDHIST NOTES

THE "FIVE POINTS" OF MAHADEVA AND THE KATHAVATTHU

BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

WHILE preparing an article on Buddhist Councils for Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I came to identify the so-called "Five Points" of Mahādeva with some "heretical" tenets of the Kathāvatthu. If I am right in this identification, and I believe I am, the fact cannot be without importance, for it establishes a link, hitherto wanting, between the Cingalese tradition of the Third Council and the Northern traditions concerning councils and the origin of the Mahāsāṃghikas. I do not intend to draw the conclusions that can be derived therefrom, namely, as concerns the redaction of the Kathāvatthu: this book, one of the richest of Buddhist antiquity, has not yet been studied enough, and its interpretation is beset with many difficulties. Careful comparison with "Northern" documents on sects would prove very useful, and, to say the truth, much help will be derived from the forthcoming translation of the Kathāvatthu itself.

What I shall try to do is (1) to "situate" the problem, and in doing so I shall refer to the excellent article of Mr. V. A. Smith: "Identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems" (JRAS., 1910, p. 827)¹; (2) to show that the author(?) of the

¹ The title is somewhat misleading; therefore Professor R. O. Franke ("Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī": JPTS., 1908) and myself ("Buddhist Councils": *Muséon and Indian Antiquary*, 1908) may be excused for having ignored Mr. V. A. Smith's original and persuasive views.

Kathāvatthu has dealt with the “Five Points” styled “Mahādeva’s Points”.

I

1. According to Bhavya (Nikāyabhedavibhaṅga-vyākhyāna),¹ there is a tradition—which we know from elsewhere to be a tradition of the Sammitīyas²—that a council was held at Pāṭaliputra, 137 A.B., under the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma.³ The controversy seems to have been concerned with the Five Points [of Mahādeva], and to have resulted in the Mahāsāṃghikas’ schism.

2. Again, according to the same Bhavya, professing to follow the Sthaviras’ tradition, a council was held at Pāṭaliputra, 160 A.B., under Dharmāśoka, on some controverted points (*vivādavastu*), and resulted in the Mahāsāṃghikas’ schism.

3. According to Vasumitra (Samayabhedoparacanacakra),⁴ a council at Pāṭaliputra, 100 A.B., under Aśoka, on the Five Points [of Mahādeva]: Mahāsāṃghikas’ schism. The same tradition *apud* Yuan-Chwang (Beal, i, p. 150), who knows Mahādeva by name, but does not allude to the Five Points.

To sum up, several traditions indicate that there was a council concerning the Five Points, and that this controversy was the origin of the Mahāsāṃghika sect.

Concerning Mahādeva—

1. Bhavya mentions two originators of the Five Points. We may summarize his narrative as follows:⁵ “In the

¹ See Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 181 ff. I have used the “red” edition of Tandjur, *Mdo*, vol. xc.

² Mañjuśhośaśāstra’s Siddhānta, the treatise quoted by Wassilieff, p. 260 (287), fol. 133^v of my copy, a precious gift of M. de Stcherbatskoi.

³ See V. A. Smith, JRAS., 1901, p. 851. The Tibetan has “King Nanda and Mahāpadma”; but the remarks of Rockhill, *Life*, p. 186, note, do not seem conclusive.

⁴ See Wassilieff, p. 223 (245) ff.

⁵ In the words of Mañjuśhośaśāstra; Rockhill’s translation seems to be inaccurate. On Mahādeva, see Professor Rhys Davids, JRAS., 1892, p. 9.

year 137 after the Nirvāṇa, at the epoch of the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma, in Pāṭaliputra, Māra the wicked (under the name) 'Bhadra' (*bzān-po*), wearing the cloth of a monk, exhibited manifold miracles, and owing to the Five Points created a great division of the Church . . . [These Points are part of the doctrine of the Mahā-sāṃghikas.¹ For. later.] from a branch of the Gokulikas, the sthavira named Caitika. This man, an ascetic named Mahādeva, became a monk, resided on the mountain 'where is a caitya', and professing the [Five] Points of the Mahā-sāṃghikas, created the sect named Caitika."

2. More details in Tāranātha (pp. 41 = 51), where occurs Mahādeva as the originator of the Five Points:

3. And in Yuan-Chwang (Beal, i. p. 117). See Watters (i. p. 267), who refers to the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-śāstra*. Mahādeva, a parricide, a matricide, an arhateide, committed schism with equal success and perversity. He defeated his adversaries in the council and established his doctrine in Pāṭaliputra: while the orthodox (500 arhats), embarked in rotten boats on the Ganges, were going to Kāśmīr by aerial ways.

4. Whether, as pointed out by Watters, our schismatic has something to do with the Mahādeva of Buddhaghosa, a saint and a missionary (*Samantapāsādikā*, Pāli Vinaya, iii, p. 316)—whether he is merely an incarnation of Śiva, as suspected by Professor Kern—we confess we do not know. It is safer to believe that there was a schismatic Mahādeva.

II

Concerning the tenets of Mahādeva, we possess, from Pāli and Tibetan sources, short "formulas" or points (*gzhi = vastu*), which are very like some other "aphorisms" of Buddhist antiquity: for instance, the "points" of the

¹ "In den chinesischen Memoiren Tschu-san-thsang-ki heisst es sogar dass die Anhänger Mahādeva's sich Mahā-sāṃghikas benannt hatten" (Wassiliéff, *apud* Tāranātha, p. 293).

Council of Vaiśālī and the rules of the Prātimokṣa as given in the Mahāvvyutpatti. These formulas may be the actual words of the schismatic (or the schismatics), the "phrases" or "idioms" into which the sectarian tenets were embodied.

We possess also some more explicit documents, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese, which seem to be commentaries or rather glosses on the "points". These commentaries do not always agree, and there are also discrepancies in the wording of the "points" themselves.

Let us begin with the sources which explicitly refer to Mahādeva—sources to be compared with the Pāli documents which profess to refer to the Third Council: and to make the reading easier, let us begin with two documents *en language clair*, two Chinese "commentaries" on the "points".

1. According to the Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra, the five tenets of Mahādeva, as translated by Watters,¹ are—

(1) "An arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation."

(2) "One may be an arhat and not know it."

(3) "An arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine."

(4) "One cannot attain arhatship without the aid of a teacher."

(5) "The 'noble ways' may begin with a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such exclamation as 'How sad!' and by so doing attain progress towards perfection."

2. According to Palladius²—

(1) "Obwohl die Arhants sündlos sind, giebt es solche, welche sich Schwächen zu Schulden kommen lassen."

¹ Nanjio, No. 1263, a commentary on Jñānaprasthāna (see Takakusu, JPTS., 1905, p. 129). See Watters, I. p. 267.

² *Arbeiten der Peking Mission*, ii. p. 122. quoted *apud* Taranātha, p. 293. As appears from (4), the source of Palladius is not the source of Watters.

(2) "Ein Arhant kann sich auch nicht als Arhant anerkennen, obwohl er in der That ein solcher ist."

(3) "Der Arhant kann Zweifel und Missverständnisse haben."

(4) "Der Arhant kann sich von seiner Würde durch Versicherungen anderer überzeugen."

(5) "Die Stimme (die Ausrufungen) kann als Hilfsmittel bei der Vervollung dienen."

3. According to Vasumitra¹—

(1) "Gzhan-gyis ñe-bar-bsgrub-pa."

(2) "Mi śes-pa."

(3) "Som-ñi."

(4) "Gzhan-gyi rnam-par-spyod-pa."

(5) "Lam sgra-hbyin-pa dan beas-pa."

4. According to Bhavya (fol. 179^a) and to Tāranātha (p. 41. 20–52)—²

(1) "Gzhan-la lan gdab-pa."

(2) "Mi śes-pa."

(3) "Yid gñis-pa."

(4) "Yon-su b[r]tag-pa."

(5) "Bdag-ñid gso-bar byed-pa ni lam yin-te."

5. According to Vinitadeva—³

(3, 2, 1) "Som-ñi dan mi śes-pa yod-de bstan dgos-so."

¹ See Wassilief, p. 223 (245) ff. The Points are quoted—(1) As the origin of the Mahāsāṃghikas' schism; (2) as adhered to by the Mahāsāṃghikas: "In the Arhats, there is *gzhan-gyis* . . ."; 2 and 3 wanting; (3) as adhered to by the Bahuśrutīyas and the Hamavatas.

² The Points are quoted by Bhavya (see Rockhill, *Life*, pp. 181 ff.) (1) as the origin of the schism; (2) as adhered to by the Ekavyavahārikas (with variants, a. *dyra-beom-pa-rnams kyañ gzhan-dag-gis bstan-pa bsgrub-par byed-do* . . . e. *sdug-bśial spoñ-baḥi lam yod-do*); (3) on the Bahuśrutīyas: *dyra-beom-pa-rnams-la gzhan-gyis ñe-bar-bstan-pa bsgrub-paḥo, yañ-dag-par bsgrags-paḥi lam yañ yod-do, mñam-par bzbug-pa-la yañ-dag-par hjug-pa-la (?) yod-do*; (4) the "Pūrvasthāvira" deny the Five Points; the first one = *dyra-beom-pa-rnams-la gzhan-gyi[s] ston-ñi bsgrub-pa ni [med-do]*.

³ Nikāyabhedopadeśanā nāma saṃgraha (?), fol. 188^a (Tandjur, *Mdo*, xc)—doctrine of the Lokottaravādins.

(4) "Hbras-bu-la gzhan-gyi brda-sprod dgos-so."

(5) "Sdug-bsñal snos-ñin sdug-bsñal tshig-tu brjod-pas lam skye-bar lgyur-ro."

6. Mahādeva, according to Tāranātha (p. 41. 14-51), first proclaimed his heresy in the following stanza:—

"Lha-rnams ma-rig-pa-yis bslu
lam ni sgra-yi rgyun-las byun
the-thsom can-rnams gzhan-gyis ljug
hdi ni sañs-rgyas bstan-pa yin." ¹

It will be seen that the heretical tenets in the Kathāvatthu, ii, 1-5 (6),² agree with the Tibetan and Chinese "points", sometimes in meaning, sometimes in wording, sometimes in both.

First Point.—The reading of Vasumitra may be translated [*arhataḥ*] *pareṇa upahāraḥ*. *hāra* is doubtful; *sgrub* is one of the words which cannot be safely "transposed" into Sanskrit: one has the equivalents: *sadh*, *yam*, *arj*, *anusthā*, *vādhā*, *upapad*, *har*. This last (*mñon-par bsgrub-pa* = *abhinirhāra*) is far from being the most common, and I only claim for provisional acceptance of the translation *pareṇa upahāra*.

If it turns out to be right, we have to recognize here Kathāvatthu, *atthi arahato parūpahāro ti*.

The reading of Bhavya and Tāranātha is translated by Schiefner "der Antwort", by Rockhill, "answer to another," or "advice to another". But our Lexx. give the equivalence *lan-hdebs-pa* = *visarjayati* = (1) "answer questions, so the Pāli *visajjeti*" (Divyāvadāna, p. 162. 20, and Index), (2) "to emit, to create," etc. There is, therefore, a curious analogy between Bhavya's lesson

¹ See below, p. 421.

² These figures refer to the sections in Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa (PTS., 1894-7); the Atthakathā (JPTS., 1889) differs, 2, 3, and 4 forming § 2. The reader will, of course, compare Professor Rhys Davids' article, "Schools of Buddhist Belief," JRAS., 1893.

and another reading of the Kathāvatthu. [*asuci sukka*] *visatthi* = *visistī*.¹

From the other variants *apud* Bhavya, it follows that there has not been unanimity in the exegesis of this Point, which is made by several additions to "clearly" refer to the teaching necessary to an arhat (as heretics say).² To say the truth, the Pāli interpretation is far from being conclusive.

* * * * *

The Tibetan wording of the *Second Point* is clear: *mi śes-pa* = *ajñānam*. The Kathāvatthu has "*atthi arahato aññānam ti*" (ii, 2).

But the meaning cannot be as easily ascertained. With what sort of ignorance are we concerned? It happens that an arhat is ignorant of the names of men or women, of herbs and trees, of the direction of a road (ii, 2. 22-3).³ But according to the orthodox author of the Pāli treatise, an arhat is not unaware of [his possessing] the fruits of Srotaāpatti . . . of arhatship.⁴ Compare the translation

¹ Kathāvatthu: "Atthi arahato asucisukkavi-atthīti" (ii, 1, 1) . . . "Handa hi Mārakāyikā devatā arahato asucisukkavi-atthim upasaṃharanti" (ii, 1, 3) . . . "Atthi arahato parūpahāro ti" (ii, 1, 23). In the words of Professor Rhys Davids, "Can an arahat be guilty (unwittingly and through the action of Māra) of indecency?" Succubus deities are here intended. The Kathāvatthu denies, against the Seliyas (comm.), the possibility of such an event, and refers to a formal assertion—too formal!—of Buddha himself (ii, 1, 21); it admits *parūpahāra* in this sense only that "others" (*pare*) may "take away" (*upasaṃhāreyyum*) the robe of an arahat, etc. (ii, 1, 23).

² Addition (?) of *bsan-pa* and *ston-sin* (see p. 417, n. 2: *Arhantaḥ parair* (or *pareṇa*) *deśitāḥ sādhyanti*).

³ Compare Milinda, pp. 266-7 (Rhys Davids' translation, ii, p. 100). Ignorance concerning such trivial matters even in a Buddha, see the rather heretical assertion, JRAS., 1894, p. 372, n. 2.

⁴ One may refer to Professor Rhys Davids' excellent article on Arhat in Hastings *Encyclopædia*, I, p. 774 (quoting Majjhima, III, p. 100; see also Aṅguttara, V, pp. 155, 162), and to the delicious Psalms of the Early Buddhists (Sisters), PTS., 1909. The history of Ānanda clearly shows that a clever man is well aware of his spiritual deficiencies (Culla, xi, 1, 6), but it may be said that Ānanda is not an ordinary "ordinary man" (*prthagjana*) (Aṅguttara, I, p. 225).

of Watters and Palladius. Last, not least, the ignorance may be the ignorance of the Law.

* * * * *

Third Point.—The *som-ñi* of Vasumitra is *kāṅkṣā* : the *gid-gñis* of Bhavya, etc., is *vimati* (*mati-dravayam*). The Kathāvatthu has *atthi arahato kāṅkhā ti* (ii, 3, 1), *atthi arahato vimatīti* (ii. 1, 5).

Doubt can be understood as bearing on the names of men, women, etc. (ii, 3, 21), on arhatship : “Am I an arhat ?” (ii, 3, 22). But there is a third “edge” to the problem : “Does an arhat have any doubt on the Teacher, the Law, the Congregation, the rule, the past, the future, the past and the future, the things produced by dependent-origination ?” (ii. 1, 5). Thus understand Watters, Palladius, and possibly Vinitadeva too, for his Lokottaravādins seem to say : “As there are ignorance and doubt in the arhat, teaching is necessary.”¹

* * * * *

Fourth Point.—We have now some reasons to suppose that the Mahādeva’s Fourth Point will be found in Kathāvatthu, ii, 4 : *atthi arahato paravitāraṇā ti*.

Vasumitra’s [*arhataḥ*] *parasya* (?) *vicārah* (*caranam*) (?) and Bhavya’s *paricintanā* (or *parikṣā*) are not clear by themselves ; but Vinitadeva’s gloss agrees with the original Pāli commentary. It may be translated : *phale paravyākaraṇaprayojanam* = “Another must say [to the arhat] that he has acquired the fruit”.² Thus Palladius and Kathāvatthu, ii, 4, 22 : “Do others teach an arhat that he has obtained the fruit of Srotaāpatti . . . of arhatship” (. . . *sotāpatti-phalaṃ pare vitāreyyum* . . .) Wassilieff quotes an instance to support the affirmative (heretical) answer : in the Mahīśāsakas’ Vinaya, the heroes of the Vaiśālī’s Council, Revata and Sarvakāma, ask

¹ Above, p. 417, under 5.

² *Vyākaroṭi* is the phrase used in Pāli for “declaring” one’s spiritual progress (*aññā*) (Aṅguttara, V, p. 155, etc.).

one another whether they are arhats or not (*ud* Tāranātha, p. 293).

But Watters has : " One cannot obtain arhatship without the help of another : " and *vitāraṇā* seems to be understood as meaning " leading over ", " bringing across " in Kathāvatthu, ii, 4, 1 ff. : " Is an arhat to be led by another, dependent on another, etc. ? " ¹

To sum up, there are three possible translations of the " Points " 2-4, namely, (1) an arhat may be ignorant of the names of men . . . : he has doubts on such matters . . . : he learns them from others ; (2) an arhat may be unaware of his arhatship : he doubts whether he is an arhat : he gets certitude from the asseveration of another : (3) being ignorant and subject to doubt, an arhat ought to receive instruction.

The last interpretation gives us probably (') the original meaning of Mahādeva. His śloka ² is somewhat obscure, but the general import seems to be a strong depreciation of the arhats — if arhats are really concerned : " Gods (arhats ') " are deceived (or beguiled) by ignorance ; Path is produced by the stream of voice : who doubt, enter [into the Path] through others : such is the teaching of Buddha."

* * * * *

Fifth Point.—The Tibetan tradition shows a great variety of forms.

(1) Vasumitra : *mārgo vāg-udīraṇena sahitaḥ* (or *śabdodīraṇena*, in Pāli *vacibhedena*), " Path is accompanied by emission of voice." That is a tenet of the Mahāsāṃghikas,⁴ and Vasumitra adds that they affirm : " Suffering causes Path : to say ' Suffering ! ' is useful : in order to abandon suffering, wisdom is of use (?)."

¹ But, again, the " crossing over " may refer to doubt : *vitipṇakankha* is a well-known phrase. See Childers.

² See above, p. 418.

³ Arhats are *visuddhideras*, kings *sammatideras*, and gods *uppatideras*, in Vibhaṅga (PTS., 1904), p. 422.

⁴ See above, p. 417, n. 1.

(2) Vinitadeva, instead of the "Point", gives us a gloss : "Saying 'Suffering!', pronouncing 'Suffering!', Path is born." Compare Watters and Palladins.

(3) Bhavya is obscure, and, I may say, troublesome. It is difficult to guess what is meant by Rockhill's "restoration of the self" or Schiefner's "Wiederherstellung der Selbstheit", and how such "restoration" may be said to be the "Path". The Sanskrit rendering seems to be something like *ātmapoṣaṇatṃ mārjyaḥ*. *Āso-ba = pus*, "to feed,"¹ may be connected with the *āhāra* of the Pāli tradition *dukkhāhāro maggaṅgam*, for one of the meanings of *āhāra* is "food": but *blag-ñid* (*ātman*) cannot be an equivalent of *dukkha*, which we want in this place (?).

(4) The following tenet of the Lokottaravādins (*apara* Vasumitra), *samāhito pi vācaṃ bhāṣate*,² "one speaks even in trance, during *samādhi* or *samāpatti*," is not reckoned as one of the "Points", but, as it will be seen from the Pāli sources, it is not here without interest.

(5) The Mahāsāṃghikas seem to maintain the contrary. They say, concerning Buddha: *neti (nāstīty) api na vadati nityaṃ samāhitatvāt* = "he does not say even 'no', for he is always concentrated".³

The Kathāvatthu deals (ii, 6) with the *dukkhāhāra-kathā*, "problem concerning the exclamation 'Suffering!'" and (ii, 5) with the *vacībhedakathā*, "problem concerning voice-bursting-out."

Āharati, "to tell, to relate;" therefore *āhāra*, "naming, pronouncing;" at least, the author understands the heretical tenet, *dukkhāhāro maggaṅgam maggaparyāpannam*, as meaning "the phrase 'suffering!' is a limb

¹ Also *cikits*, "to cure."

² "Mñam-par bzhag-pa yañ tshig smraho."

³ "Med ces kyañ mi gsuñs te rtag-tu mñam-par bzhag-pa ñid-kyi phyir." On that doctrine of the "silence of Bhagavat", see JRAS., 1902, April, p. 374, and my *Bouddhisme* (1909), p. 253.

of the Path". "Not so!" answers the Pāli orthodox: "whosoever says 'suffering!' (*ye keci dukkham ti vācama bhāsanti*) does not cultivate or produce the Path (*maggam bhārenti*)."¹ Compare Vinitadeva, Watters, and Palladius.

Emission of voice is not possible during dhyānas: such is the import of Kathāvatthu, ii, 5: *samāpannassa atthi vacibhedo ti*. Compare the opinion of the Lokottaravādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

We opine that, as a matter of fact, Kathāvatthu, ii, 1-5 (6), forms the Pāli counterpart of the Northern Mahādeva's "Points". Whether these tenets—four concerning Arhatship, one concerning Samādhi or Path—are rightly styled Mahādeva's, whether they were the leading motive of the Mahāsāṃghika schism, is an altogether different question. Again, one may maintain that this strongly tied group of points seems to be *en place*, as geologists say, in the Northern tradition, whilst it looks in the Pāli treatise like a *bloc erratique*. But we said at the beginning that we should abstain from concluding. There are so many "points" in the Kathāvatthu that any judgment on his value as a Tissan work would appear presumptuous. As has been well said by M. A. Foucher, Indian history is too often "un exercice de philologie à l'usage des indianistes avec des règles du jeu connues des seuls initiés".²

¹ The exclamation "Suffering!" does not always imply the notion of the Noble Truth of suffering; in the same way, one may realize the notion "space (*ākāśa*) is infinite" without being a saint. On the importance of such exclamations, see Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 71. note. Compare Kathāvatthu, ix, 9; xi, 4; xviii, 8.

² Compare JRAS., 1909, p. 577, n. 1.

XII

MAHISHAMANDALA AND MAHISHMATI

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

THE Dipavaṃsa tells us (8. 1, 2) that :—"The far-seeing Moggaliputta, having by supernatural vision beheld the establishment of the [Buddhist] doctrine in the future in the border-land, sent out the Thēras Majjhantika and others, each with four (*companions*), to establish the doctrine in the border-land for the enlightenment of sentient beings." And it tells us in verse 5 that the Thēra Mahādēva was thus sent to the Mahisa country, Mahisaraṭṭha, = Mahisharāshṭra. The Mahāvamsa, in its account of the same matter, calls this territory (12. 3, 29) Mahisamaṇḍala, = Mahishamaṇḍala. Buddhaghōsha, dealing with the missions in his Samanta-Pāsādikā,¹ quotes a verse, very similar to that of the Dipavaṃsa, which mentions it as *raṭṭham Mahisam*, but uses in his own prose the forms Mahisakamaṇḍala and Mahiṃsaka²; in the latter case, with the insertion of a nasal in a manner which is not uncommon in Pāli. And this last form is also found in the Jātaka and its commentary.² We adopt the form Mahishamaṇḍala, because it is the one which, in its Pāli shape, has been habitually used by other writers.

Some comments must be made on the passage in the Dipavaṃsa thus cited :—

(1) The sending out of the missions took place just after the Third Council. The Dipavaṃsa, 7. 37, 44, places this Council 236 years after the death of Buddha. The Mahāvamsa, 5. 280, places it in the seventeenth year of Aśoka. Both authorities, and Buddhaghōsha, agree that

¹ See the Vinayapitaka, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 314 ff.

² Ed. Fausboll, 1. 356; 5. 145, 162, 337.

it lasted for nine months. And the Mahāvaiṃsa adds (12. 2) that the missions were sent out in the month Kārttika. We understand the Dīpavaiṃsa as referring to the end of the Council, and the Mahāvaiṃsa to the commencement of it. And we thus gather that the Council began about the middle of January, B.C. 247, and ended about the middle of October, and that the arrangements for despatching the missions were made before 6 November.¹

(2) The Dīpavaiṃsa, Buddhaghōṣa, and the Mahāvaiṃsa all agree that the Council was convened and the missions were sent out by the great priest Moggaliputta-Tissa : not by Aśoka, as is asserted by lax writers.²

(3) The name of the place or territory to which the Thēra Rakkhita was sent is not stated by the Dīpavaiṃsa : unless, in verse 6, we may amend *reḥāsaṃ abbhuggant-rāṇa*, "having risen into the air (so as to travel through it)", into *Vanavāsaṃ abbhāgant-rāṇa* or *gantrā*, "having gone to Vanavāsa" : or unless *reḥāsa* is a corrupt reading of some name (? Vērāṭa) for which Vanavāsa was afterwards substituted. This name is supplied as Vanavāsī by Buddhaghōṣa, and as Vanavāsa by the Mahāvaiṃsa.

(4) The words which we have rendered by "in the border-land" are *pachchantamhi* in verse 1 and *pachchantē* in verse 2 : in both cases the locative singular. Professor Oldenberg has rendered them by, respectively, "in the neighbouring countries" and "in foreign countries". In deviating from his choice of words, we have been guided by the point that the term *pachchanta*, = *pratyanta*, 'bordering on, adjacent or contiguous to, skirting',³ is practically the same with that which we have in the expression *pachchantimā janapadā*, presented in, e.g., the Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, 5. 13. 12. in defining the limits

¹ See my table in this Journal, 1909. 27.

² See, fully, my remarks in this Journal, 1908. 493.

³ Monier-Williams : and compare Childers.

of the Buddhist Madhyadēśa or Middle Country, and appropriately translated there by "border countries".¹ In the accounts of the missions, the Mahāvaiṃsa has *pachchantēsu*: Buddhaghōsha has *pachchantimēsu janapaddēsu*.

(5) Altogether nine missions were sent out. The name of one of the territories is (as we have said) apparently wanting in the Dipavaṃsa. And another territory, called Gandhāra by it, is called Kasmīra - and - Gandhāra by Buddhaghōsha and the Mahāvaiṃsa. Otherwise, however, the three accounts all agree. The order in which the missions are named is the same in all three. And in the terms of the Mahāvaiṃsa (ed. Geiger, 12. 3-8) the full list of the territories is:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kasmīra and Gandhāra. | 5. Mahāratha. |
| 2. Mahisamandala. | 6. Yōnalōka. |
| 3. Vanavāsa. | 7. Himavāntapadēsaka. |
| 4. Aparantaka. | 8. Suvampabhūmi. |

9. Laṅkādīpa, i.e. Ceylon.

Now, No. 9, Ceylon, is distinctly not a border-land of any Indian Middle Country. But it was hardly possible to avoid including the mission to Ceylon along with the others. Though, however, that was the most important of all the missions, it is mentioned last: which tends to exclude it from the same category with the others. We therefore separate the other territories from Ceylon, and consider how far they come under the definition of border-lands: that is, of countries more or less adjacent to the Buddhist Middle Country.

We easily recognize what may fairly be called border-lands of that country in No. 1, Kashmīr and Gandhāra, the latter being, roughly, the modern Peshāwar and Rāwal Piṇḍī Districts: in No. 4, Aparānta, 'the western ends', the Konkan, with (we hold) also northern Gujarāt. Kāthiāwād, Cutch (Kachhh), and Sind: in No. 5,

¹ For translations of this passage see SBE., 17. 38, and this Journal, 1904. 84. Regarding the impossible dimensions assigned to the country in other works, see my remarks in this Journal, 1907. 653, note 3.

Mahārāshṭra, the Dekkaṇ ; in No. 6, Yōnalōka, 'the region of the Yavanas', taken as meaning the Greek settlements in the Panjāb and its western neighbourhood ; and in No. 7, the Himālayan region.

There remain Nos. 2, 3, and 8. As regards No. 8, the case seems fairly clear. *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, = *Suvarṇabhūmi*. 'the gold-land', is understood by the Burmese to be what is also called by them *Rāmaññadēsa* : namely, Lower Burma between the rivers Sittaung and Salwin, with also parts of Pegu and Moulmein.¹ And it has been generally believed, until recently, that that territory is really the *Suvarṇabhūmi* to which the mission was sent.² This belief, however, is now abandoned, in view of the position, which appears to be well established, that the earliest Burmese Buddhism was Mahāyānist, and reached Burma from China and only in the fourth century A.D.³ We would supplement that by suggesting that the real *Suvarṇabhūmi* is the country in Bengal which is mentioned by Hiuen-tsiang as *Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*. = *Kaṇṇasuvarṇa* ; or else the country along the river *Sōṇ* (*Śōṇa*), also known as *Hiraṇyavāha*, 'the gold-bearer'.

No. 3, *Vanavāsa*, can hardly be regarded as a borderland if it really means, as is usually supposed, the territory that belonged to *Banavāsi* in North Kanara. That understanding, however, is open to question, in view of

¹ For a map of the *Rāmañña* country see *Ind. Ant.*, 22, 328.

² It has also been understood to be the Golden Khersonēsē of Ptolemy : see, e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, 13, 372.

³ See Taw Sein Ko in *Ind. Ant.* 1906. 212, and Report on Archaeological Work in Burma, 1905-6. 8.

This change of view, of course, does not in any way impeach the credit of the Ceylonese chronicles : quite the reverse. The supposed fact of an introduction of Buddhism into Burma in the time of Aśoka does not rest on either them or the *Samanta-Pāsādikā* : it rests entirely on the mistaken identification of the *Suvarṇabhūmi* mentioned by them : they do not say anything to locate that country in Burma.

The Burmese have taken over the names of many Indian countries and places. Notably, in addition to a *Suvarṇabhūmi* they claim a *Vanavāsi*, an *Aparantaka*, a *Mahāratta*, and even a *Mahimsakamandala*.

the point that Vaijayantī seems better established than Vanavāsī as the more ancient name of Banawāsī. But we must set this detail aside for future consideration.

That No. 2, Mahishamaṇḍala, was a border-land, we propose to show now.

* * * * *

The Imperial Gazetteer of India says that the Mahishamaṇḍala, thus mentioned as one of the territories to which Moggaliputta-Tissa despatched his Buddhist missions, is the modern Mysore.¹ And this has certainly been the belief for a long time past. We do not know exactly with whom it originated. Turnour, in 1837, entered Mahishamaṇḍala as "one of the ancient divisions of India, not identified":² and in 1854 Cunningham said "this country is not known: it may be Maheswara, on the Narbada".³ On the other hand, Wilson, at some time before 1860, explained the Māhishakas of the Mahābhārata as "the people of Mysore".⁴ And the identification of Mahishamaṇḍala with Mysore was presented in 1874 as an established point, needing no citation of authority, by the editor of the *Indian Antiquary* (3. 273). It would seem, therefore, that the belief is based on something which was advanced conjecturally between 1854 and 1860, and was gradually converted into a supposed certainty in a not infrequent manner. And the identification is given as a certainty in two other recent works which are intended, like the Imperial Gazetteer, to be authoritative guides. It is asserted by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Asoka* (2nd ed., 1909), p. 44; where, by the way, the first component of the name is shown in the mistaken form *mahīśa*, 'lord of the earth'. And, to the extent that Mahishamaṇḍala means, not the whole of the Mysore

¹ Vol. 18 (1908), pp. 162, 169, 253, 261.

² *Mahāwanso*, index and glossary, 16.

³ *Bhilsa Topes*, 117.

⁴ Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 2. 178, note 6.

territory, but "the country round [the city] Mysore", it is presented on p. 14 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, which book, "published for Government" in 1909, puts forward (we regret to have to say), as sober history for the period before A.D. 750, much fabulous matter which has no basis except in spurious records dating from the tenth century and onwards, in late chronicles which display great ignorance of the real facts of early times, and in legends which we cannot even dignify by calling them traditions.

Support of the views thus expressed has been found in the fact that we have two Aśoka edicts engraved on rocks at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri, and Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara in the Chitaldroog District of Mysore: it being also asserted, on the same basis, that Mysore was included in the Maurya empire. That, however, has nothing to do with the case. We cannot here elaborate the history of what is now the Chitaldroog District: but the following brief statement may be made. It was only about A.D. 950 that the Chitaldroog territory first passed into the hands of any ruler who held also the southern part of Mysore, where the modern name-giving capital is. It subsequently developed into a separate petty state, under Poligars: and it was only in A.D. 1779 that it was annexed to the territory of the present rulers of Mysore.¹ It was certainly foreign territory as regards the dominions of Aśoka and his line.² And there is every reason for believing that Isila, the ancient town at which there resided the officials to whom the edicts in question were transmitted from Suvarṇagiri in Magadha, and in the neighbourhood of which they were published on the rocks by them, was at that time, and probably for many centuries afterwards, a subdivisional town of the great kingdom of Vanavāsī,

¹ See the Imperial Gazetteer, 10. 291; and compare Mr. Rice's *Mysore* (1897), 2. 500-4.

² See, fully, my remarks in this Journal, 1909. 997.

or more strictly Vaijayanti: it was at any rate not in any territory bearing the name Mysore; no such territory existed then. Further, according to our own view, the first of these two edicts embodies the dying speech of Aśoka, and they were framed some twenty years after the Council and the sending out of the missions: while, according to another view, these two edicts were framed in the thirteenth year of Aśoka, four or five years before the Council, and were probably the very first of his proclamations. From either point of view, these edicts have no connexion with either the Council or the sending out of the missions: except that we believe that Isila was selected as one of the places to which the last words of Aśoka should be communicated, because a Buddhist settlement had been established there as a result of one or another of the missions sent into the territory on the south of the Narbadā.

* * * * *

In looking into this belief that the Mahishamaṇḍala of the Buddhist books is Mysore or some part thereof, the first points that suggest themselves for consideration are:—To what date can we carry back the existence of the name Maisūru, Maisūr (the original of the anglicized Mysore), in its present or any previous form? And what can be the connexion, if there is any, between that name and Mahishamaṇḍala or any such appellation?

An inscription at Nandigunda in the Nanjangūd tāluka of the Mysore District,¹ dated in A.D. 1021, mentions a territorial division named the “Maysunnād”, and places in it Nandigunda itself, which is about twelve miles south-east from the city of Mysore. And the spurious

¹ *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Nj. 134. The text in roman characters gives to the name which I quote the form Mayasun-nād; the translation gives Maysūr-nād; and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maysun-nād. As the Kanarese texts are the bases of what is published in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, I adopt the last form.

record on the Tanjore plates,¹ which purports to have been framed in A.D. 248 but was fabricated not earlier than the tenth century, claims to convey a village, situated in the "Maisunāḍu seventy", named Oreḱōḍu, which is shown by the full details given in the record to be the 'Wurcode' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 60 (1828) and the 'Varkod' of the quarter-sheet No. 60, S.W. (1892), about seven miles east-by-south from Mysore. These two records locate the territorial division thus mentioned. The second of them marks it as a group of seventy villages. As we know that any such group usually included a leading town or village bearing the same name with the group itself, and as the Kanarese word for 'village, town', is *ūr*, *ūru*, we may venture to assume that the two names thus presented are carelessly written forms of Maysūr-nāḍ and Maisūr-nāḍ : especially because in this group of seventy villages we certainly have the original of the present Mysore tāluka, one of the subdivisions of the Mysore District,² and because an inscription, which is attributed to about A.D. 990, at Kuppelāḷu in the Kaḍūr District,³ appears to mention, among the witnesses to the grant registered by it, "the (officials of the) Maysūr-nāḍ seventy", with reference to probably the same group of villages. And we may thus carry back the existence of the name Mysore in the form Maysūr, and of the city Mysore as a village bearing its present name, to the tenth century. But that is all that we can do.⁴ And it is sufficiently

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 8. 212: and see my list of spurious records in *id.*, 30 (1901). 215, No. 10. Spurious records, though mostly valueless for chronological purposes, are frequently of considerable use from the geographical and other miscellaneous points of view.

² That the Mysore tāluka now includes one hundred and fifty towns and villages, is of course immaterial. The numbers in the territorial divisions of India have been altered and are still altered from time to time; for improved administrative purposes, as well as because of new villages growing up, and old ones becoming deserted.

³ *Epi. Carn.*, 6 (Kaḍūr). Kd. 9.

⁴ Pending the issue of a proper index to the volumes of the *Epigraphia*

obvious that the place was then nothing but a small one, which had not given its name to even the area which makes up the present Mysore District, and was quite incapable of providing an appellation for the entire territory in which it was situated. This position is borne out by every other consideration; even apart from the point that no remains or other tokens of antiquity are found there, which indicates plainly that we have not even the ease of an ancient city sinking into insignificance and then rising again.¹

The territory now known as Mysore, and the district now known as the Mysore District, owe their appellations simply to the accident that the village Mysore has developed into a modern capital. The Mysore territory is composed of provinces and districts which in ancient times had their own quite different names. In the north it includes part of a province known as the Nolambavādi 32,000, and part of the Vanavāsī kingdom generally known in later times as the Banavāse 12,000. The rest of it consists mostly of districts and provinces such as the Kuvalāla 300, the Edetore 1000, the Pūnād or Punnād 6000, the Gaṅga 6000, and the Koṅgalnād 8000, which were massed under one name as the Gaṅgavādi 96,000, meaning "the territory of the Gaṅgas comprising

Carnatica, it is not practical to use them exhaustively. But the above-mentioned three records give the only references that I have been able to find for the Maysūr or Maisūr seventy, and the earliest instances of the existence of the name: and Mr. Rice himself does not claim to have done more: see, e.g., his *Mysore* (1897), 2. 280:—"We find Maisu-nād or Maisur-nād mentioned in inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries."

A group of villages known as the Mayse-nād appears to be mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1136, and in another which is referred to about A.D. 1200: *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Bl. 17; Hn. 139. And the same seems to be mentioned as the Maise-nād in inscriptions of A.D. 1117 and 1174: *ibid.*, Bl. 58, 59, 71. But that is marked by the records as a different group, close to Belūr in the Belūr taluka of the Hassan District.

¹ Compare Mr. Rice's remarks in *Mysore* (1897), 2. 280, 281:—"The present town of Mysore cannot perhaps boast of much antiquity . . . Here a fort was either constructed or repaired in the year 1524."

(according to tradition or conventional acceptance) 96,000 cities, towns, and villages".¹ The city Mysore is situated in the southern part of the ancient Gaṅgavāḍi country, the connected authentic history of which, as established by the inscriptions, dates from closely about A.D. 750, when there arose a Gaṅga prince, Śivamāra I, whose descendants ruled till about A.D. 1000.² The first mention of the 96,000 province is found in the inscription of the first year of the rule of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, son of Śivamāra I,³ which speaks of "all the subjects of the 96,000", apparently as witnesses to the act recorded in it. The earliest known instance of the use of the full appellation "Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000" seems to be found in an inscription of Eṇṇayappa, of the period about A.D. 908 to 938,⁴ which describes that prince as "governing the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 as a united whole (lit., in the shade of one umbrella)." And it remained in use, even when the Gaṅgas had passed away, until at least A.D. 1200. For the Gaṅga period, the only recognizable capitals are, as Mr. Rice has told us,⁵ Kōlār and Taḷakāḍi. And during that period, and for six centuries after it, no mention of the name Mysore in any form, and no allusion to the place, can be found, except as stated on pp. 431-2 above.

¹ Nothing could be clearer than the proof that this is the meaning of these numerical designations: yet Mr. Rice in his recent publication has repeated prominently an old mistake in asserting (p. 174) that the numbers denote the revenue values: and the mistake has found its way, from his previous writings, into the Imperial Gazetteer, 10. 291, note 2. I shall hope to give a separate note on this matter.

² There were, indeed, Gaṅgas in Mysore before A.D. 750, in the sixth and perhaps even the fifth century. But no authentic details are known about them.

³ At Taḷakāḍi, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). TN. 1.

⁴ At Bēgūr, *Epi. Carn.*, 9 (Bangalore). Bn. 83: previously edited by me in *Epi. Ind.*, 6. 48. The Maḍivāla inscription, *Epi. Carn.*, 10 (Kōlār). Kl. 79, is probably also of the time of Eṇṇayappa: if, however, it might really be referred to Raṇavikrama, then the full expression is carried back to about A.D. 810 to 840.

⁵ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 29.

After the period marked by the Nandigunda and Kuppehālu inscriptions and the record on the Tanjore plates, the town Mysore commences to figure only in connexion with its present rulers, who trace their line back to a certain Hire-Bettāda-Chāmarāja to whom the date of A.D. 1513-52 is assigned.¹ Their ancestors first came to the front in the person of Rāja-Wodeyar, who in 1610 overcame the Vijayanagara viceroy, and established himself at Seringapatam. They appear to have been members of a local family residing at Mysore. And the inscriptions describe them in the simplest terms as belonging to the Ātrēya gōtra, the Āśvalāyana sūtra, and the Rīgvēda śākhā.² But, as they rose to increased prominence, they required, like other great families of Southern India, a Purāṇic pedigree connecting them with either the Solar or the Lunar Race. The latter was chosen. And the account devised for them³ says that some members of the line of Yadu in the Lunar Race went from Dvārakā (in Kāthiāwād) to the Karnāṭa country to visit their family-god Nārāyaṇa at Yadugiri, —Mēlukōṭe in the Seringapatam tāluka, Mysore District, about twenty-five miles north of Mysore: and, seeing the land to be a beautiful one, they settled at Mysore, protecting the people, and doing service to the goddess who guarded the city and whom they adopted as their own deity. In their line there seems to have been born a Chāmarāja: then a son of him, also named Chāmarāja; and then his son, the Hire-Bettāda-Chāmarāja mentioned above. He, it is said, had three sons, amongst whom he

¹ See the table in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 126.

² See, e.g., a copperplate record of A.D. 1614 from Mēlukōṭe, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Sr. 157.

³ See, e.g., records of A.D. 1647 at Mattigōḍu, *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Ag. 64; of 1662 at Hālagere, vol. 12 (Tumkūr). Kg. 37; of 1675 at Chāmarājnagar, vol. 4 (Mysore). Ch. 92; and of 1686 at Seringapatam vol. 3 (Mysore). Sr. 14. And compare Mr. Rice's book, p. 124 ff.

divided his principality while he was still alive. Two of them died without male issue. And so the whole went to the remaining son, Bōl-Chāmarāja, to whom he had given Mysore itself. The family thus commenced ruling at Mysore. As has been said above, in A.D. 1610 Rāja-Woḍeyar made a step in advance, and established himself at Seringapatam. From 1760 to 1799 the family was under the domination of Haidar Ali and Tipū Sultān. Then, on the defeat and death of the last-mentioned, the British Government placed Mummaḍi-Kṛishṇarāja-Woḍeyar on the throne, and the court was removed back to Mysore, which has continued to be the dynastic capital.

The name Mysore figures freely enough in the epigraphic records of this period: especially in the standing expression "(so-and-so) of Mysore", with reference to the place of origin, which was used even when Seringapatam was the capital: for instance, *Maisūra Chāmarāja-Woḍeyaru* in a record of A.D. 1633,¹ and *Mahīśūra Kṛishṇarāja - Woḍeyar = avuru* in one of 1717.² In Kanarese prose passages it is found in the various forms of Mahīśūr or Mahīśūr (A.D. 1614), Mayisūr (1625), Maisūr (1633), and Mahīśāpura (1672).³ In Sanskrit verses it is found as Mahīśāpur (A.D. 1639), Māhishī and Māhishīpuravarā (1647), Mahishanagara (1662), Mahīśūra (1663), Mahishapuri (1666), Māhishapura (1675), and Mahīśūrapura (1679); but we do not trace any use of the name Māhishmatī, to which we shall come farther on. And the goddess, whose shrine appears to be on the

¹ At Talakāḍ, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). TN. 13.

² At Bēluru, *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Bl. 29.

³ I can, of course, only quote the forms as they are given in the texts in roman and Kanarese characters in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*; and the readings do not always match each other. I have preferred, as a rule, to follow the Kanarese texts, because they are the bases of the others. For the reason stated in a previous note (the absence of a proper index), I cannot guarantee that I have exhausted all the forms: I give only each form, and the earliest instance of it, that I have detected.

Chāmuṇḍibetta hill close on the south-east of the city of Mysore, is mentioned as Mahishāsūramardini in a record of A.D. 1639,¹ and Mahishāsūramardini-Betta-Chāmuṇḍēśvari-Amma in one of 1673:² she is to be regarded as a local form of Chaṇḍā, Chāmuṇḍā, Durgā, as the destroyer of the buffalo-headed demon Mahishāsura.³ We note the occurrence of the expression *Mahisūra saṁsthāna*, "the Mysore State", in an inscription of A.D. 1852,⁴ and perhaps of *Maisūra saṁsthāna* in one of 1672-73.⁵ But we do not find any indication of the name Mysore in any form, Kanarese or Sanskrit, having been used to denote either the whole territory or even that portion of it which is now the Mysore District: the application of the name in this way seems to be of purely modern and official origin.

* * * * *

In view of all the facts set out above, it must be clear that any such appellation as Mahishamaṇḍala to denote the Mysore territory or even the country round the city Mysore itself —(assuming that such a term has ever been used at all in that sense, of which there is no evidence)—could only have come into existence after A.D. 1600, when the occasion arose, in devising the Purāṇic genealogy, to Sanskritize the vernacular name, of a place rising to importance, which presented a certain adaptability.⁶ But

¹ At Gajjiganahalli, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Nj. 198.

² At Bīrasandra, *Epi. Carn.*, 12 (Tumkūr). Tp. 106.

³ The inscriptions do not seem to show how Yādava- who had come into Mysore to visit their family-god Nārāyaṇa became Saivas with Durgā as their tutelary deity: and the "tradition" reported by Mr. Rice (his latest book, p. 125) does not furnish any clear explanation.

⁴ At Belagōdu, *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Mj. 40.

⁵ At Mañchanahalli, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Ml. 69.

⁶ The suggestion (*Epi. Ind.*, 4, 58, note 2) that Mysore is mentioned as Māhishavishaya in the inscription A. of A.D. 945 at Sālōṅgi in the Inḍī tāluka, Bijāpūr District, cannot be accepted. This "Māhisha district" is certainly to be located somewhere not very far from Sālōṅgi: and the village Kāñchana-Muduvōl or Kāñchina-Muduvōl, which the record places in it, is perhaps the modern 'Kanchināl' in the Inḍī tāluka.

we can hardly avoid noticing, before we go farther, two observations attached by Mr. Rice to his assertion that the Mahishamaṇḍala of the Buddhist books is the country round the city Mysore.

He has said in the first place:¹—"Mysore, properly Maisūru, derives its name from *mahisha*, Sanskrit for buffalo, reduced in Prākṛit to *mahisa* and in Kannaḍa to *maisa*, and *āru*, Kannaḍa for town or country". On the last point we must observe that the Kanarese *ār*, *āru*, does certainly mean 'village, town', but never 'country'.² For the rest, does the word *maisa* really exist in Kanarese? It may perhaps be assumed to exist, because Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, though not giving it, does give *maisi*, from the Śābdamaṇidarpaṇa (thirteenth century), as the *taḍbhava*-corruption of the feminine *māhiṣī*. But no instance is adduced of the actual use of even *maisi*. And the facts set out above make it plain that the Sanskritized forms of the name Mysore were based on the form Maisūr, instead of the reverse being the case. We do not believe that the name even means 'buffalo-village': the Kanarese people have their own words, *kōṇa*, 'a male buffalo', and *emme*, 'a female buffalo', and would naturally have used one or other of them to form any place-name connected with the idea of 'buffalo', and would have given us Kōṇanūr or Emmeyūr. We may suggest that the name may just possibly be connected with the Kanarese *mē*, *mēy*, *mēyu*, 'to graze', *mēyisu*, 'to cause to graze'. But we do not put forward even that with any confidence. We prefer to take this name, just as we have to take so many others, as one for which no certain origin can now be found.

Mr. Rice has further said (loc. cit.):—"Mahisa-maṇḍala

¹ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), p. 14, note 1. From an earlier writing by him, this derivation is given in the Imperial Gazetteer, 18. 161.

² Mr. Rice seems to have been thinking of the Sanskrit *uru*, 'wide, broad', whence we have *urṛī*, 'the earth'.

appears in the Tamil form *Erumai-nāḍu* in Māmūlanār's *Aganānūru*, which is of the second century." Here, several points arise. In the first place, it does not seem correct to ascribe the *Aganānūru* to Māmūlanār, and to assign it to the second century: we are told elsewhere that the *Aganānūru* is an anthology on erotic subjects, consisting of stanzas composed by about a hundred and sixty poets of whom Māmūlanār is one, and that it was compiled by Uruttiraśanman under the auspices of a Pāṇḍya king named Ugrapperuvaludi:¹ and an indication has been given to us that it cannot be placed before the close of the eighth century. Secondly, in view of the inference which is plainly intended, we should like to know exactly what Māmūlanār has said about the *Erumai-nāḍu*, and why his 'buffalo-district' is supposed to be Mysore: but the vague reference that is given hardly helps us to find the passage. Thirdly, if the name *Erumai-nāḍu* ever existed as an established name of Mysore, it is strange that it is not found so used in any of the Tamil historical poems published in the *Indian Antiquary*; nor in any of the numerous Tamil inscriptions which exist in Mysore and have been published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*; nor in any of the Tamil inscriptions from other parts which mention the Chōla conquest of Mysore; the term used in the latter is always Gaṅga-pāḍi, = Gangavādi. But we may be sure of one or other of two things. Either Māmūlanār's *Erumai-nāḍu* is to be located somewhere in the Madras Presidency, where *erumai* is a not infrequent first component of place-names in the Coimbatore, Madura, Tinnevely, Tanjore, Salem, North Arcot, and Chingleput Districts.² Or else, in view

¹ See M. Seshagiri Sastri's Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for the year 1893-4, No. 2, p. 131.

² The Village Postal Directory of the Madras Circle (1893) shows, under *e* and *y*, eighteen such names, and is suggestive of there being also others, not correctly spelt there. And, judged by maps, this compilation is not exhaustive.

of the particular nature of the *Aganānūru*, it denotes the territory with which we shall now proceed to identify the country in which we are interested.

* * * * *

- The Mahishamandala to which Moggaliputta-Tissa sent one of his Buddhist missions is distinctly not the modern Mysore territory or any part thereof. As our first step to its real identification, we take the first component of its name as denoting, not the idea of 'buffalo', but a people whose name is found in the various forms of Mahisha,¹ Mahishaka,² Māhishaka,³ and Māhishika.⁴ The passage in the Bhīshmaparvan of the Mahābhārata classes the Māhishakas as *janapadā dakṣiṇāḥ*; and the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa calls them *dakṣiṇāpatha - vāsinaḥ*: this means that they dwelt anywhere on the south of either the Vindhya range or the river Narmadā, whichever is taken as the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India: it does not mean that we must look for them in the extreme south. And we may note here that the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, in its account of the various hells and the people who go to them, mentions, amongst those who are doomed to the Rudhirāṇḍha, certain persons to whom it applies the term *māhishika*: here the commentary explains that a wife who dispenses her favours at random is termed *mahishī*, 'a female buffalo', and a husband who condones such conduct is styled *māhishika*.⁵

We will not venture to decide whether the Mahishas, Mahishakas, Māhishakas, Māhishikas, derived their name from being special breeders of buffaloes, or from a laxity

¹ Brihat-Samhitā, 9. 10 : Harivaṁśa, 782.

² Brihat-Samhitā, 17. 26.

³ Mahābhārata, e.g., 6 (Bhīshma). § 9. 366 : Vishṇu-Purāṇa, book 4, chap. 24 (Bombay text, 1866, p. 42a) : Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind.), chap. 57, verse 46.

⁴ Matsya-Purāṇa (Calcutta, 1876), chap. 113, verse 47 ; text in the Ānandāśrama series, 114. 47.

⁵ Book 2, chap. 6 : Bombay text (1866), p. 14b.

of morals which led them to connive at free-love on the part of their wives. But, taking the word as the name of a people, we locate the Mahishamaṇḍala, "the territory of the Mahishas", by recognizing as its capital a city Māhishmatī, which was of considerable antiquity and repute.¹

This city is mentioned by Patañjali in his comments on Vārttikas 10 and 15 under Pāṇini, 3. 1. 26, where he introduces it in illustrating a use of the causal to indicate something remarkable:—"Setting out from Ujjayinī, he makes sunrise (sees the sun rise) at Māhishmatī": he thus indicates that the distance between the two places was appreciable, but could, as a special feat, be covered between sunset and sunrise. It is mentioned as Māhissatī in inscriptions at Sāñchi, in which visitors to the Stūpas are described (in somewhat misspelt terms) as coming from Mahisatī, Māhasatī, Māhisatī.² And it was still flourishing in the thirteenth century: the inscription on the Māndhātā plates of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla³ tells us that in A.D. 1225, when he made the grant recorded in it, he was staying at Māhishmatī, and (we may add) that he made the grant after bathing in the Narbadā.

Some references to this city in the Mahābhārata are as follows:—In 2 (Sabhā). § 30. 1124–63, we are told that the Pāṇḍava prince Sahadēva, in the course of his tour to subjugate the countries of the south (*dakṣhinā*) for Yudhishtira, went to Māhishmatī, and there fought and conquered king Nīla: and a story is introduced (1130–43) narrating how the god Agni had conferred on the women of the city the boon of being allowed to behave just as

¹ From *mahisha* we have *mahishmat*, 'possessing buffaloes'. The name Māhishmatī is explained by the St. Petersburg Dictionary as being the feminine of *māhishmata* from *mahishmat*. There are indications that in some of the passages presenting the name Mahishaka, etc., there are various readings which give *shm* instead of *sh* in the third syllable.

² *Epi. Ind.*, 2. 109, No. 111; 389 f., Nos. 313, 314, 317.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, 9. 108.

they might like.¹ In 13 (Anuśāsana). § 2. 89, Daśāsva, one of the hundred sons of Ikshvāku son of Manu, is mentioned as a king of Māhishmatī. And in the same book, § 152. 7187, we are told that the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya, reigned over the whole earth at Māhishmatī.²

The city is also mentioned in the Harivamśa. We are there told in one place (1846-7) that it was founded by king Mahishmat, the heir (*dāyāda*) of Sāharīja who was descended from Yadu through Haihaya:³ but in another passage that the founder of it was king Muchukunda. This last-mentioned person is there treated as a son of Yadu: but elsewhere in the same work (711-14, 6464) he is mentioned as a son of Māndhātṛi.⁴

* * * * *

Regarding the identity of this city Māhishmatī there have been for a long time two views.⁵ One is that it is Mysore. This had its origin in a conjecture put forward by Wilson in 1822 in the *Calcutta Annual Register*.⁶ It has been asserted recently by Mr. Rice.⁷ So also the

¹ Compare the explanation, mentioned above, of the term *māhishika* as used in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa.

² In accordance with this, certain princes in Southern India, of the 11th and 12th centuries, who claimed to be of Haihaya extraction, used the title 'lord of Māhishmatī the best of towns', to indicate their place of origin: see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, part 2, pp. 439 and note 2, 450, 451, 457, 523; also *Epi. Ind.*, 4, 86.

³ On the descent compare Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 4, 53 f.

⁴ So also in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 3, 268.

⁵ There has also been a third view, which, however, we need not consider; namely, that Māhishmatī is 'Mandlā', the head-quarters town of the Mandlā District, Central Provinces: see Sleeman in JASB. 6 (1837). 622, and Cunningham in *Ancient Geography*, 488.

⁶ See Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 2, 166, note 8.

⁷ See, e.g., his *Mysore* (1897), 1, 280; 2, 280. He has said that Sahadēva crossed the Kāvērī to reach Māhishmatī. I do not find any mention of a Kāvērī in connexion with Māhishmatī in the Calcutta text of the epic. But, in case such a statement is really made anywhere else, it may be noted that the Indian Atlas shows a 'Cavery R.' flowing into the Nerbādā from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhishmatī.

Imperial Gazetteer says (18. 261) that Mysore appears as Māhishmatī in the Mahābhārata. We need say no more about that, beyond making one brief remark. The Mahābhārata tells us that Sahadēva subjugated, next after Nila of Māhishmatī, the king of Tripura. This place, as is well known, is Tēwar, in the Jabalpūr District. And the statement about Tripura should have been sufficient, for many years past, to prevent any repetition of the idea that Māhishmatī is Mysore.

The more general view has identified Māhishmatī with a town named Mahēshwar, on the north bank of the Narbadā, in the Nimār Zillah of the Indore State, which is shown as 'Mahesar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 37, N.E. (1892) in lat. 22° 10', long. 75° 38'. This identification was stated—apparently as an already accepted point—by Wilford in 1807.¹ And it has been last repeated in the Imperial Gazetteer.² The residents themselves seem to believe that Mahēshwar is Māhishmatī; since we gather from the Imperial Gazetteer that they recognize the Māhishmatī-Māhātmya as their local Purāṇa. And, though the names do not match, —Mahēshwar being plainly Mahēśvara, and having no connection with *mahisha*,—support for the view has been found in a passage in the Suttanipāta which tells us that, when the disciples of Bāvari, the hermit dwelling on the bank of the Gōdhāvarī (*sic*) in the neighbourhood of Alāka in the territory of Assaka (verse 997), journeyed to the north to look for Buddha, they went (verse 1011) to Patiṭṭhāna on the east of Alāka, then to Māhissatī, and then to Ujjēnī, Gōnaddha, Vēdisā, Vana-Kōsambī, Sākēta, Sāvattthī, and so on.³ This places Māhishmatī between Paṭṭhaṇ,

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, 9. 105.

² Vol. 17. p. 9; vol. 21, p. 118.

³ Verse 1011 ends with *Vana-sarhayaṃ*; and verse 1012 begins with *Kōsambin ch = āpi*. The translation (by Fausboll, SBE., 10. part 2, p. 180) says:—“ . . . Vēdisā, Vana-sarhaya, and also to Kosambī, Sāketa. . . . ” *Vana-sarhaya* means ‘having the appellation *vana*’. It might of course be taken as denoting some place bearing any such

which is the ancient Pratishthāna, on the Gōdāvarī, and Ujjain. And Mahēshwar answers well enough to such a location : it is closely about 185 miles north of Paiṭhaṇ and 70 miles south of Ujjain, and is almost on the straight line between the two places. It has, however, been lately shown that this identification is not the correct one.

* * * * *

Mr. Pargiter has drawn attention to two instructive statements about Māhishmatī.¹ One is in the Raghuvamśa, in the account of the *svayamvara* of Indumatī. When the chief portress, who introduces the various suitors, comes to Pratipa, king of Anūpa, a descendant of the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya, she says (6. 43) :—“ Be thou the Lakshmī on the lap of this long-armed (*king*), if thou dost wish to see through the windows of (*his*) palace the Rēvā (Narbadā), charming with rippling waters, which is a girdle round the hip-like ramparts of (*his city*) Māhishmatī.” As Mr. Pargiter has observed, this distinctly

name as Vanapura, Vananagara, or even Vanavāsa : and the division of the verses may be adduced in support of that. But the whole passage is little more than prose, with the addition here and there of suitable words to make it scan. And I venture to take it as speaking of “Kōsambī which had the appellation Vana”, that is “Kauśāmbī in the Forest”, on the strength of the *gaṇa* attached to Pāṇini, 4. 2. 97, which gives the name Vana-Kauśāmbī : it may be mentioned that the *Nava-Kauśāmbī* of the Benares text of the Kāśikā, 2nd edition, is a mistake ; all the other versions have *Vana*². The *gaṇa* presents, in fact, two names ; Kauśāmbī and Vana-Kauśāmbī. But we seem to be justified in taking them as denoting one and the same place by what Hien-tsiang says : after his description of Prayāga, he continues (Beal, *Life*, 90, and compare *Si-yu-ki*, 1. 234) :—“ From this, in a south-west direction, we enter a great forest, in which we frequently encounter evil beasts and wild elephants. After going 500 *li* or so, we arrive at Kiau-shang-mi.” Also, the Antagaḍa-dasio mentions Kōsambakāṇaṇa, “the Kosamba forest” (translation by Barnett, p. 81), though it may not place it in the same locality.

At the beginning of the passage in the Suttanipāta, the words are :—Alakassa Patitṭhānam purimaṁ. Here, also, I venture to differ from Fausbøll, who translated :—“ To Patitṭhāna of Alaka first, then to Māhissatī, . . . ”

¹ See his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, p. 333, note ‡ (issued in 1896), and introd., p. 9 (1905).

locates Māhishmatī, not on the Narbadā, but in the middle of it; that is, on an island in it. The other statement is in the Harivaṁśa, in the passage (5218-27) which narrates the founding of the city by Muchukunda. His father had expressed the desire (5211) that he should found two cities against the mountains Vindhya and Rikshavat, in the shelter of the hills. Accordingly, he first made a settlement on the bank of the Narbadā, at a place full of rough rocks, which he cleared and adorned with a bridge, moats, temples, streets, and groves; and he then made Māhishmatī, at the feet of the two mountains Vindhya and Rikshavat, and also a second city, Purikā, on the bank towards the Rikshavat.

Mr. Pargiter has pointed out that this latter passage marks a locality on the Narbadā where the Vindhya and Sātpurā (Sātpuḍā) ranges contract the valley, and come close to the river; that Mahēshwar does not satisfy the conditions of either of the two statements:¹ and that the place which does satisfy them is the rocky island and village of Māndhātā, now sacred to Śiva, and containing a famous shrine of him as Ōmkāranātha, about thirty-five to forty miles higher up the river. And he has accordingly located Māhishmatī there; a conclusion which we heartily endorse.

This island-village of Māndhātā, belonging to the Khandwā tahsil of the Nimār District, Central Provinces, is shown in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 53, S.W. (1891), as 'Mandhatha', with also the name 'Unkarnath' attached in more conspicuous type, in lat. 22° 15', long. 76° 12', six miles east of 'Barwai', and seven miles east-north-east of 'Mortakka', stations on the Mālwa section of the Rājputānā-Mālwa railway. And the map shows clearly how spurs of the Vindhya and Sātpurā ranges come close

¹ There is no inhabited island there; and the hills do not close in on the river. Moreover, the place does not seem to have any remains suggestive of antiquity.

up to it. In addition to satisfying the conditions of the Raghuvamśa and the Harivamśa, it answers just as well as does Mahēshwar to the statement in the Suttanipāṭa; being only about thirty miles to the east from the straight line between Paṭhaṇ and Ujjain, at a distance of closely about 195 miles from the former place and 70 miles from the latter. It answers to Patañjali's indication that the distance between Ujjain and Māhishmati, though appreciable, could be covered, as a special feat, in one night. It is distinctly referable to Southern India, whether we take the Vindhya mountains or the Nerbudā as the dividing-line between the north and the south. Its present name is well accounted for by the mention of Māndhātṛi as the father of Muchukunda in one of the versions of the parentage of the latter. And we may locate Purikā, the second city attributed to Muchukunda, on an open area, on the south of the island, where the map shows villages named 'Godurpoora, Bainpoora, Bamunpoora, and Dhooka',¹ and may probably place Muchukunda's preliminary settlement (on the north bank) on the east of the island, where the map shows two villages and 'Jain temples'. It may be added that the Imperial Gazetteer tells us (17. 152) that the village of Māndhātā stands partly on the island, partly on the south bank of the river, and —(a detail in which the place still answers to the words of Kālidāsa)— that on the island it includes rows of houses, shops, and temples, with "the Rao's palace conspicuous above the rest", standing on terraces scarped out of a hill: also, that "upon the summit of the hill are signs of a once flourishing settlement, in the shape of ruined fortifications and temples."

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In short, then, we locate the Mahishamandala, "the territory of the Mahishas", to which Moggaliputta-Tissa

¹ A town Purikā is mentioned in some of the inscriptions at Bharaut: *Ind. Ant.*, 21. 234, No. 83; 236, Nos. 117-9.

sent one of his Buddhist missions in the time of Aśoka, by recognizing it as the country of which the capital was Māhishmatī. We agree with Mr. Pargiter in placing Māhishmatī on the island in the Narbadā which is now known as Māndhātā. And we thus find in the Mahishamandala a border-land of the Buddhist Middle Country.

Looking to the general features of the country as shown in the Atlas sheets, we may probably take it that the territory belonging to Māhishmatī lay on both sides of the Narbadā, and extended on the west far enough to include Mahēshwar: in short, that it consisted of the present Nimār Zillah of Indore with part of the Nimār District of the Central Provinces. This would help to account for any transfer of the name and traditions of Māhishmatī, along with the Māhishmatī-Māhātmya, to Mahēshwar; a transfer which, if established, may be instructive in some other cases. It would also help to explain the mention of Māhishmatī as a city of the Avantis the people of Ujjain, in the Dīgha-Nikāya (see this Journal, 1907, 653): it may easily be the case that the Ujjain territory was sometimes bounded on the south by the Vindhya range, but sometimes reached as far as the Narbadā.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

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PARALLELS TO THE LEGENDS OF CANDRAHĀSA

The European literature is full of parallels to the history of Candrahāsa (No. 31). Not only is it found in many modern collections of fairy tales, as will be seen later on, but it appears already in mediaeval tales and legends, nay, is one of the German epic tales. As told by ancient chroniclers the history of the Emperor Henry III. of the eleventh century, is almost a copy of that of Candrahāsa. It occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 20 (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p. 315), *De miseria et tribulatione*, and in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus à Voragine. Latin edition by Greasse, No. 181 (not 171 as given by Oesterley), pp. 840-1, in the history of the Pope Pelagius. In the annotations to No. 20 (pp. 715-16) Oesterley has given a long list of parallels in the mediaeval literature, notably in Latin and German chronicles, most of them identical with the list in the *Kaiserchronik* (ed. H. F. Massman, Quedlinburg, 1854), vol. iii, pp. 1094-5, and in note 2, the full bibliography, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, a fact not so well known as it ought to be. The history, then (*Gesta Rom.*, 20), is briefly as follows: In the reign of the Emperor Conrad there lived a certain Count Leopold, who, for some reason or other, fled from the Court and hid himself with his wife in a hovel in the woods. By chance the emperor hunting there lost his way and came to the hovel to spend the night. The same night the hostess was delivered of a son. Suddenly the emperor heard a voice saying: "Take, take, take." Then again: "Restore, restore, restore." A third time the voice said: "Fly, fly, fly; for the child that is now born shall become thy son-in-law." The emperor, terrified, ordered in the

morning two of his squires to take the child forcibly away and to kill it. Moved by pity through its great beauty they placed it upon the branch of a tree, so as to save it from wild beasts, and killing a hare they brought its heart to the emperor. Soon after a duke, travelling in the forest, discovered the child, took it in the fold of his mantle, and brought it to his wife to nourish it as their own, and he gave it the name of Henry. The boy grew handsome and eloquent, and became a general favourite. The emperor, learning of the quickness of the youth, desired his foster-father to send him to Court, where he resided for some time, and was held in great esteem by many people. (Some versions of the legend then tell that the emperor having learned that the child was not the son of the Duke Henry of Suabia, but a foundling, recognized him to be the child whose death he had encompassed in consequence of the prophecy he had heard on the occasion of his birth.) According to the *Gesta*, the emperor, afraid lest he be the child he had commanded to destroy, now wanted to make sure of his death. So he wrote a letter with his own hand to the queen to the following purport : "I command thee on pain of death, as soon as this letter reaches thee, to put this young man to death." The young man who was to bear this letter to the queen by chance passed a church, and setting himself upon a bench fell asleep. The letter was enclosed in his purse. The priest of the place, impelled by curiosity, opened the letter and read the contents. Horrified, he cunningly erased the writing, and wrote instead : "Give him our daughter in marriage." The queen, seeing the emperor's writing and the impress of his signet, called together the princes of the empire and celebrated the nuptials with great pomp. The emperor hearing of it was first greatly afflicted, but on hearing afterwards all the miraculous circumstances from the esquires, the duke, and the priest, acquiesced in it and resigned himself to the dispositions of God. So he

confirmed the marriage, and appointed the young man heir to the throne.

This mediaeval legend, or cycle of legends, agrees almost in every detail with the first part of the story of Candrahāsa. All goes well so far up to the marriage, to which the father is finally reconciled in the history of Henry and in its numerous parallels in European chronicles. But the Indian story has a sequel. The father, far from resigning himself to the inexorable destiny of fate or to the dispensations of God, still harbours evil feelings and plots the final destruction of his son-in-law. In the end he falls a victim to the very plan which he had invented for the death of the innocent. In some modern fairy tales we find now the whole story, with a similar ending: the death of the scheming father-in-law who would defy destiny. In each of the parallels it is always a foundling. The child, whose future greatness had been overheard by the man on the night of its birth, is therefore exposed by him or by the murderers he had hired, and is found by some one else, who brings it up as his own child. He is therefore known as the Foundling. I start with "Naïdis the Foundling" in the most recent collection of tales from Macedonia (G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 129-34). After the wedding the man, whose daughter he had married through the change of the wording in the letter by the miraculous intervention of an old man, instructs his wife to call Naïdis the next morning early and to send him with another letter to the shepherds tending his flocks. In that letter he writes to the shepherds to cut the bearer in pieces and to fling him into the well. The mother-in-law seeing him sleep sweetly in her daughter's arms was sorry to wake him and went instead and woke her son, whom she thus sent to the doom prepared by his father for Naïdis. Hearing of it the distracted father runs after the son, but is too late; he had been cut in pieces according to his instructions, and the body thrown into the well. Full of

despair he kills himself, and thus the prophecy comes true, the youth becomes his heir.

Almost identical with this Macedonian version is the Greek tale No. 20 in Hahn's collection. Here, however, it is the father-in-law himself who is killed in accordance with the instructions he had sent through the young man. For he writes to the guardian of the vineyard to shoot the man who would come into the place at such and such a time. The young man, eager to fulfil his master's wish, runs very fast and reaches the vineyard long before the fatal hour. Then he lingers a little on the way back. The father-in-law, impatient to know what had happened to the young man, whether he had at last succeeded in destroying him, goes to the vineyard to be killed by the guardian. The same occurs in the Albanian tale of the Foundling (Dozon, No. 13, "L'enfant vendu, ou la Destinée"). Here it is the pasha who overhears the prophecy. After the marriage he orders the smith to kill the young man with his hammer. In this tale it is again a son (that of the pasha) who is anxious to go first, and the young man then brings back what the pasha had wished, viz. the head of his own son. Finally, the pasha himself is killed, for he is impatient and goes first to the coachman to see whether his instructions have been carried out. Among the South Slavonian tales published by Jagić (*Archiv f. Slav. Philologie*, vol. i, etc.) Nos. 14 and 56 belong to our cycle. Reinhold Koehler, than whom there was no greater authority in the comparative study of fairy tales, has added there a large number of parallels from the world's literature. His remarks and references have been reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften zur Maerchenforschung* (ed. Bolte, Weimar, 1898), pp. 417, 466. In the latter cycle of tales the young man, instead of being sent straight to be killed by means of a letter or a peculiar message, is sent on perilous errands, from which he is not expected to return safely, but he succeeds in overcoming all difficulties

and slays his enemies. The Rumanian parallels have been studied by L. Sainéan, *Basmele române* (Bucuresci, 1895), pp. 142-3.

The second episode then branches off, and at an early period becomes an independent tale. The first, or Henry, cycle starts with a prophecy at birth, or at some early period in the life of the youth, and finishes, as a rule, with his marriage: the second cycle, which I will mention now as briefly as possible—though there is nothing in it of “predestination” and it lacks the changed letter—has, none the less, some traits in common with the Indian story, and must be an old variant. It is also found in one of the legends of the *Gesta Romanorum* among the “additional” tales published by Oesterley, but found already in the English version: the story of Fulgentius. The motive for sending the young man to what looks a positive death, is envy on the part of a steward, or some other courtier, who wishes to get rid of his rival in the favour of the king. He resorts to a stratagem which is the same in most of the parallels. He tells the emperor that the youth had told the people that his, the king’s breath, was foul (either through leprosy or through some other fell disease), and that it was death to him to serve the cup. Then the emperor asks the steward first whether it is true, and on his denying that there was anything amiss with the breath of the emperor he is asked how he, the emperor, might bring this thing to good proof. The steward answers: “To-morrow next when he serveth the cup the young man will turn his face away from the emperor.” He then goes to the young man, and tells him that the emperor feels very sore on account of his stinking breath, which makes his drink to do him no good. Fulgentius (this is the name of the youth) asks the steward to counsel him what to do, and he advises him to turn his face away from the emperor whenever serving him with the cup. He does so and is turned out of Court. The emperor then decides

to punish him, and again, upon the advice of the steward, orders him to go to the brickmakers at the emperor's limekiln, whither he should send the order to cast into the furnace whoever came and asked whether they had fulfilled the king's will. Fulgentius, on his way, passing a church, hears the bell tolling for service. So he goes in, attends service, and falls into a profound sleep. Meanwhile, the steward, impatient to know the fate of Fulgentius, proceeds to the limekiln, asks the fatal question, and is forthwith bound hand and foot and thrown into the furnace, just before Fulgentius arrives, who hears the news and is told of the command of the emperor. He returns, to the great surprise of the emperor, who, by questioning, finds out the truth, and recognizes in Fulgentius' salvation divine intervention and the triumph of truth. To this story (No. 283) Oesterley gives a full parallel literature (p. 749), without noticing the connexion with No. 20 (and pp. 715-16). From that list it will be seen how widespread this version of the legend had been in the Middle Ages, and also that it had entered into the literature of fairy tales and ballads, the best known being Schiller's *Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*. It is also found in the East in the *Persian Mesnevi*, in the *Forty Viziers* (German, by Bernauer), in the *Somadeva*, and partly also in some additions to the *Pancha-Tantra* (Benfey, i, 321). To these parallels I will add now only two more, hitherto unknown. They are found in Hebrew MSS. The first, in a MS. of the xiii-xiv cent. (Bodl. 1466, ed. Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, No. 308, pp. 207-8): and the other in my possession, Cod. 130, No. 38a f., 100a ff. In the former it is a young man to whom the father leaves on his death-bed the wish never to pass the synagogue when service is held without going in and taking part in it.

The young man went to Court and served as cup-bearer and page to the king and queen. Being favoured by

them he roused the envy of the steward, who, taking advantage of the fact that favour was shown to him by the queen, told the king that she was bestowing her love on the young man. The king would not believe it, until at last he allowed himself to be persuaded, and decided to destroy the page. So he commanded the brickmaker to throw into the limekiln the first man who would come to him and ask whether he had fulfilled the king's command. And he ordered the young man to go early next morning to the limekiln. On the way he passes a synagogue, and hearing the service going on, he dismounts from his horse, goes into the synagogue, and tarries there until the end. The king, after waiting for a while, sends the steward to the kiln to inquire what has happened. He is thrown into the burning furnace. Meanwhile the young man comes to the place, and seeing them throwing the steward into the burning furnace remonstrates with them, but they answer: "Such was the command of the king, and he (the steward) was the first who came." The young man returns to the king and asks him why he has ordered them to burn the steward. The king, being greatly surprised at the turn of events, tells him all that the steward had spoken against him, and adds that he is now fully convinced of his innocence. And the "Moralizatio", quite in the style of the *Gesta*, is: "This shows how necessary and beneficial it is not to pass divine service."

The point to be noted in this variant, and in the subsequent, is the importance attached to the synagogue or church, and the "Moralizatio" that the salvation of the young man is due to his tarrying at that place for devotional purposes. This point has become obscured in the first cycle of legends, the Henry cycle, though a remnant of it is found in Henry resting in the church where the inquisitive priest changes the writing of the letter. The significance of the stopping at the church for religious

purposes, which is obliterated in the other variants, appears prominently in this second cycle of legends. It occurs also in the story of Maimonides, who is the hero of a tale found in my MS. 130 (of the sixteenth to seventeenth century). He was a favourite at the Court of the King of Spain, and became the object of envy to the other courtiers. The oldest among them then decides to bring about his destruction by the scheme of insinuating an evil smell of the breath of the king, and of Maimonides, advising the latter to cover his mouth with his hand when addressing the king. Greatly incensed at this public insult, the king orders the baker to heat his furnace and to throw into it the first man who would ask for the king's message. Maimonides, of course, is sent. On his way to the furnace Maimonides is stopped three times to take part in a religious ceremony, once by being asked to be present at a circumcision, the second time at a wedding, and the third time at a funeral. The king's counsellor, impatient to know of the result, reaches the furnace first and is thrown in, and Maimonides is thus saved by having been stopped on his way in the performance of religious duties. The king then learns the truth, and he recognizes that a just punishment has overtaken the wicked counsellor.

It would be easy to increase the number of parallels; they are mostly mentioned in the books of Liebrecht, Koehler, and Oesterley. To this large number now the history of Candrahāsa is a most welcome and important addition, for it furnishes the missing Indian link, and closes the chain.

M. GASTER.

THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

My paper on the Antiquity of Vedic Culture¹ has elicited comments from various scholars²; may I be

¹ JRAS, 1909, pp. 72I seqq.

² Ibid., pp. 1095 seqq.

allowed to make a few remarks on the strictures of Professor Oldenberg and Mr. Berriedale Keith, which concern more directly the Sanskrit scholar?

According to Professor Oldenberg the Mitannian gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, are not the Vedic gods of those names, but Iranian gods partly occurring in the Avesta, partly inferred from facts contained in the Avesta. He contends that the divine pair, Ahura-Mithra or Mithra-Ahura, of the Avesta has been correctly identified with Mitra-Varuṇa of the Veda; for the Vedic Varuṇa is indeed the great Asura (= Iran. *ahura*). The Vedic Indra is concealed under Verethrajan, the god of Victory in the Avesta. And to the Vedic pair of the two Nāsatyas corresponds in the Avesta the evil spirit Nāonhaithya. Therefore Professor Oldenberg says in conclusion: "I never doubted that Zarathustrianism was preceded by a more ancient Iranian religious system in which occurred a divine pair, Mitra-Varuṇa, a god Indra, a pair of two Aśvins or Nāsatyas."

This reasoning is open to serious objections. (1) A god Varuṇa is nowhere mentioned in Iranian records. We only know for certain that Mithra was associated with another great god of whose true name and functions we are totally ignorant. From the fact that both in the Veda and in the Avesta there occur a couple of gods, one of whom is Mitra, it does not follow that the second member in either couple should also be the same. For the Sun-god may be, and has been, associated with various gods, so as to form a pair with any one of them, e.g. the Moon, the Night, the Dawn,¹ etc. We do not know who was the companion of that Mitra who, as Professor Sayce tells us in his note, p. 1106, is "represented by ideographs which signify 'the dawn-completer'". (2) The Iranian god of Victory, Verethrajan, corresponds to the Indian Vṛtrahan; but in Indian

¹ Cf. Garuḍa and Aruṇa.

mythology Vṛtrahan is an epithet of Indra, while in the Avesta Verethrajan and Indra are two distinct mythological persons, a god and a demon. It is just as likely that the Indians should have fused two gods into one as that the Iranians should have split one into two. And besides the inscription names this god "Indra" and not Vṛtrahan. (3) The Avesta knows but one Nāonhaithya, a demon, not a divine pair of Nāsatyas, thus ignoring the most characteristic trait of the Ásvins, their forming a couple. Nāsatya is an epithet of the Ásvins, the signification of which is unknown. It may, for all we know, have been also the name of an Iranian god wholly unconnected with the Indian Ásvins. The inscription does not mention *one* Nāsatya, but two: for the plural *ilāni* most probably stands for the dual which is wanting in Babylonian. (4) The gods mentioned in the inscription are identical in form with Vedic gods: there is not a trace of anything peculiarly Iranian.¹ This fact goes far to prove that the religion of the tribe who imported their gods into Mesopotamia was essentially the same as Vedic religion as far at least as concerns mythology. For the gods invoked in those treaties were, of course, the principal gods of that tribe.

Now the facts discussed under Nos. 1-3 prove that Iranian mythology, as revealed in the Avesta, bears some resemblance to Vedic mythology (as far as concerns the gods under consideration), but that, on the other hand, the difference is also well marked. And this is

¹ Professor Oldenberg says, p. 1098, note 1: "By deriving these gods from Iran rather than from India we may possibly account for the absence of Agni. It seems probable that the prominence of Agni in the Veda is of Indian, not of Indo-Iranian, growth." In my opinion the prominence of Agni in the Veda is due to the fact that Agni (like Soma) was a god of the priests (in later times he is identified with the Brahmans), while Indra was the god of warriors or Kṣattriyas. Therefore the absence of Agni from the Mitannian inscription is easily accounted for by the fact that the Mitannian kings or their predecessors were warriors and not priests.

just what might be expected in two distinct peoples derived from a common stock; we know of no instance where two such peoples, each of which, however, developed an individual language and nationality, have preserved the same gods and attributed to them the same relative importance as in the prehistoric times when the two peoples had not yet separated. For the causes which bring about linguistic and ethnical differentiation, still more powerfully affect the religious beliefs of the people and their selection of gods.¹

These considerations make it highly improbable that the gods invoked in the Mitannian inscriptions should be Iranian, or, more accurately, proto-Iranian² gods. Now the obvious reason for assuming them to be Iranian is the apparently Iranian form of the names of the Mitannian kings. But according to Professor Sayce³ it is very unlikely that the names of the Mitannian kings are either Indo-European or Iranian: and this eminent scholar shows that the seeming Iranian affinities of these names may just as well be explained from Mitannian and Hittite idioms. If he is right, there is no reason which could induce us to interpret as Iranian, gods who, on the face of it, are Vedic gods.

¹ Popular gods usually vary even from tribe to tribe within the same people unless a uniform mythology is brought about by some powerful factor: as the Greek Pantheon was fixed by the Homeric poems, so the Vedic Pantheon by the Vedic R̥sis. If, therefore, contrary to my opinion, it could be proved that the pre-Zarathustrian religious system of the Iranians contained the principal gods of the Veda, then indeed we should have to assume that those Iranians had, at some time, been so wholly under the influence of Vedic culture as to adopt even the Vedic gods.

² Professor Oldenberg corrects me in ascribing to Professor Meyer the opinion that those gods were Arian instead of proto-Iranian. If I must plead guilty, I may say in my excuse that the title of his paper: "The first appearance in history of the *Arians*," and some passages, e.g. the one translated by Oldenberg on p. 1096, have misled not only me but also other readers.

³ JRAS, 1909, p. 1107.

Professor Oldenberg thinks that even if these gods should, after all, turn out to be Vedic gods, their occurrence on Mitannian inscriptions of about 1400 B.C. will make no alteration in the current opinions on the age of the Veda; and he objects to my declaration that the excavations at Boghazkioi "give an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization". But their importance in this regard will be evident to everyone who considers that till recently the oldest authentic date in Indian history was the epoch of Buddha's death, and that now the oldest certain date is pushed back for well-nigh a thousand years. The testimony which the Mitannian inscriptions bear to the existence of Vedic religion about 1400 B.C. will henceforth be the keystone of all speculations on the antiquity of Indian civilization.

I had contended that everybody would accept my interpretation of the dates brought forward by Mr. Tilak and myself in order to prove the high antiquity of Vedic civilization, if the latter could be proved by independent evidence. Mr. Berriedale Keith, however, is of opinion that the objections to my chronological arguments would remain in undiminished force, even if the Vedic culture should date from the early epoch I claim for it. And in order to make his assertion good he restates the reasons of my opponents in a condensed form. May I, therefore, be allowed to give also my version of the story?

(1) The Vedic year began with full moon in Uttara-Phalguni (3 Leonis): our opinions are at variance about the epoch denoted by this beginning of the year. I believe that at the time when the oldest Vedic calendar was fixed, the full moon in Uttara-Phalguni occurred at the winter solstice; but according to Oldenberg it marked the beginning of the hot season. He places the period of the oldest Brāhmaṇas during which the calendar may have been fixed at about 800 B.C. At that time the full moon

in question occurred, as an easy calculation shows, within a fortnight on either side of the 3rd February. Now if we place the first construction of the Vedic calendar 800 years earlier, as the Boghazkiöi inscriptions entitle us to do, the limits of Phālguna full moon are shifted forward to the 10th January and the 7th February. Therefore, from the assumptions of Oldenberg, Thibaut, and others, it would follow that the Indians, when first framing their calendar, marked *the beginning of the hot season by the full moon occurring between the 10th January and the 7th February*. As such a proposition is quite unacceptable in my opinion, I think it preferable to interpret the said beginning of the year as marked by the winter solstice of a very early period. For the winter solstice was also the beginning of the lustrum and the first year of it in the adjusted calendar of the Jyotisaṃ which at that time coincided with new moon in Māgha (about 1100 B.C.).

I proceed to discuss two more dates which, in my opinion, bear testimony to the existence of a polar star (*dhruva*) and the position of the Pleiades near the vernal equinox in the early Vedic age. My opponents deny that the alleged evidence contains a positive base for chronological inference.

(2) The *dhruva* (lit. the immovable one) was during the marriage ceremony pointed out by the husband to his bride as a symbol of immobility. Mr. Berriedale Keith¹ emphasizes the fact that the *dhruva* "among Vedic texts appears only in the marriage ritual of the Grhya Sūtras and in the late (I should say apocryphal) Upaniṣadic literature". But as the pointing out of the polar star as a part of the marriage ceremony is enjoined in *all* the principal Grhya Sūtras, it was obviously a usage prevailing all over India and, therefore not one of recent origin.²

¹ I.c., p. 1101.

² It is misleading when Keith says (ibid.) that the "*dhruva* is admittedly an intruder in the Vedic marriage ritual". Professor Winternitz, speaking of another detail of the marriage ritual, which is of

Now I contend that the *dhruva* was the polar star of the period in which the popular custom of showing it to the bride came into existence; for it is difficult to imagine that the Indians should have wantonly named a star immovable whose motion could not have escaped observation. It was, of course, natural for this star to retain the name once given it for an indefinite length of time, even after it had ceased to appear immovable.¹ The opponents of my theory seem to suppose that the ancient Indians invented, as it were, a polar star, and then fixed on a star in the vicinity of the Pole to call it *dhruva*. However, the absence of anything like astronomical theories before the Puranic period makes this assumption unacceptable, in my opinion. I am convinced that it was not the priest who invented a polar star, but that the common people, villagers and the like, had discovered it. On this assumption I identified the *dhruva* with α Draconis, which star was, in 2780 B.C., only six minutes distant from the Pole, and continued for about three or four hundred years before and after that time in such vicinity to the Pole that it may have been regarded as a true polar star. Only two more stars of sufficient magnitude approached the Pole: κ Draconis and β Ursæ Minoris, the minimum

unmistakably Indo-Germanic origin, points out that it is mentioned in two *Grhya Sūtras* only, and he adds the remark that this fact should caution us against drawing an inference as to the absence of a popular custom from the absence of a testimony for it in the oldest literature. *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xl, p. 177.

¹ The phrase *dhrurasya pracaṇanam* in *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, i. 4, has been regarded as evidence that the motion of the polar star had become known at last. But this is a mistake. The shaking of *Dhruva* is mentioned among other portents which were apparently supposed to occur at the end of a *Kalpa*: *śoṣaṇam mahārṇavānām, śukharīṇām prapaṭanam, vrascanam vātaraḥjñām*. We are here already in presence of Puranic cosmology; note the cords of winds by which the stars are fastened to the *Dhruva*, see *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii. 12, 24. For the *Purāṇas* *Dhruva* (*Auttānapada*) seems to be the Pole, as guardian of the celestial bodies; and the star near him is his mother *Sunīti* or *Sūnṛta*, see *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, i. 12, 95.

polar distance of the former being $4^{\circ} 44'$ in 1290 B.C., and of the latter $6^{\circ} 28'$ in 1060 B.C. But neither could have been named "immovable", since the daily changes in the position of the one amounted to about 10 degrees, and of the other to about 13 degrees, and they increased as time drew on. These are quantities not to be overlooked by men familiar with the starred heaven, as those Indians must have been who told the day of the month and the time of the night by observing the asterisms. I have treated elsewhere¹ at some length the astronomical side of the question. My observations appeal to those who by a practical acquaintance with astronomy can form an adequate idea of their significance, and realize that 10 degrees make a very perceptible difference of position. Mr. Berriedale Keith, who says that my "observations on this point do not seem convincing", will give me leave to doubt his competence as judge in astronomical matters, since on p. 1102 of his paper he gives vent to the opinion that a star of 3.3 magnitude is brighter than one of "only" 2.0 magnitude.

(3) The last argument from the Kṛttikās, or Pleiades, assumes that they opened the series of Nakṣatras as standing, at that time, near the vernal equinox. With this interpretation of that well-known fact I combined two testimonies from the Brāhmaṇas: (a) in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa I, 5, 2, 6 seqq. the Nakṣatras are divided into *devanakṣatras*, Kṛttikās down to Viśākhē, and *yamanakṣatras*, Anurādhās down to Bharanī, the former being apparently regarded as the Northern, and the latter as the Southern, Nakṣatras: (b) in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II, 1, 2, 3, it is said that the Kṛttikās do not deviate (*cyavante*) from the East,² while the other Nakṣatras do; the meaning of this observation is that

¹ See *Festgruss an Rud. von Roth*, 1893, pp. 72 seqq.; ZDMG., vol. xlix, p. 228; vol. l, p. 70.

² Śaṅkara's commentary runs thus: *dakṣiṇata uttarato vā cikṣeparaśān na calanti, kṛttu niyameṇa śuddhaprācyām eva dyanti.*

the Kṛttikās rise due east, as was the case when they stood near the vernal equinox. To my observations on this point,¹ which I do not think invalidated by the remarks of Oldenberg and Thibaut, I may add that the Hindus in later times did not doubt the proposed significance of the Kṛttikās' place at the head of the Nakṣatras. For when at last they had become aware of the precession of the equinoxes, some astronomers (Sūrya Siddhanta) assumed a libratory movement of the vernal equinox, the limits of which were 27 degrees in either direction from the beginning of Aśvinī (near ζ Piscium), thus including in the libration the Kṛttikās. Mr. Keith considers the argument from the Kṛttikās also quite unconvincing, and he lays stress on "the fact that in no other regard does the vernal equinox appear as important in Vedic literature". But does the fact that Vedic liturgy took no cognizance of the vernal equinox preclude its being known? It is further said: "We do not know the origin of the Nakṣatras, and until we do, it is hardly likely that the origin of the place of Kṛttikās will be found." If the Kṛttikās rose due east in the Vedic period—viz. if their position then was near the vernal equinox—it matters little what was the origin of the Nakṣatras.

Whatever will be the value assigned to my chronological argument by the progress of research, at the present I do not think my opponents entitled to treat it as definitely refuted.

HERMANN JACOBI.

THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

The importance of the question of the interpretation of the chronological data of the Vedic literature renders desirable a brief reply to Professor Jacobi's last note on the subject.

¹ See ZDMG., vol. xlix, pp. 220 seqq.; vol. l, p. 72.

1. Professor Jacobi states that the Boghazkiöi inscriptions entitle us to place the first construction of the Vedic calendar 800 years earlier (than 800 B.C.), and deduces thence an argument in favour of his view that the full moon in Uttara-Phalguni occurred at the winter solstice when the oldest Vedic calendar was fixed. But the inscriptions in question say nothing about Uttara-Phalguni or the Vedic calendar, and cannot, therefore, entitle us to make any assertion as to the date of the first construction of a calendar which they neither mention nor presuppose.

2. Professor Jacobi is fully entitled to doubt my competence as a judge in astronomical matters, but not to base that doubt on a misstatement of my views. I did not assert—as reference to p. 1102 of the *Journal* for 1909 will show—that a star of 3·3 magnitude is brighter than one of “only” 2·0 magnitude. My argument, which was condensed, but I think readily intelligible to anyone familiar with the question, was that the star κ Draconis might well be identified with the *dhrura* of the Grhya Sūtras, and have been regarded as the Pole Star both about and for long after 1290 B.C., when it was at its minimum distance ($4^{\circ} 44'$) from the North Pole, because its only probable rival, β Ursæ Minoris, while it was only 2·0 in magnitude, and therefore not very greatly more conspicuous than κ Draconis,¹ was never at a less polar distance than $6^{\circ} 28'$, and thus was much less likely than κ Draconis ever to have been chosen as the Pole Star. But, as I said then, I see no reason at all for any definite identification of the star, but if we must have one, κ Draconis appears to me infinitely more likely than α Draconis. A date of the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C. is much more likely to be found as a survival in a Grhya Sūtra than one of the third millennium.

3. Stress must be laid on the fact that even if we were to assume, in the face of all probability, that Kṛttikās

¹ Cf. also Oldenberg, ZDMG., 1, 450, 451.

only marked the vernal equinox, none the less the date so indicated would be vague in the extreme. Whitney,¹ Weber,² and Thibaut³ have shown with perfect clearness how utterly vague are the dates which can be ascribed to this event, or to the coincidence of new moon in Māgha with the winter solstice in the *Jyotiṣa*. The arguments of these scholars have not been refuted or apparently adequately considered by Professor Jacobi, though in one place⁴ he appears to accept the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. as the date of the latter event, while in his last note the date is given at about 1100 B.C. But so long as their arguments stand, all speculation rests on an absolutely insecure basis.⁵

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

APASTAMBA MANTRA BRAHMANA, ii, 8, 4

In this verse occurs—

priyaṃ mā deveṣu kuru
priyaṃ mā brahmaṇe kuru |
priyaṃ viśyeṣu sūdreṣu
priyaṃ rājasu mā kuru ||

¹ JRAS., i, 316 seqq. ; Colebrooke's *Essays*, i, 126 seqq. ; *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii, 380 seqq.

² *Indische Studien*, x, 234 seqq.

³ IA., xxiv, 98 seqq.

⁴ IA., xxiii, 157, where he seems to admit a possible error of ten centuries in the fixing of the vernal equinox at Kṛttikās ! It should be noted that both Whitney (*Studies*, ii, 383) and Thibaut (IA., xxiv, 97) are prepared to accept the view that the presence of Kṛttikās at the equinox is merely another form of the datum of the *Jyotiṣa* ; this would reduce indefinitely the importance of the Kṛttikās theory.

⁵ Shamasastri's effort (*Garām Ayanā*, pp. 132 seqq.) to refute Whitney must be regarded as quite inadequate. The references to Baudhāyana establish nothing that was not known before. Whitney was acquainted with the Brāhmaṇa references to the holding of certain festivals on certain dates, but he laid stress on the fact that there is no evidence to show how the *Jyotiṣa* and the sacrificial ritual were connected. It may be remarked that the evidence of the *Jyotiṣa* so far as it goes is very unfavourable to Shamasastri's theory of *go* as "intercalary day".

In *Hiranyakeśin Gṛhya Sūtra*, i, 10, 6, *inter alia* the reading of Pāda *b* is : *prīyaṃ mā brahmaṇi kuru*. This is, of course, much easier, and not unnaturally Winternitz, in his edition,¹ while accepting *brahmaṇe* as the *Āpastamba* text from all his MSS. and Haradatta, regards it as either Prākritic or an error for *brahmaṇi*.

It seems to me at once simpler and more satisfactory to assume that we have here a change of construction simply, the dative being substituted for the locative² of the other Pādas. The use of the dative with *prīya* is not common, but cf. RV., v, 51, 4 : *prīya Indrāya Vāyam*, where the dative seems most naturally to be connected with *prīya*, though it might also be construed with the preceding *pariśicyate*, and especially *Atharvaveda*, xii, 2, 34 : *prīyaṃ pitṛbhya ātmane brahmabhyah kṛtā prīyam*, which affords a precise, and in my opinion conclusive, argument for the dative *brahmaṇe*. The sense, of course, is different, but that is merely because in the one case the object is masculine, in the other neuter.

Interchanges of case of this kind are not rare in Sanskrit: e.g., in *Manu*, iii, 84 seqq., we have : *ābhyah kuryād devatābhyo brāhmaṇo homam anvaḥam* | *Agnes Somasya caivādan tayoś caiva samastayoḥ* | *viśrebhyaś caiva devabhyo Dhanvantaraya eva ca* || 85 ||. Or again, *ibid.*, ii, 79, there is : *mahato 'py enaso māsāt tvacevāhir vimucyate* | with which cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 16, 14. Or in *Manu*, iv, 128, the accusative and locative of time alternate in the same sense. Again in RV., x, 76, 5, we have : *divaś cid ā vo 'marattarebhyo vibhvanā cid āśvapastarebhyah* | *vāyoś cid ā somarabhustarebhyo 'gneś cid arca pitukṛttarebhyah* ||. It is here clear that *vibhvanā* must have the same sense as the ablative, and Delbrück's³ doubts as to the possibility of the use of the

¹ *The Mantrapāṭha*, i, pp. xxiv and 44.

² For the locative, cf. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 120.

³ *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 138.

instrumental for the ablative in such cases cannot be maintained against the evidence adduced by both Pischel¹ and Geldner,² so that we need not read *ribhranaḥ* as Roth³ suggested. For other examples of interchange, cf. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 23, and Oldenberg's note on RV., i, 55, 3; a good instance in Prākṛit is that in *Mṛcchakatikā*, i, 30, 9: *śarāmi-śīśam-pādehim*,⁴ which is certainly to be taken as two variant constructions with the same sense.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The accepted use of *me* and *te* as personal pronouns in Sanskrit is as dative and genitive, and it is as well to be slow in ascribing to these forms any other significance without very convincing evidence. I consider it therefore desirable to analyse the proofs of other usages alleged for the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Dr. Michelson in an article in the JAOS.⁵ He finds *me* as instrumental singular in iv, 14, 14, and in a number of other passages like *me śrutas*, iii, 7, 10; in all the latter, however, he himself admits the possibility of their being genitives, and I have no doubt whatever that this is the case. The former case, however, is more important, as it is *anṛtaṃ noktapūrvam me ciraṃ kṛchre 'pi tiṣṭhatā*, when the instrumental of the participle is important. But it is as simple to assume a double construction; *uktapūrvam* can quite correctly be construed either with instrumental or genitive, and we have both, the genitive being, no doubt, preferred *metri*

¹ *Gott. gel. Anz.*, 1884, p. 513; ZDMG., xlii, 303; *Ved. Stud.*, i, 309; i, 71, 215.

² *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 32.

³ ZDMG., xlviii, 677, i.e. *ribhranas ā* by hypersandhi. Cf. Oldenberg, *Rigveda-Noten*, i, 355.

⁴ JAOS., xxvii, 423.

⁵ xxv, 116 seqq.

causa. For parallels, due to the same state of affairs, cf. Mbh., iii, 54, 5: *tato Vīdarbhapataye Damaṃyantiyāḥ sakhījanah | nyavedayat tām asvasthūṇi Damaṃyantiṇi nareśvare* || when *nareśvare* cannot refer to Nala as in Milman's translation. The reason here for the locative is metrical. Or again in R., i, 12, 22, we have¹ *gatānāṇi teṣu vipreṣu*, which is not half so easy as *me-tiṣṭhatā*. Or in v, 25, 9,² where *rudantiyāḥ-Sītayā* is a combination of "Sītā's lock" (*venī*) and "agitated by Sītā" (*kampitā*), and is not merely metrical. The examples of *te* as instrumental are merely of the type *buddhir anyā na te kāryā*, and are all obvious genitives. It is, of course, impossible to accept *te* or *me* as instrumental when they only occur in senses when the genitive is perfectly appropriate: and it is significant that even in Pāli the use of *me* and *te* as instrumental is by no means certain: though in any case arguments from Pāli or Prākṛit syntax to Sanskrit are apt to be quite unscientific and lead to unsound results,³ and the notorious irregularity of Avestan syntax is not cogent for Sanskrit syntax.

But Mr. Michelson finds also *me* as ablative and perhaps as locative. As ablative he renders it in vi, 19, 20: *na me jīvan vimokṣyate*, and in vii, 10, 17: *varam anyāṃ vṛṇīṣva me*. In both cases the use is no doubt dative, as in the Homeric *τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο*, "took away from them" (Od., i, 9), or *Θέμιστι δέκτο δέπας*, "received the cup from" (Il., xv, 87).⁴ As locative he thinks its use unlikely, as the only case is ii, 85, 10, where *buddhir anyā na me kāryā* has a variant *te* (much more likely),

¹ Bohtlingk, ZDMG., xli, 187.

² JAOS., xxv, 107. Cf. also AV., x, 7, 39, as explained by Hopkins. JAOS., xxviii, 367, n. 1, and RV., i, 31, 12, as explained by Pischel. *Ved. Stud.*, iii, 193; and cf. the citation from the Bower MS. in Hoernle's paper, *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 352.

³ Cf. JRAS., 1906, pp. 722, 993; 1909, p. 155, n. 6. For the genitive with participle, cf. Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, pp. 45, 46; Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 153.

⁴ Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, pp. 135, 136.

and where in any case *me* might be genitive and not instrumental.

For *te* both Professor Hopkins¹ and Mr. Michelson find a use as accusative in *apāpām vedmi Sīte te*, which is the reading of the Bombay edition in vii, 49, 10. But Gorresio's edition has *tvām*, and the corruption is obvious : by an error, which is one of the commonest in Sanskrit MSS., *sīte te tvām* was written, and the next step was to eject the offending extra syllable as a gloss on *te* (the commentary actually glosses *te* by *tvām*).

After this we will hardly be inclined to take very seriously the use in vii, 53, 21 : *sa te mokṣayitū śāpāt*. The sense is clearly either dative "for thee", or genitive "of thee", not an accusative at all.² In vii, 47, 9, the last example, *aham ājñāpayāmi te*, *te* is a legitimate variant, and to us a more natural one, from the *tvām*, which is also possible. The dative is the natural construction of *ā-jñāpayāmi*, though the accusative is intelligible, and the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* quotes without remark, vi, 103, 10 : *na kiñcid asyā rājīnam aham ājñāpayāmi te*.

In *tubhyam* Mr. Michelson finds an instrumental in a variant mentioned by the commentary of the *trayā* of the text, and calls it an *ārṣa* usage. The text is (Bombay edition, not in Gorresio)—

naiva vārayitum śakyas trayā krūro niśācarah |

I quite agree that *tubhyam* may well be the correct reading, instead of the obvious *trayā*, which could hardly ever be corrupted, but *tubhyam* is a mere ordinary dative³ :

¹ JAOS., xx, 222. Cf. JAOS., xxviii, 388, n. 1. where he suggests that *te* in the Epic *śape te* is accusative, but the dative is perfectly plausible, cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xii, 7. 3, 1.

² Contrast the same dative but in a contrary sense : Mbh., iii, 279, 4 : *na hi me mokṣyase jivan*, and 282, 16 : *na me mokṣyasi kurlhit*, where on Mr. Michelson's principle we would equate the dative and the genitive.

³ It is worth noting that Franke (*Die Casuslehre des Pāṇini*, pp. 20, 21) suggests that in similar cases the dative is original and the genitive is due to the popular dialects. But this is hardly necessary as the genitive

"this harsh one is not for thee to restrain," and to take it as instrumental is merely to make nonsense of grammar.

No more convincing is the evidence for the use of *mahyam* or *tubhyam* as genitive. At i, 13, 4, *suhṛn mahyam* is a clear case of dative, as in RV., ii, 2, 8 : *atithir cārur āyare*,¹ though the other editions read *caiva*. In v, 36, 39 : 37, 20, occurs *śrutvaiva ca vaco mahyaṃ kṣipram eṣyati Rāgharah*. The commentary² takes *mahyaṃ* as *mattaḥ* in the first place (where Gorresio, v. 34, 4, has *mama śrutvaiva tu vacaḥ*) and as *mama matto cā* in the second. I think Mr. Michelson misunderstands him in thinking that he meant to construe *mahyam* with *eṣyati*; he renders *mahyam* either as *mama*, adjective with *vacas*, or as *mattaḥ* with *śrutvā*. But the dative is clearly, if it goes with *śrutvā vacas*, ethical, and if with *eṣyati*, it means "starts towards".³ In vii, 49, 9, the dative is also perfectly in place, and in the only case of *tubhyam* as genitive, i, 54, 15 : *aprameyaṃ balam tubhyam*, the dative is clearly right.

There remains of the misuse of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons in the *Rāmāyaṇa* only that of *yūyam* as acc. pl.⁴ in v, 64, 17 : *ayuktaṃ kṛtakarmāṇo yūyaṃ dharsayitūṃ balāt* |. Mr. Michelson also suggests⁵ that *kṛtakarmāṇo*, which is, of course, a nominative form, may be vocative. Yet the explanation seems very obvious: we have here a clear case of the neuter use of the predicate

is naturally found adnominally with gerunds and participles. The use, however, of the dative in Sanskrit confirms Monro's view (*Homeric Grammar*, p. 136) that its use in Greek was not instrumental in origin: cf. also Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.*, i, 300; Hopkins, JAOS., xxviii, 371-4.

¹ Cf. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 146, 147, and perhaps in RV., i, 34, 7, *sūre duhitā* (contra Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, iii, 192, and cf. Oldenberg, *Rigveda-Noten*, i, 37); Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 96, does not illustrate this use, and Speyer, *Vedisch und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 14, regards them as genitive in use.

² How far he meant his interpretations to represent his views on Syntax one cannot say.

³ Hopkins, JAOS., xx, 28.

⁴ JAOS., xxv, 119.

⁵ Ibid., 112.

in *ayuktam* as often with *śakyam*, a usage duly recorded in the grammars and plentifully illustrated by Bollensen on the *Vikramorvaṣī*.¹ We thus rid ourselves of two grammatical monstrosities.

Another anomaly is *asyā* as a loc. sing. fem. in place of *asyām*. The verse is v, 16, 11 : *asyā nimितte Sugrīvaḥ prāptarāṇl lokaviśrutoḥ*, where *asyā* refers to Sītā, who led Sugrīva to attain the *aīśvaryaṃ vānarāṇām*. The commentator explains it as a genitive for a locative, but common sense demands that if it is a locative we must insert the *anuvāra*, and read *asyām* in apposition : no one who knows Sanskrit MSS. will hesitate for a moment to do this. The same remark applies to *Śrāvastyā viharati* in the Bower MS., where Dr. Hoernle² sees an instrumental used for a locative.

It may be added that the argument available from the use of *me* and *te* as accusative found by Pischel³ in the *R̥gveda* has not been overlooked. But I do not think that this argument is of any weight. Even assuming that its use is R̥gvedic, nevertheless there is a great gulf between *R̥gveda* and Epic, and again, the evidence for the *R̥gveda* is not over-convincing. In i, 30, 9, *yaṃ te pūrvaṃ pitā hūve* is an apparent case, but *te* may be a mere error (I cannot hold any Vedic text in great reverence) for *tvā*, or even (which is easier) for *tam*; or it may be, as Ludwig thinks, a dative; or even, as Oldenberg takes it, a genitive. In ii, 16, 6 : *pra te nāvaṃ na samane vacasyuraṃ brahmaṇā yāmi*, the dative is one commodi, and the accusative is a mere natural change of construction, both dative and accusative being natural with *pra yāmi*. No doubt the change was due to the *nāvaṃ*, as the dative

¹ Cf. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 67 and reff. ; *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, vii, 22 ; Bollensen's ed., p. 227.

² *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 352, 355. Cf. Senart, *ibid.*, p. 6.

³ ZDMG., xxxv, 714 seqq. ; *Ved. Stud.*, i, p. xxxi, n. 2. Cf. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 205.

with an inanimate object is less easy.¹ In iv, 20, 10 : *navye deṣṇe śaste asmin te ukthe pra bravāma varyam Indra*, the position of *te* shows the sense "in this hymn to thee". It is not governed by *pra bravāma* as Pischel assumes, though it may be genitive depending on *śaste* as taken by Oldenberg. In iv, 30, 2 : *satrā te anna kṛṣṭayo viśvā cakreva vāṛṣṭubh*, *anna* does not govern *te*, but *te* is a dative *commodi*. In viii, 12, 10 : *iyaṃ te dhītir eti*, the dative is obviously proper, nor less so is it in iii, 19, 2 : *pra te Agne hariṣmatīm iyarmi achā sudhymnūṇi rātinīm ghr̥tācīm*. The same view of *te* covers i, 30, 20 ; iii, 14, 3 ; iv, 17, 18 ; a genitive occurs in iv, 10, 1, and the only apparent accusative is in v, 6, 4 : *ā te agna ūlhīmahi*, but the *Atharvaveda*, xviii, 4, 88, has the obviously correct *ā trā*, and we are left with another example of textual corruption to strengthen the view of i, 30, 7, taken above.² Nor can *sap* with *te* in *Taittirīyā Saṃhitā*, i, 2, 5, 2 ; vi, 1, 8, 5, be considered illegitimate, though, as Oldenberg points out, the other Yajurveda texts have the more normal *trā*, and the reading cannot be relied on.

For *me* as an accusative the evidence is totally lacking. In v, 12, 3 : *vedā me deva ṛtupā ṛtūnām*, the genitive is not only natural, but is made certain by its parallelism with *ṛtūnām*. The sense³ is, "the god knows of me, even as he, the guardian of the seasons, knows of the seasons."

It may here be added that *usme* as a genitive or instrumental is very doubtful. In vii, 67, 2 : viii, 2, 10 ; i, 173, 13 ; 186, 11 ; iii, 39, 2, the locative sense is perfectly good, and so I would take *kāmo usme* in iii, 30, 19. The same sense is found in vii, 67, 4, and viii, 97, 8, while in x, 84, 3, *usme* is clearly dative, "for us." In

¹ Oldenberg takes *te* as the indirect object in this passage.

² Oldenberg here takes *ta* as dependent on *ajara*.

³ See also Oldenberg, SBE., xlv, 394.

i, 165, 7 : *bhūri cakartha yujyebhir asme*, there is again a locative, not an instrumental, "among us," and so it is taken by the latest translator, von Schroeder, in his *Mysterium und Mimus*.¹

All the examples cited² can either be regarded as those of the traditional cases or as misreadings. The use of these forms in other senses in Pāli and Prākṛit is of no value for Vedic or Sanskrit: the degradation of syntactical distinctions is symptomatic of every popular speech. If the uses of *me* or *te* as accusative were genuine it is very improbable that we would be left to find them in a small number of dubious passages. *mā(m)* and *tvā(m)* like *me* and *te* are of frequent occurrence, and so definitely distinct are their uses that a very great onus rests on the attempt to prove that they were confused by the R̥ṣis, however easily they were mixed by commentators like Sāyaṇa or in the popular dialects.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE REVISED BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA

In JRAS., April, 1909, p. 345, Mr. Fleet surmises that the revised reckoning of the Buddhist era was introduced into Burma somewhere about A.D. 1170-80. From this period the date of Buddha's death was (he supposes) assumed to have occurred at a time corresponding with B.C. 544 of our reckoning.

I find it difficult to reconcile this view with the following facts :—

1. We have the Myazedi inscription, at Pagan, in three

¹ p. 104.

² The R̥gvedic passages have all been dealt with by Oldenberg in his *R̥gveda-Noten*, i, 25-9, who appears to accept the use of *te* as accusative in the Epic on the strength of Hopkins' remark in JAOS., xx, 222; see Oldenberg, p. 25, n. 2. The explanations given of the passages in question in this article, written before the appearance of Oldenberg's book, differ somewhat from and are perhaps inferior to those given by him, but they agree in rejecting the theory of *te* as accusative.

deciphered versions, recording a date 1628 "expired" of the Buddhist era as the time at which a certain king was reigning at Pagan. The Burmese and Talaing expressions (for which see JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 1019, 1023) refer in the usual way to the era intended being that of "the Religion". The Pali text, even more explicitly, says:—

Nibbānā Lokanāthassa aṭṭhavisādhike gate
sahasse pana vassānam cha-sate vā pare tathā.

On the ordinary computation, this apparently corresponds (the year being "expired") to A.D. 1085. For a reason which will presently appear, I am not prepared to guarantee that that is the precise A.D. year. But anyhow it must have been somewhere thereabouts, and nearly a century earlier than the period suggested by Mr. Fleet for the introduction of the revised Buddhist era into Burma.

2. A glance through the English translation of the Burmese inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (Rangoon, 1899) reveals the curious fact that for more than two centuries after the presumed date of the Myazedi inscription the initial point assumed for the Buddhist era was not a date corresponding with our B.C. 544, but varied to the extent of some years before such date. At least that seems to me at present the only possible explanation of the following statements:—

(a) "In the year 1796 of the Religion . . . the minister . . . erected a large monastery . . . The following were the slaves dedicated by the minister and his wife . . . to their monastery, which was completed on Wednesday, the 5th waning of Nadaw, 599 Sakkarâj" (p. 52). Now Sakkarâj here means the Burmese era beginning A.D. 638, so that assuming only one monastery to be referred to, which was begun and finished within the year, the initial point of the Buddhist era in this case must have been some sixteen years before the usually

received date. I must leave it to Burmese scholars to decide whether this is a correct interpretation of the text of the inscription.

(b) "In the year 1837 of the Religion, or on Thursday, the 6th waning of Tazaungmôn, 654 Sakkarāj" (p. 63). Here, apparently, the initial point of the Buddhist era is some two years earlier than B.C. 544.

Subsequent entries (pp. 5, 63, 94, 137) from A.D. 1299 onwards show at most a discrepancy of a year, if indeed there is any at all. But it really seems as if prior to about A.D. 1300 the initial point of the Buddhist era in Burma had partaken somewhat of the nature of a movable feast. Under these circumstances one hesitates to put a date to the earliest of these inscriptions, that of the Myazedi pagoda at Pagan. The matter is further complicated by the statement contained in JRAS., October, 1909, p. 1084, that an inscription has been found dated in the year 398 of the Burmese era (= A.D. 1036) during the reign of Kyauzittha. Now this is the very king who, according to the Myazedi inscription, reigned for 28 years and died (as it seems) in 1628 "expired" of the Buddhist era. How, then, could he have been on the throne so early as A.D. 1036? And if he was, then from what B.C. date are we to suppose that the Myazedi inscription reckons its 1600-28 years of the Buddhist era, between which he is supposed to have reigned?

C. O. BLAGDEN.

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE NOTE

I am glad to find that my article on the Buddhavarsha, the later reckoning from the death of Buddha which assumes an initial point in B.C. 544, has attracted Mr. Blagden's attention: discussion should certainly help to elucidate the matter.

I arrived at the conclusion that this reckoning was

devised in Ceylon shortly after A.D. 1165. And I suggested that it was carried from Ceylon to Burma and those parts in the decade A.D. 1170-80. But, if it can be shown that the opposite was the case, and that the reckoning had an earlier origin in Burma and was taken thence to Ceylon, I shall have no objection to accept this position instead.

Mr. Blagden suggests that evidence to that effect may be found in the Myazedi inscription, from Pagan, one text of which has been edited by him. The object of this record was to register the making of the cave-pagoda in which it was engraved, and the enshrining therein of a golden image of Buddha. And the fact that the record was framed and engraved in four languages, Pāli, Burmese, Talaing, and an unidentified tongue, seems to mark it as commemorating an event of some very special importance. It presents according to the Talaing text the date "after the religion of my lord the Buddha had been going on for 1628 years past": according to the Burmese text, the date "in the year 1628 of the Religion".¹ If they stood alone, and without some extraneous guide, these expressions might be understood to mean 1628 years after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Burma, in B.C. 308 according to the Burmese belief and chronology. But the meaning is explained by the Pāli text, quoted by Mr. Blagden, which distinctly says that the year is the year 1628 after the *nirvāṇa*, the death, of Buddha: that is, with B.C. 544 as the date of the death, A.D. 1085-86. And this places the date nearly a century before the time arrived at by me for the invention of the reckoning.

¹ *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ara*, translations (1899), p. 97. The expression "the year (so-and-so) of the Religion" is also found on pp. 5, 9, 22, 52, 63 (No. 6), 94, 137, 167, 173, 175, 176, 183; and on p. 63 (No. 7) we have "the year 2052 of the Religion of Gautama Buddha": we should like to know what the originals have for "the year of the Religion". On p. 14 we have "the year 2312 Anno Buddhae", and on p. 16 "Anno Buddhae 2307": is the term here *Buddhavassa*, or is it *Jinachakka*? The dating is expressly referred to the *nirvāṇa* in the case of the years 1986 (p. 37) and 2295 (p. 15).

It appears that this Myazedi date is the only such instance that can be adduced, for the present at least. And, looking through the book mentioned by Mr. Blagden,¹ I find that the next instances of the use of this reckoning are the two which he has cited: one (p. 52) is a date in the year 1796, = A.D. 1253-54; the other (p. 63. No. 6) is a date in the year 1837, = A.D. 1294-95.

But of course one thoroughly reliable instance, given by an inscription undeniably engraved before (say) A.D. 1150, would be quite enough. The present question, therefore, seems to be: is the Myazedi date such an instance?

This inscription mentions a king Tribhuvanāditya-dhammarāja, who is otherwise known as Kyanzit, Kyanzittha.² It opens by saying that he was reigning at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in the year 1628 expired. It proceeds to state that he reigned for 28 years. And it then records the acts (stated above) which were performed by his stepson when he (the king) was lying "sick well-nigh unto death". We should ordinarily take this as meaning that the acts were performed in the year $1628 + 28 = 1656$, = A.D. 1113-14, and that Kyanzittha died then or soon afterwards. It appears, however,³ that we are to understand that Kyanzittha died in the year 1628 expired itself, = A.D. 1085-86. He began to reign, then, in or about A.D. 1058. But Mr. Blagden has drawn attention to a statement that there is another inscription, which mentions Kyanzittha as reigning in the year 398 of the ordinary Burmese reckoning, the Sakkarāj era commencing in A.D. 638; that is in A.D. 1036-37: and, as Mr. Blagden has remarked, that is incompatible with his commencing to reign in or about A.D. 1058. It is also

¹ The one referred to in the preceding note.

² See this Journal, 1909. 1050, note 1, and Mr. Blagden's remarks above.

³ See loc. cit., preceding note.

incompatible with a third inscription, framed in A.D. 1668, which¹ places Anawrata (the predecessor of Kyanzittha) in Sakkarāj 421, = A.D. 1059-60. But we may add that this last statement, which is accompanied by one which places Kyanzittha himself in the year 432, = A.D. 1070-71, is reconcilable with the statement in the Myazedi inscription: for, provided no later date is forthcoming for Anawrata, we may assume that he died, and Kyanzittha succeeded, in A.D. 1059, so that the latter had practically reigned for 28 years by A.D. 1086. It appears, however, that there are still other inscriptions, which show Kyanzittha as reigning in A.D. 1107.² Altogether, his date seems to be rather a mixed matter: he was reigning in A.D. 1036, but he only began to reign in A.D. 1058: he died in A.D. 1085, yet he was still reigning in A.D. 1107.

It appears to me an important point that the Myazedi inscription presents only a *nirvāṇa*-date for Kyanzittha. Nearly all the other similar dates, in the inscriptions translated in the volume which gives the translation of the Burmese text of the Myazedi record, were accompanied by the corresponding dates in the era of A.D. 638. Why did the Myazedi inscription omit to give this equivalent? It seems to me that the reason very probably is that the record is not a synchronous one; that is, that it was framed and engraved, not when the acts registered by it were performed, but a considerable time afterwards, when, having received the new reckoning, the Burmese were commencing to make out their chronology in its terms, and, in doing that, were very possibly putting up inscriptional records of some of the leading events of previous times.³ Mr. Blagden has said that in the next few records the equations between the *nirvāṇa*-reckoning

¹ See p. 19 of the book mentioned in note 1 on p. 477 above.

² Report on Archaeological Work in Burma. 1905-6, p. 10.

³ The characters of the Talaing text are described as agreeing with the date mentioned in it. But there can, I imagine, be no difficulty about accepting them equally well for a century or so later.

and the Sakkarāj era are not correct: does not that look as if the Burmese were then handling a new reckoning about which they were not quite sure? The discrepancy in the date of Kyanzittha, which exists on one side or the other, points in the same direction. And there appears to be something of the same kind in connexion with Anawrata: the Sāsanavamsa says (p. 61) that he began to reign in the Jinachakka year (the *nirvāṇa*-year) 1561, = A.D. 1018-19: and it gives as the equivalent, in the same sentence, the (Sakkarāj) year 371, = A.D. 1009-10, nine years earlier.

Another instructive indication, in the direction which I suggest, seems to be the point that the Myazedi inscription states only the year; omitting to give the month, fortnight, lunar day, and weekday, which details are furnished in almost every other inscription translated in the book to which I have referred above. The bare mention of the year is just what we may always expect to find in records commemorating events of previous times. And, in the same fashion, the inscription of A.D. 1668 simply tells us, without details, that the Shwezigōn pagoda was built by Anawrata in Sakkarāj 421, and the *tee* was offered by Kyanzittha in the year 432; though it gives, in the same sentence, all the usual details for the date when the *tee* was removed by the gods in order to give the reigning king the opportunity of acquiring merit by supplying a new one.

It remains to be seen what discoveries may be made hereafter. Meanwhile, we must bear in mind that the Kalyāṇi inscription of A.D. 1476 tells us plainly (see this Journal, 1909. 345) that the religion from Ceylon was established at Pagan in A.D. 1181-82. If a form of the religion was then carried from Ceylon to Burma, would not a new and interesting reckoning, just established in Ceylon, have been naturally taken with it? It may of course be argued, to the contrary, that the new reckoning

was taken from Burma to Ceylon in A.D. 1170-71, when the Mahāthēra Uttarājīva went there. But the date put forward in the Myazedi inscription seems insufficient to upset what appears to be so clear from the Ceylon records: namely, that the reckoning with the initial point in B.C. 544 was devised there, and was put together in its complete form just after A.D. 1165.

J. F. FLEET.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE IN MARATHI

A serious study of Indian Vernaculars is very interesting and useful, not only for a Sanskrit scholar, but, I am glad to be able to show, for a comparative philologist too.

In Old Slavonic, as in Indian Vernaculars, the accusative termination of *i*- and *u*-stems and of masculine *o*-stems being dropped, the form for the accusative case was the same as for the nominative, and thus the sentence "synъ viditъ otcъ = filius videt patrem" was ambiguous, and could mean also "filium videt pater", the position of the subject being free. Therefore the language, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, used the genitive instead of accusative in the case of living beings: "synъ viditъ otcēa."

The same process is to be seen in Indian Vernaculars, and is especially clear in Marāṭhī, grammatically the most important and most interesting dialect of all Indian Vernaculars. In so far as I have read Hindi, I find that the same construction exists there also, though rather complicated; this being so, it must be treated in a separate way, which I hope to do later on.

The Marāṭhī verb पाहणे, "to see," governs the accusative case, when the object is a thing, e.g.: हे पाहून ती हरणीही सबकतगिनाच्या मागून जाऊं लागली = "having seen *that* (= acc.), the doe began to go after Sabaktagin"; but it

governs the genitive, when the object is a human or other living being, e.g. : इतक्कांत त्याचा मुलगा शिवा जिवण घेऊन आला. त्यास पाहून रामजी म्हणाला = "meantime his son Śivā came with the food. Having seen *him* (= gen.) Rāmji said".

The verb घेणे (= pr. gēṇhai. s. grhṇāti), "to take," governs in the last sentence the accusative : जिवण घेऊन = "the food having taken": but by living beings it governs the genitive case : तेव्हां हरणी पोरस घेऊन आनंदाने उड्या मारीत रानांत निघून गेली = "Then the doe, having taken the fawn, ran away with joy into the forest".

Now the questions are: (a) Why is this genitive construction used only in respect of human and other living beings? (b) why is the genitive only used and not, for instance, the dative,¹ and what is the *syntactic explanation* of it?

The first question is not difficult. So far as I am aware, all scholars are of one opinion in regard to Old Slavonic, but in regard to Marāṭhī no one seems to have as yet given a satisfactory explanation.

• We know that in most cases the subject of a sentence is a human or other living being. Therefore when two names of animate objects occur in a sentence, without any distinction in case termination, the sentence could be misunderstood; that is to say, the sentence "syn. vidit. otch." = "filius videt patrem" could be misunderstood (= filium videt pater), but not "otch. vidit. grad." = "pater videt arcem", because it is not possible to say "arx videt patrem".

More difficult is the second question. In the last volume of *Indg. Forschungen* (xxiv, 3-4, pp. 293-307) Professor A. Thomson treats this question as to the origin of the genitive construction in Slavonic languages. This article is, in fact, a refutation of Professor E. Berneker's theory

¹ This has no bearing on Marāṭhī.

expressed in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 1904, xxxvii, p. 364,¹ that the negative sentences, in which the object must in Old Slavonic be in the genitive case, have had an influence on this construction. For example, the positive sentence runs "synъ viditъ oticъ" (= acc.), but the negative "synъ ne viditъ oticъ" (= gen.). According to Professor Berner, the influence of the negative sentence with the genitive case brought about the use of the genitive instead of the accusative in *positive* sentences also.

But this theory cannot be applied to Marāṭhī, because in this language no such change of cases takes place. Therefore the influence of the negative sentences cannot have produced the genitive construction now existing in Marāṭhī, and in all probability the same holds good for Old Slavonic.

Professor Thomson also does not believe that the syntactic value of a genitive in negative sentences should have been the same as the accusative in positive sentences. He explains in the first part of his article² that this construction was due to a desire of repressing the psychological subject in the sentence and making it evidently into the object.

To express myself more clearly in reference to Marāṭhī. I venture to modify a little what Professor A. Thomson has so well expressed. I state that the Marāṭhī language conclusively proves that the genitive construction in question is really the outcome of nothing else than a desire to avoid ambiguity.

We see this clearly from the construction, which we call the double accusative (direct and indirect object), in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit; for instance, in Latin "puto te amicum", in Greek "φίλον Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο", in Sanskrit "ná vái hatám vṛtrám vidmá ná jivám".

In Marāṭhī the direct object is *always* put into the

¹ The date of the article is 1901.

² He promised two parts.

genitive, not only in the case of a living being (according to the rule mentioned above), but also in that of an inanimate object, and this is done, in my opinion, simply for the sake of distinguishing it from the indirect object.

Cf. in Marāṭhī हिंदू लोकांत जातिभेद मानितात = "every-one believes in difference of castes among Hindū people"; मानितात governs the accusative (जातिभेद). Here the accusative is used, because there is only one object.

But in the sentence वैदिक धर्माचे लोक वेदांस आणि स्मृतिपुराणादि धर्मग्रंथांस प्रमाण मानितात = "the people of the Vedic religion believe in the Vedas, Smṛtipurāṇas, etc., in these religious books, as an authority", where the same verb (मानितात) with the same meaning occurs, the direct object (धर्मग्रंथांस, "they believe in . . ."), which in the former sentence is rendered by the accusative (जातिभेद), is here put in the genitive, obviously to avoid ambiguity.

All instances are taken from Marāṭhī reading-books, these two last, for example, from मराठी पांचवें पुस्तक, 1908, p. 20. Such instances are very many, and, as I said before, they go to confirm Professor A. Thomson's views on the subject with regard to Old Slavonic.

V. LESNÝ.

OXFORD, *January*, 1910.

THE SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON¹

When the Sufi martyr, Maṣṣūr Hallāj, was being led to execution, he cried out—

"My Friend is doing me no unkindness,
He gives me the cup that he as the host drank,
He invites me to taste stake and headsman's mat,
Like one who in summer drinks wine with the
dragon."

¹ See JRAS., 1908, p. 552.

And in the *Muntiqu-l Tair* we read—

“Whoso has fellowship in sleep and food
With the seven-headed dragon in Tamūz (July),
In this pastime incurs dire misfortunes.
Whereof death on the gibbet is the least.”

The dragon legend here referred to seems to be a folk-lore amalgam or “conflation” of (a) the primeval dragon myth, (b) the “Arrow” demon myth, and (c) the customs of partaking of sacrifices and sleeping in temples or “pernoctation”.

(a) The primeval dragon myth. In his *Antichrist Legends* (translated by Keane) Bonsset has traced the progress of this famous myth, rolling on through successive generations, gathering continual accretions, such as the legend of Nero *redivivus* (Antichrist), and becoming so transfigured that now its original form can only be deciphered as from a palimpsest. But most of the details of the full-blown dragon story, given in Revelation xii and xx, viz., his seven heads, his attacks on the woman, and his being bound and loosed, seem to belong not to the Babylonian dragon Tiamat, but rather to the old Persian dragon Āz or Azhidahāk. (See Mills, *Avesta Eschatology compared with the Books of Daniel and Revelation*, and West’s note on p. 110, vol. xviii, of *Sacred Books of the East*.) The picture of the constellation Draco (*Al Tannīn*) in the old star maps exactly represents the conception of the dragon in the mind of the writer of Revelation xii, 4, viz., a great serpent stretching across the heavens and “drawing a third part of the stars with its tail”. The traditions collected in *Mishkātu-l Maṣābiḥ* (translation by Matthews, vol. ii, pp. 551 seqq.) give the Muhammadan additions to the portrait of Dajjāl or Antichrist.

(b) The clue to the “Arrow” demon was kindly given me by Professor Houtsma. This demon is thus described

in Rapaport's *Tales from the Midrash*: "There is one great demon whose name is 'Arrow' (*Kotiv*). The Psalmist alludes to this when he says (Ps. xci. 5), 'The arrow that flieth by day.' His physiognomy is described as follows: Head similar to that of a calf, one horn rising out of his forehead in the shape of a cruse or pitcher. (Compare the descriptions of Dajjāl.) No one, man or beast, beholding him can live, but drops down dead at once. There is a certain period during which this demon has special sway, and that is the three weeks between the 17th Tamūz and the 9th Ab. The Rabbis prohibited schoolmasters chastising their pupils during this period" (p. 23). Mr. Rapaport tells me that he has not found this demon described as a dragon either in the Midrash or the Talmud, but the special mention of the month Tamūz in the passage under discussion shows beyond doubt, I think, that this demon had been identified with the dragon in the folk-lore of the time of Hallāj.

(c) The third element in Hallāj's story is probably derived from the ancient customs of eating the food offered to idols and of sleeping in the temples. The first is illustrated by the story in "Bel and the Dragon" of the priests who were "partakers of the altar" of Bel and "drank the cup of devils" (1 Cor. x, 18, etc.); and the second by the story of the Deadly Mosque given in my translation of the *Masnawi* of Jalālu-d Dīn Rūmī, p. 166.

Dr. Nicholson, to whom I am indebted for much assistance, suggests that the story may possibly contain an allusion to the ritual of Tamūz worship. But all we know of that ritual is that women wailed for Tamūz, as they do now for Hasan and Husain.

E. H. WHINFIELD.

THE KELADI RĀJAS OF IKKĒKI AND BEDNŪR

I have not as a rule cared to reply to criticisms levelled against mistakes or omissions in my *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, which was published twenty-five years ago, because it always seemed needless to offer an apology or to attempt to explain the reasons for errors due to the imperfect information then at our command. And if I now venture to make a few remarks on Dr. Barnett's paper in the *Journal* for January last (pp. 149-50) it is only because, while in the main I agree with him, I consider it necessary to ask readers to suspend judgment on at least one point.

The pedigree published by one of the Keladi Rājas was based on the account of that dynasty put forward by Buchanan in his *Mysore, etc.*¹ This in its turn was based on information given in A.D. 1801 to the author by Rāmappa Varmika, an hereditary accountant in the district of Barkūr. Buchanan writes that this man had "a book in *Sanskrit* called *Vidiarajana Sicea*; and from thence, and his family papers, he has made out a *Rajya-pulitti*, or succession of the *Rajas* who have governed Tuluva". My genealogical tree is correct according to Rāmappa's chronicle as described by Buchanan. There was little else to guide me when I compiled my *Sketch* in 1883.

Dr. Barnett seems to accept without question the assertion of a certain court poet, called Shadākshari (whose patron Basavappa Nāyakka was, about the year A.D. 1750, ruling over the Bednūr country), that this Basavappa's grandfather of the same name, who governed that tract from A.D. 1697 to 1714, had been the legitimate son of the body of Sōmaśekhara I and his wife Channamāmbā. Rāmappa's compilation, however, asserted that this Basavappa I, or Praudha Śrī Basavappa, had been

¹ Madras ed. of 1870, ii, 278.

only an adopted son. He relates the story of Sōmaśekhara I's atrocities, his assassination at the hands of a Brahman named Saumya, and the assumption of the government by the widow, Channamā. Rāmappa then states that this Rānī, "having no children, adopted Baswuppa, the son of *Marcupa Chitty*, a *Banijiga* merchant of *Biderāru* (*Bednore*), where the seat of government then was. The male descendants of this adopted son also ended in *Budi Baswuppa*." ¹ This account is very explicit. The murder of Sōmaśekhara is confirmed by Fryer (*Travels*, ed. of 1698, p. 162), who was in the neighbourhood of Bednūr during the rule of Channamā. Fryer calls Basava I "son" of Sōmaśekhara and Channamā, but his evidence as to the exact relationship counts for very little. Mr. Rice, our best authority on minor Mysore principalities, states (*Epig. Carn. VII, Shimoga*, Introd., p. 43) that Basavappa I was an adopted son, and he repeats this assertion in his latest volume (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 130). I presume that he has sound reasons for the statement, though apparently we can get no information from the published inscriptions. Perhaps he will state his authority.

In the face of the clear account of the dynasty furnished by Rāmappa, in part supported by Fryer's testimony, I think that the weight of evidence is in favour of Basavappa I being an adopted, not a natural, son. Shaḍakshari would, of course, conceal the fact in order to glorify his patron: though, indeed, there is no necessity for us to vilify that writer, for a son properly adopted is always considered as a son in India.

As to the proper spelling of the name of Sōmaśekhara's Rānī, my own was obtained from Buchanan. *Doḍḍa* is only an adjective, meaning "the elder". The lady was

¹ Shaḍakshari's patron (Buchanan's *Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Madras ed. of 1870, ii, 290).

probably as often called "Channamāmbā" as "Channamāji". In the Shimōga and Shikārpūr Inscription volume of the *Epig. Carn.* I find the name twice spelt "Chennamā" (Sh. 17, Sk. 213) and twice "Channamā" (Sk. 79, 82).

Śivappa Nāyaka, son of the younger Saṅkaṇṇa, certainly had a younger brother Veṅkaṭa. Mr. Rice includes him in his list as having reigned one year (*Epig. Carn. VII. Shimoga*, Introd., pp. 42, 43), and Dr. Hultzsch mentions him in his *Second Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, 1896, p. xii. in connexion with a copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1660-1 from Honāwar. Rāmappa omitted to notice him.

R. SEWELL.

NOTE ON ABOVE

Mr. Sewell is doubtless right in maintaining that Basavappa was really an adopted son: it was not my intention to dispute the statement, but I wished to call attention to the language used by Shaḍakshari, who is in any case our earliest authority.

L. D. BARNETT.

NOTE ON PO-LO-HIH-MO-PU-LO AND SU-FA-LA-NA-CHU-TA-LO

The name Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo (Hiuen Tsiang) has been correctly transcribed as Brahmapura. But the town of Brahmapura has been erroneously looked for in Garhwal. I am convinced that the ancient Brahmapura, the capital of the Chamba State, is meant. This town is now called Brahmaur. (Compare Dr. Vogel's Chamba Inscriptions.) Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo is given as one of the frontiers of Su-fa-la-na-chū-ta-lo, which has been correctly identified with Suvarṇagotra (golden family), evidently the ancient name of Guge, Ruthog, and Eastern Ladakh. The name "Golden Family" was given to these countries on account

of their richness in gold. The frontiers of Suvarṇagotra are described so plainly by Hiuen Tsiang that there can be no doubt with regard to its situation. It is situated north of Brahmapura (the ancient Chamba State); south of Kustana (Khotan); east of Sānpaha (Sanpoho or Ladakh); west of Tibet.

Hiuen Tsiang identifies Suvarṇagotra with the "Empire of the Eastern Women"; but this is not agreed to by Bushell, who places this empire east of Tibet. Still, I am convinced that Hiuen Tsiang is right in his identification. But it is quite possible that there was another "Empire of the Eastern Women" farther east. The Je River of this empire, flowing to the south, would be the Jhelum, which turns to the south within its limits. "The Turks invaded the country." They could easily do so, for they were the next neighbours. "The people used the Indian characters for writing." Traces of Indian inscriptions earlier than 1000 A.D. are found everywhere in Eastern Ladakh. Grave finds in Ladakh show that the ancient inhabitants of the country had the same extraordinary kind of burial which is described in the *Sui shu* as having been practised in the Empire of the Eastern Women.

A. H. FRANCKE.

THE ELEPHANT STATUES AT DELHI

In the July number of the Society's Journal there appeared an interesting article on "The Elephant Statues of Agra and Delhi" from the pen of Mr. H. Beveridge, in which he appears to favour the theories which derive the Delhi statues either from Gwalior or from Agra. He also introduces a new suggestion as to the origin of the elephant riders, the torsos of which were excavated at Delhi, and which are now to be seen, together with the broken fragments of the elephants, in the Museum of Archæology there.

Mr. Beveridge draws attention to a reference by the Emperor Jahangir in his *Memoirs* to certain statues of the Rana of Chitor and his son, which were set up by him in the garden below the Darshan Jharoka of Agra Fort. This statement is of much interest in itself, for it affords contemporary confirmation of the legends relative to the esteem in which these noted warriors were held by their Mughal conquerors.

The royal historian, however, makes no mention of the statues being those of mounted men, nor does he indicate that there were more than two of them. But if we are to give credence to Mr. Beveridge's suggestion that these are the very statues seen by Bernier at the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort we must presuppose that they were already mounted on elephants when they were at Agra. This being so, it seems strange that the presence of a pair of elephant statues, with their riders, on the east side of the fort, in addition to the well-known statues at the western gate of the palace, should not have called for comment, if not from Jahangir himself, then from some later writer.

There are further difficulties in the way of the proposed solution: at Delhi we have two Mahauts, of whom there is no mention in the Agra group; while Jahangir's statues are stated to have been of marble, those at Delhi are of red sandstone.

That there was a life-size statue of an elephant at the gate of Gwalior Fortress is amply testified both by Baber and Finch, but neither of these writers tells us if this statue was carved in the round, as are the Delhi elephants, or in high relief, like those at Fathpur-Sikri and elsewhere. The descriptions, however, leave no doubt that there was but one statue, while, not only does every record of the Delhi elephants refer to two of them, but the fragments excavated in 1863 proved to be portions of two figures. Mr. Beveridge inquires: "If the Queen's Garden elephant was not the Gwalior elephant, what has become

of the latter ? ” If we were to assume that the writer has propounded this problem seriously, we might well ask in return: “Where are the elephants from Agra, from Mandu, and from the many other Mughal citadels, once adorned with this favourite subject ? ” I would still inquire of him: “Supposing that the Queen’s Garden elephant be partly composed of the Gwalior elephant, from where do the parts of the second elephant come ! ” The fact that the elephant set up in the Queen’s Gardens was composed of the fragments of *two* elephants is lost sight of by Mr. Beveridge, and also in the fallacious inscription which was attached to the reconstructed elephant.

With regard to this inscription, it may be well to point out that it dates from 1866, and that the assertion therein, that the elephant in the Queen’s Gardens came from Gwalior, was due to Cunningham’s first article on the subject, in which he expressed that view. He afterwards abandoned the theory, however, as is clear from his article in the *Archæological Survey of India Report*, vol. i, which was not published till 1871.

It is true that there is a superficial resemblance between the measurements of the pedestals at Agra and those of the newly erected statues at Delhi ; but there are one or two points which render it most improbable that the Delhi elephants can be identified with those which once stood at Agra. The original fragments of the former show that the trunks were attached by chains to heavy blocks of stone. At Agra all the original stones of the pedestal remain in situ, but there is no trace of these blocks on them. Their absence is all the more noticeable because the existing fragments clearly show the elephant trunks to have been built up in courses, and this would, of course, be impossible without support from the ground. The traces in the Agra pedestals indicate that the feet of the elephants were but 5 inches to 9½ inches in diameter, or, what is much more probable, that they had tenons of that

size which fitted into the existing sockets. The feet of the original Delhi elephants, however, average 21 inches across and have holes $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches square pierced right through them for dowels.

In conclusion, Mr. Beveridge quotes a paragraph from an article on the statues which I contributed to the Delhi Museum Catalogue, and then observes that the paragraph "does not seem to be quite accurately expressed".

I think that Mr. Beveridge's objection to my use of the plural in this passage (which is misquoted by him) will be withdrawn when he considers the following facts:—Every description of the statues, either by court historians or European travellers, speaks of two statues: fragments of two elephants and of four riders were discovered; and, when the new statues were being put up, the original foundations of the two pedestals were disclosed. Perhaps I may also be allowed to point out that in the article referred to I did not mention the inscription, on which Mr. Beveridge appears to base much of his argument, as my endeavour was to give authentic references only: and the theories to which I referred were those of the various writers—whose ranks your correspondent has joined—who desire to prove a foreign origin and a previous existence for the elephant statues which, with their riders, were set up by Shah Jahan at the gate of his new palace.

It may not be without interest to add that there has lately been found additional evidence to confound those who have questioned the accuracy of the Archaeological Department in re-erecting the elephant statues at the Delhi Gate of Delhi Palace instead of at the Lahore Gate. In addition to the evidence forthcoming at the time, and detailed in an article which appeared in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1905-6, the following passage (from *Amal-i-Saleh*, MS. by Muhammad Saleh of Lahore, a court historian of the reign of Shah Jahan) is now published for, I believe, the first

time :—" . . . and before each of the doors of the Fort which are adjacent to the above bazaar, *on the Gate towards Akbarabad*, two shade-giving statues of elephants of very great size, have been built, so correct in form and so noble in appearance that the like of these four rare pictures cannot be conceived in the mind, then how much more wonderful is it that they actually exist ! " The passage is difficult to translate, but it admits no doubt of the essential fact, that elephant statues were built by Shah Jahan at the Delhi Gate of his new fort.

The following quotation (from *Waqai Nimat Khan-i-Ali*) is also of interest :—" Why has this man, like in appearance to the Mahavat (Mahaut) of the Elephants at the Hatya Pol, stopped our pay ! "

R. FROUDE TUCKER.

AUSTIN OF BORDEAUX

In a recent article on the travels of Heinrich von Poser (*Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1910) Mr. Beveridge has shown that Austin of Bordeaux, whose name is so often mentioned in connexion with the decoration of the palace at Agra and the Taj Mahal, was in India at least as early as 1621, for Von Poser states that he met at Agra, in December of that year, " Herr Augustinus Hiriart, von Bourdeaux aus Gasconien, Ingenieur des Grossen Mougouls."

May I suggest that we can probably carry the story back another seven or eight years, and identify him with the Frenchman who travelled with John Midnall (or Mildenhall, as he is sometimes called) from Persia to India, and in whose house at Ajmer Midnall died in June, 1614 ? We are told that this Frenchman was in the Mogul's service (*Letters received by the East India Company*, vol. ii, p. 105) ; and there is a letter among the India Office archives (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. lxxxiv, part i, p. 131) which gives his name as " Augustine ". It

seems very improbable that there were two Frenchmen of that name in the employment of the Mogul within a comparatively short period; and I venture to think that we have here an indication of the date when Austin of Bordeaux arrived in India, as well as an incident which brings him very close to a well-known countryman of our own.

W. FOSTER.

THE TOMB OF JOHN MILDENHALL

In March, 1909, I found a tomb in the old Roman Catholic Cemetery at Agra with the following inscription: "Joa de Mendenal Ingles morreo aos [illegible] 1614." The portion now illegible was doubtless the date and the month. I thought at the time that this must be the tomb of John Mildenhall; but I was only able to verify my guess, with the kind assistance of Mr. W. Foster of the India Office, when I came home later in the year.

John Mildenhall, or Midnall, self-styled "ambassador" of Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, left England on his first journey to the East in 1599, and returned in 1608 or 1609. He spent some time in an unsuccessful attempt to sell to the East India Company the concessions which, as he alleged, he had obtained from Akbar. He then disappears for four years, to emerge from obscurity once more in 1614. In that year the letters from English factors in India to the Company are full of references to him, and for sufficient reasons. He had been entrusted by London merchants with goods to sell in the Levant; but on arriving there he fled into Persia with this merchandise, pursued by Richard Newman and Richard Steel. They overtook him, forced him to return to Ispahan, and there made him disgorge the value of the stolen property. Mildenhall then went on to India together with Steel; but he fell ill at Lahore (according to Purchas he accidentally drank poison he had prepared for others,

but there is no evidence of this accusation): and though he managed to get as far as Agra, and on to Ajmer, he died at the latter place in June, 1614.

The English factors at Surat had already determined to claim his goods, and sent Thomas Kerridge to Ajmer for that purpose. Had they known at the time they sent Kerridge that Mildenhall was dead, one might have supposed that they were claiming the property (nominally, at all events) on behalf of his next of kin in England: as indeed they always did in the case of their fellow-countrymen who died in India. But Kerridge arrived in Ajmer on this mission on the very day of Mildenhall's death; so that it seems more probable that they were still in ignorance of the action taken by Newman and Steel in Ispahan, and were claiming, not on behalf of the next of kin, but of the defrauded merchants in London. In spite of opposition from the Jesuit Fathers at Agra (for, as Purchas tells us, Mildenhall was a Papist), Kerridge managed to recover £500, which sum was duly remitted to England. And from a letter written later by Kerridge and Rastell we learn that the former had expended 250 rupees in legacies to Mildenhall's servants and in carrying his body to Agra and interring it there.

The old Roman Catholic Cemetery was certainly in use in 1614. It contains, indeed, a tomb (of an Armenian in the Padre Santos Chapel) which is dated 1611. We learn from the Calendar and Directory of the Agra Archdiocese, 1907, that it goes back to the reign of Akbar, when a Father Joseph obtained a plot of land for a cemetery in the village of Lashkarpur, and a lady named Mariam Pyari granted two groves in the same village for the same purpose—doubtless as an extension of the area acquired by Father Joseph. There were probably other Roman Catholic cemeteries in Agra. Father Hosten, S.J., in an article lent me by Mr. W. Irvine, mentions two more—one in a village a mile north of Lashkarpur

granted to the mission by Jahangir, and one in Padritola, by which he appears to mean the graveyard of the old Roman Catholic Cathedral. But of these two, nothing seems to be known now of the former, and the latter was not used till at least a century later; and it is difficult to see what possible need existed for more than one cemetery so early as 1614, or even at the end of Jahangir's reign, seeing that the cemetery in question is not by any means full even at this day. It follows that the only burial-ground which we know positively to have existed in 1614 is the one in which this tomb stands.

Mildenhall, as a Papist, was naturally buried by the Jesuits in their cemetery. That "de Mendenal" is Mildenhall there can be no doubt. There were certainly other Englishmen (factors) in Agra in 1614, but only one of them (Mitford) had a name which so much as began with M. None of them died in 1614, and all of them were doubtless of the English Church, and the Jesuits objected strongly to burying "heretics" in their cemetery, as they showed in 1613, when one Canning died in Agra and was buried there without their leave. Name, date, and religion alike point to the fact that "Joa de Mendenal Ingles" can be no other than John Mildenhall.

It was not at all unusual to transport bodies some distance for burial, especially if it ensured a resting-place in consecrated ground. We find Jesuits so brought from Lahore, Delhi, Narwar, Lucknow, and elsewhere to be interred in Agra. John Drake, a factor, who died at Dholpur in 1637, was similarly brought to Agra to be buried in the garden of the Dutch factory.

John Mildenhall was not an estimable character. In plain words, he was a dishonest scoundrel. He cheated, or tried to cheat, Akbar with an assumption of ambassadorial dignity; he tried to cheat the Company with concessions that, in all probability, he had never received; he ended by cheating his own employers, the merchants

in London. Even after his death he keeps up his evil courses ; in the pages of many historians, not to mention occasional periodicals, he still masquerades as " Sir " John, ambassador of Elizabeth. But he was of some note—of a kind—even in his own day ; he was a pioneer of Anglo-Indian enterprise, not less enterprising than his many enterprising successors. He was one of four Englishmen who spoke with Akbar face to face, and much the greatest of the four. In gratitude for the deeds he did, his memory, like his bones, may be allowed to rest in peace ; and the discovery of his last resting-place, which is certainly the oldest English tomb at present known in Upper India, if not in all India, may be recorded with pleasure.

E. A. H. BLUNT, I.C.S.

LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Au mois de juillet, 1909, le Sénat de l'université de Leyde a nommé membre du conseil de la fondation M. le professeur Houtsma, à la place de M. de Goeje. Le conseil est donc composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, J. A. Sillem, Th. Houtsma, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 19,500 florins hollandais (39,000 francs) ; en outre, le 1 novembre, 1909, les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 1500 florins (3000 francs).

3. Grâce à la libéralité de M. le professeur A. A. Bevan à Cambridge et de M. H. F. Amedroz à Londres, la fondation a fait paraître, au mois de novembre, 1909, chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde une reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde réputé unique de la Hamâsalî d'al-Buhturî. Quelques exemplaires seront offerts à titre gratuit aux bibliothèques publiques ou privées qui semblent pouvoir y prétendre et les autres seront mis en rente au profit de la fondation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANCIENT CEYLON. By H. PARKER.

Mr. Parker has in this valuable and monumental book brought together the results of his investigations during his service in the Irrigation Department of Ceylon from 1873 to 1904. He deals mainly with the history and life past and present of the more primitive inhabitants of the Island, that is to say, with the Veddas (or Vaeddass, as he prefers to write the word), and with their kith and kin among the speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil. In the first part he deals first with their ancient history, identifying them with the "Yakkās" of early legend with whom the Northern invaders had to contend, and he gives good reason for believing that they are the modern representatives of an organized and comparatively civilized pre-Dravidian race once in possession of the greater part of the Island. Their present condition, social divisions, and customs are fully described; and in part iii their weapons and tools are exhaustively dealt with, and a full account is given of their games, which are compared with those of India, Arabia, and parts of Africa, and even occasionally with those of England, as in the case of the "Gal-keliga" or stone game, which has a strong resemblance to the "Checks" or "Five Jacks" of the Midlands of England.

Part ii is mainly archæological (i.e. chaps. vi to xii). In these chapters he discusses several very important points, more or less detached one from the other. The first relates to the measurements of bricks and the important deductions to be drawn therefrom as to the age and history of the ancient buildings. He has accumulated a large body of facts, and his deductions

will probably be generally accepted by archæologists. Then follows a study on rock cup-marks. The chapters on "The Lost Cities of Ceylon" and "The Earliest Dagabas" are extremely full and interesting, and deserve independent discussion by archæological experts. It is impossible here to do more than allude to them. The same remark applies to the chapter on "The Earliest Irrigation Works", which derives an added interest from Mr. Parker's experience as a modern irrigation officer and from his personal excavations and investigations on the site of the ancient works. In estimating the age of the different works, many of which seem to go back to the third or second century before the Christian era, Mr. Parker has been able to utilize the conclusions he has come to as to the age of bricks which he arrived at in chapter vi.

In chapter xi Mr. Parker carries on the work begun by Rhys Davids, and continued by Müller, Bell, and Goldschmidt on the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, and here again his work requires the attention of experts. In chapter xii Mr. Parker deals with the earliest coins of Ceylon, most of which have come to light since Rhys Davids dealt with the subject in the *Numismata Orientalia*. These are mainly silver "purānas", or punch-marked coins of the type familiar in Northern India, and oblong coins of copper which appear to have originated in Ceylon, as most of them bear the peculiar Ceylon type of Swāstika. The purānas, on the other hand, may possibly have been brought from India. The principal finds have been at Mulleittivu and Anarādhapura, and also at Tissa, where Mr. Parker himself made a discovery during the excavation of a canal. The intaglio of a seated figure found at the Yatthāla Dāgaba at Tissa is also of the greatest interest. This chapter is illustrated by some admirable plates.

Mr. Parker's discussion of the symbols on the coins requires careful attention, and the same may be said of

the full inquiry into the origin of the Cross and Swāstika with which the volume concludes.

Mr. Parker has produced a most complete and instructive work, and one which no student of the subjects dealt with, whether historical, archæological, or anthropological, can afford to neglect.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

Professor Dr. HERMANN GOLLANCZ. TRANSLATIONS FROM HEBREW AND ARAMAIC. pp. 219. London: Luzac, 1908.

In the year 1902 Professor Gollancz published the philosophical compilation of Berechyah the Puntuator. This work introduced into the West the leading principles of the system evolved by the first Jewish philosopher, the Gaon Seadyah who flourished in the tenth century. Berechyah's compilation contained the ethical portions of that system dealing with the practical duties of man in his relation to God. Berechyah left out almost the whole speculative matter. Professor Gollancz appealed then to a narrower circle of readers interested in mediaeval philosophical speculations. He turns now to the wider public more interested in the poetry of those ages, and he endeavours in this small collection of translations to make a wider circle of readers better acquainted with some of the poetical and humorous productions of known and unknown authors found in the Hebrew literature of post-Biblical times.

Professor Gollancz has selected such specimens as lent themselves to popular treatment and would appeal to a large number of readers. For this very reason he has avoided any literary apparatus or any critical examination of the texts selected for translation. Not that he had not examined the originals carefully, but he gives us only the results without the apparatus. The book

contains, in the first place, a translation of the Aramaic paraphrase of the Song of Songs. It is a pity that Professor Gollancz has dealt so briefly in his Introduction with the date and origin of the texts chosen by him. For this very Targum, or Aramaic translation and embellishment of the Song of Songs, deserves a fuller and more detailed exposition. It represents, without doubt, one of the oldest examples of allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, and carries us back to comparatively high antiquity. It is needless to point out how great the influence of such interpretation has been upon the oldest commentators of the Bible. The translation is faithful and accurate, and follows the text as closely as one could go without affecting the spirit of the English language. The same can be said of all the other pieces, for Professor Gollancz follows the original in his translation without being too literal.

The second piece is the "Book of the Apple", one of the numerous pseudo-Aristotelian compositions so prominent in the Arabic literature of the time, when, through the intermediary of the Syrians, Greek literature was made known to the Arabs. It is a short dialogue between Aristotle, on his death-bed, and his disciples, and treats, in the form of maxims and terse sentences, of eschatological problems of death and immortality. From the Arabic it had been translated and assimilated to the Jewish point of view by Abraham aben Hisdai of the thirteenth century (1230-5).

In his translation of this by no means easy treatise, Dr. Gollancz did not rely only on the printed texts, which are not free from blemishes, but made good use of manuscript material, and he has thus been enabled to clear up some obscure points found in the printed editions.

A faithful rendering, as well as a rhymed paraphrase, the latter from the pen of Professor Israel Gollancz, of

the oldest Jewish Martyrology, the death and martyrdom of the Ten Sages, is the subject of the next piece; and the book concludes with the translation of Leo da Modena's satire on "The Games of Chance". The author, who flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century, handled the Hebrew language in a masterly manner, and, following the example of the older Spanish writers and that of Immanuel of Rome, adopts the style of the "Makame", making free use of Biblical phrases, and creating thus a mosaic not easily to be imitated by any translation. Dr. Gollancz, however, has endeavoured to reproduce, as he says, "the doggerel character of the original" in the rendering of little poems inserted in the text.

A succinct Introduction, giving the main points of literary interest, make this new book of Dr. Gollancz an interesting and valuable contribution to mediæval Jewish literature in the English language.

M. G.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1640-43. By ETHEL B. SAINSBURY. With an Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM FOSTER. Oxford, 1909.

In this volume Miss Sainsbury gives us in summarized form the Court Minutes of the East India Company and cognate documents, mostly from the Public Record Office, the period covered being the four years 1640 to 1643. At the end of the previous volume (see this Journal for 1908, pp. 915 et seqq.) we left the committees in joyous mood, with everything apparently promising well; and in the early part of the present volume the same hopeful tone is apparent. But soon clouds begin to gather, and the Company enters on troublous times. One great matter of anxiety to the Court is, that, in spite of renewed appeals, it cannot obtain the additional capital it needs. And no

wonder; for, as Mr. Foster points out in his Introduction, the period covered "ends (in the middle of the Civil War) with the death of Pym and the southward march of the Scottish troops to aid the forces of the English Parliament". Of the stirring events of those times we have but faint echoes in these Minutes, which are naturally very guarded in their references to political matters. Thus when after the battle of Edgehill the Royal troops marched on London the Company's ordnance at Deptford was ordered to be brought to the city, and their gun-carriages were also requisitioned. Four months later a Parliamentary committee requested the loan of the Company's ordnance to place on the earthworks which had been hastily thrown up round London. There were many Royalists, however, among the committees, and the request was twice refused, whereupon the guns were taken by force. A curious incident that bulks largely in these Minutes is the purchase, by the king, in order to supply sinews of war for his campaign in the north, of the whole of the pepper in the Company's hands. For the first time Mr. Foster gives the correct version of the transaction, and shows that Charles acted in good faith, and really intended to pay for the pepper. The story does not end in this volume, and the Company had not obtained their money when we last hear of the matter. We find the Company still trying to get satisfaction from the Dutch for the Amboyna, Pulorum, and other affairs; and we are glad to note that the reprinting of the "Amboyna Massacre" pamphlet, which the Court had taken in hand, was peremptorily stopped by Parliament and the sheets impounded. Though the Court and Parliament were not generally on the best of terms, the former occasionally received some favour from the latter, and it is significant to read of sums of £100 being twice voted for distribution amongst friendly "Parlyment men". In 1640 Portugal regained her political independence after sixty years' subjugation to Spain; and one

of her first acts was to send an ambassador to England to conclude a treaty of peace with this country. In this volume we have a number of references to this matter.

One of the most extraordinary incidents referred to in these records is the kidnapping of the French captain Gilles Rézumont from his ship by one of the Company's captains and conveyance to England, where he was thrown into prison on an accusation of piracy, a charge for which there appears to have been little foundation. Mr. Foster, who gives details of the affair in a foot-note, says: "The kidnapping of a French captain on mere suspicion of piracy was an outrage for which one would have expected the Company to make immediate atonement and apologies, but instead of this they entered an action against Rézumont in the Admiralty Court for £50,000. After much delay, however, they consented to withdraw the charge, and the unfortunate captain was released in June, 1641." We find the King of Bantam in this volume getting his present of 300 muskets, 150 barrels of gunpowder, and 1000 iron shot. As in the last volume, so in this, Thomas Smithwick continues to worry the Court by proposing frivolous or annoying motions, and once again his conduct at a court becomes so outrageous that he has to be ejected by the beadle, against whom he promptly enters two actions for damages. An "Answer of Mr. Smithwick to certain charges", printed here from the original in the Public Record Office, is a most comical document. However, at the end of 1641 or beginning of 1642 Smithwick died, and I am afraid the committees received the news with deep sighs of relief rather than of sorrow. At the end of the last volume we read how Methwold had presented to the Court the young German traveller, Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, who had been his fellow-passenger from England, and how the Court decided that he must pay for his passage. In this volume, however, we find the Court rescinding its former proposal, on the suggestion of

Methwold, "he being a man of quality and one of whom the king had taken special notice and had private conference with." We have here the first mention of "Madraspatam", and Francis Day, the founder of Fort St. George, appears on the scene, but nothing is said of that event, which was to prove so important in the history of the Company.

An amusing incident is that in which John Woodall, the Company's Surgeon-General, is accused of reboiling the salves returned from the East and supplying them to the Company again at full prices. This he denied, "upon his reputation," but admitted that he used them at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, "for the curing of poor people." The retirement of the old man is here recorded, and also his subsequent attempt to extract money from the Company on false pretences. His death occurred soon after. Finally, I would mention two instances where the Company tried to be charitable on the cheap. In one case we read: "The trees behind the almshouses at Blackwall ordered to be lopped and the 'lopps' distributed among the almsmen, instead of the coal which is given to them each Christmas." The other case is worse: "The beef returned in the 'Mary' to be divided among the poor of Blackwall, if it is unserviceable for use in the harbour."




The extracts will suffice to show somewhat of the nature of this valuable volume of records.

DONALD FERGUSON.

HAMMURABI'S GESETZ. Von J. KOHLER, Professor an der Universität Berlin, und A. UNGNAD, Professor an der Universität Jena. Band II: Syllabische und zusammenhängende Umschrift nebst vollständigem Glossar. Band III: Übersetzte Urkunden, von A. UNGNAD. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1909.

The first part of vol. ii of this work was noticed in the Journal of this Society during last year (pp. 795-6), and

the innovation of the twofold transcription—syllabic and in words—was pointed out. This transcription goes as far as p. 100, after which comes the Glossary (pp. 109–79). This latter will be exceedingly useful, as it gives every occurrence of the words in the Code of Hammurabi, thus making it a Babylonian concordance to the whole text. The transcription in words shows clearly the roots to which they are assignable (which is not always clear from the original text) as well as the vocalization in a fuller form.

One of the first things which strike the reader on beginning to read through the Glossary is the word *ablu*, translating the well-known , generally rendered "son". Here, however, it appears as "heir" (*Erbe*), a meaning which fits excellently in all the passages quoted. In a foot-note it is stated that the root is uncertain, *p* being possible instead of *b*, which, in fact, Hebrew and Greek transcriptions favour (cf. Tiglath-pileser, the Assyrian *Tukulti-apil-ēšarra*, and Nabopolassar, the Babylonian *Nabû-abla-ušur*). If, however, the Sumero-Akkadian *ibila*, which translates *ablu*, be borrowed from it, the *Sumerians* would seem to have heard *b*. This agrees with the indications of the British Museum fragment K. 5422a, which, after *abbulu ša (šim)*, "to grow, of grain," has the above group and , both rendered , *abu*. This etymology would indicate that the "son" was regarded as the "bairn", the one brought forth, and that the meaning of "heir" was secondary. But is the root initial *N* or initial *Y*?

Our old friend, the *ēdimmu* or "ghost", appears under the form of *eṭemmu*, and the author asks why it is written with the character GEKIM (it is glossed in the syllabaries as *gidim*) twice repeated in the Laws (col. xxvii, l. 39)? This is naturally a difficult question to answer, but it is worthy of note in this connexion,

that the word for "life" or "soul" is generally written in the plural, *napšāti*. Did more than one spirit go to form the essence of the spiritual man on the other side of the grave, just as the living man is conceived as consisting of "body, soul, and spirit"?

Another important point in the vocabulary shows that the characters 𒂗 𒍪 < 𒂗 𒍪 are not to be read *bélutu*, "lordship," but *illilutu*, with the same meaning. This is taken from the Sumero-Akkadian *enlil* (*ellil*, *illil*)—a reading indicated by the Aramaic dockets found by the American explorers at Niffer, and referred to by Professor Clay, who has published excellent renderings of the texts in which the word is found.

Among other things, it may be noted that Professor Ungnad suggests that the reading of the enigmatical 𒂗 𒍪, meaning "priestess", should be *išipputum*, which would be the regular feminine of 𒂗 𒍪 *išippu*, "priest." 𒂗 𒍪 𒍪, *dua* in Sumerian, is quoted from Meissner as meaning probably "baker" ("cook" in general would also be probable). The pay of a cook or a baker would then have been a thirty-sixth part of a shekel daily. Under *wabālu* is ranged the form *ibbabil*, "it was brought," for *iurwabil*, and, from the same root, also *biblum*, *bibbulum* (?). This seems correct, and may explain other forms.

Interesting, also, is Professor Ungnad's explanation of *bi-ātum* (read by Scheil *kazzatum*) as being for *pišātum*, and meaning "whitebloodedness" (leuchæmia). This is naturally interesting from a medical point of view, especially when we consider that the disease was one which affected sheep. Veterinary doctors should be able to say whether the shepherd could justly be held responsible for it.

Whether *kanāku*, "to seal," were originally written *qanāqu* or not, it occurs most frequently with *k*, and the author is right in keeping this transcription, which

is in any case that which the Babylonians preferred. Referring to *kisallum*, he suggests that the real meaning is "bulwark", not "court", which seems probable, though the word may have meant "surrounding wall" in general. Referring to "sesame-wine" (*kurunnum*) Mr. Rassam once asked the present writer, "What kind of drink is that?" This was an embarrassing question, as he had never heard of it except in connexion with Babylonian inscriptions. Did the Babylonians really make "wine" from sesame, or is "sesame-wine" a mere name, like "the Virgin's milk" (*Liebfraumlch*), the well-known Rhenish wine?








The third volume of Kohler and Ungnad's *Hammurabi's Gesetz* contains translations of documents, with explanatory text. Their number is very large, there being no fewer than 775 of them. These are classified under numerous headings, and deal with marriage, divorce, adoption, dismissal, wet-nursing; management and division of property, boundary-walls: loans, purchase and exchange, gift, hire; inheritance; lawsuits; taxes, military service, fiefs, etc. In all probability no such complete series of examples has ever before been brought together, and it is needless to say, that an enormous amount of information concerning Babylonian life, manners, and customs, is contained therein.

As to give even one example of each class would take up a great deal of space, I confine myself to two tablets only, upon which I am able to make supplementary remarks. The first is Professor Ungnad's No. 441 (redemption of patrimony):—

"7/8 of a gan, a field in the lowland (?), beside the field of Aya-kuzub-mâtim, daughter of Nûr-îli-šu, and beside the field of Amat-Anim, daughter of Sin-putram, which Beltani, daughter of Nûrum had bought from Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Sin-šemê. With Erib-Sin, son of Sin-ikišam, Anum-habil and Sin-magir, sons of

Tamšaḥum, Naram-īli-šu and Šamaš-bani, sons of Nani-manšum, and Aya-rīnti-īlati (?), daughter of Sin-našir,—Sakkum, son of Nūrum, has weighed out to them $2/3$ of a mana of silver, and freed thereby the field of his father's house. At no future time shall they make claim against each other. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."

Here follow the names of six witnesses and the date.

A fragment numbered Bu. 88-5-12, 706, is apparently part of the envelope of this document. After "field" in the first line, it has  , *nidūtīm*, "of neglect"—"neglected field." *Šapalu* (or *šutpalu*?) is followed by  , the plural-sign with suffix for "place", indicating that it was regarded as a place-name and was plural. Aya-kuzub-mâtīm was a priestess of the sun (  ). *Amat-Anim* is given as *Amat-Aya*, and *Sin-putram* as *Šamaš-putram*. (There seems to have been a tendency to write the inner tablet, which was hidden, more carelessly than the outer one.)

Professor Ungnad's No. 73 (sharing of property) has some interesting words:—

" $2/3$ of a *šar*, a built house, beside the house of Sakkut-muballit, and beside the house of Šamaš-tappi-wēdi: 1 female slave Zarrikum; 2(?) oxen (instead Ili-âwelim-rabi has taken a female-slave). (This is) the sharing of Šamaš-šûzibanni and Uttatum, sons of Zuzanum, which they have shared with Ili-âwelim-rabi. They have shared, they have completed (the matter). Their heart is content. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."¹

¹ The envelope differs somewhat, and a rendering of this may be not without its value. It reads as follows:—" $2/3$ of a *šar*, a built house, beside the house of Sakkut-muballit, and beside the house of Šamaš-tappi-wēdi; 1 female-slave Zarriktum; 2(?) oxen (instead (*kima*) Ili-âwelim-rabi has taken a female-slave). (This is) the sharing of Šamaš-šûzibanni and Uttatum, which they have shared with Ili-âwelim-rabi, their brother. They have shared. It is finished (*gamram*). Their heart

Such a work as this, which is practically a *Corpus* of the Business—and Legal—documents of the period, is a thing which has long been needed, and is exceedingly well done. The cuneiform text of the laws, which will be given in vol. i, will form a fitting completion of the work. Author and publisher may both be congratulated thereon.

T. G. PINCHES.

A HISTORY OF GUJARAT. By MİR ABŪ TURĀB VALĪ (Persian text); edited by E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D. *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1197. Calcutta, 1909.

By the publication of this *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, Dr. E. Denison Ross furnishes one more contribution to the good work in Muhammadan history, bibliography, and lexicography which is to be placed to his credit since he went to India a few years ago. Between 1903 and 1907 he collected 1106 Arabic and Persian manuscripts on behalf of the Government of India, as entered in the hand-list issued in July, 1908: and he may well be styled "the only begetter" of Maulavi 'Abd-ul Muqtadir's *Catalogue of Persian Poets* (in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore), vol. i, also published in the same year. It is to Dr. Ross's initiative, and the training he gave, that we owe this first specimen of a *catalogue raisonné* on

is content. At no future time shall one bring action against another. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."

In the published text the words corresponding with *kima*, "like," "instead of," are *ana maki-ma*. This must be the *ammaki* or *ammaku* (*ana maki*, *ana maku*) of the Flood-tablet, lines 187 ff., where, instead of a deluge, reduction of mankind by the lion or the hyæna (?), or the destruction of the country by famine or pestilence, is recommended as being preferable. From the texts quoted, the presence or absence of the enclitic particle *-ma* would seem to have made no difference. The word-order on the tablet is *šima (?) alpē ana maki-ma Ili-âvelim-râbi amtam ilki*, and on the envelope *šima (?) alpē kima anti Ili-âvelim-râbi ilku* (for *ilku*).

European lines prepared by an Indian scholar. We are also indebted to him for a polyglot List of Birds in Turkī, Manchū, and Chinese (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. ii, No. 9, 1909). The present work on Gujarāt by Abū Turāb is a welcome addition to that most valuable of all historical material, personal narratives by contemporaries of, and participators in, the events recorded.

The history of the Muḥammadan period in Gujarāt has received a large share of attention from European scholars; it has been dealt with by Dr. J. Bird (1835), Sir E. C. Bayley (1886), and Colonel J. W. Watson in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), to which we may add Mr. A. Rogers' unpublished translation of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*. Abū Turāb's narrative covers the period from 940 H. (1532), when Humāyūn quarrelled with Sultān Bahādur (1526–37), down to the year 992 H. (1584), when Akbar's authority had been established in Gujarāt for some years. As Abū Turāb died in 1003 H. (1594) he was probably a contemporary throughout the period treated of; at any rate, from 980 H. (1572–3) he had an intimate personal knowledge of all that was going on.

Our author, Abū Turāb, belonged to a family of saintly and learned men, which emigrated from Shirāz in the year 898 H. (1492), and settled at Champāner, in the Panch Maḥāls, then the capital of Gujarāt. Nothing has been learnt so far of his early life, but he was probably from the first a man of some influence, and in 980 H. (1572) we find him in the service of I'timād Khān, a man prominent in the disturbed politics of that period, in whose counsels he seems to have had a predominant voice.

'Abd-ul-Karīm, I'timād Khān, a converted Hindu slave and probably a palace eunuch, had gained the confidence of Sultān Maḥmūd (1537–54), and rose about 1545 to be one of his chief advisers. Nine years afterwards

(1554) occurred the plot of the slave Burhān to seize the throne after the assassination of the king and nobles. I'timād Khān escaped the fate of the rest, and the incident is graphically described by Abū Turāb (pp. 44 to 49). I'timād Khān became guardian of the minor successor, Aḥmad Shāh II (1554–1561), and the country was divided into five satrapies, I'timād Khān and his friends obtaining ten parganahs. In 1561 Aḥmad Shāh was assassinated by I'timād Khān, and a youth of doubtful parentage was raised to the throne under the title of Muzaḥfir Shāh (III). Then began a very perturbed period, due to the dissensions of the nobles, an invasion from Khāndesh, and an attempt by one of the nobles to seize the throne. I'timād Khān was faced by so many foes at once that he did not know which way to turn.

In the end (1572), acting on the advice of Abū Turāb, I'timād Khān invited an invasion by Akbar, who had come to the borders of Gujarāt in pursuit of a fugitive kinsman. Akbar responded to the invitation, soon overbore all opposition, and occupied Aḥmadābād, Cambay, and Sūrat. At first I'timād Khān was well received by Akbar, but one of the chief nobles having fled, Akbar grew suspicious and withdrew his favour. Abū Turāb stood up manfully for his master, who was soon received back into Akbar's good graces. But Mirzā 'Azīz, Kokal-tāsh, was left as governor of Gujarāt.

The arrangements made by Akbar for the government of the newly-acquired province failed to restore order, and in 1573, on the urgent entreaties of the viceroy, the king made his famous nine days' ride from Fathpur Sikri to Aḥmadābād, dispersed the malcontents, and incorporated Gujarāt into the empire. Abū Turāb was appointed chief leader of the Mecca pilgrimage in 985 H. (1577–8), and I'timād Khān went with him. They brought back a stone bearing on it the *qadam-i-rasūl*, or impression of the Prophet's foot, which was presented

to Akbar, and finally deposited at a shrine in Gujarāt. From 987 H. (1579–80) to 992 H. (1584–5) the country was disturbed by various risings, until in the latter year Aḥmadābād was occupied by Muẓaffar Shāh (III), who had escaped from the Mogul court. Shortly before this event Itinād Khān had been appointed viceroy. The narrative breaks off just after the new viceroy had been defeated by Muẓaffar Shāh outside the walls of Aḥmadābād.

Abū Turāb's style is on the whole easy, though occasionally he is a little archaic and uses peculiar words and constructions. Of course, especial prominence is given to Itinād Khān's proceedings, in which the *beau rôle* is always played by Abū Turāb; if his advice had been followed, this, that, and the other misfortune would have been averted. Making slight allowances for this bias, the record appears a truthful one, and yields us a living picture of the constant intrigues and perplexing instability of Oriental state affairs. Dr. Ross has done his part well, and we are indebted to him for a valuable addition to an interesting period of Indian history. There are still some misprints left unnoticed in his Notes and Corrections, but they are of little importance.

There are, however, one or two words as to which I may offer some suggestions. On p. 14, l. 14, for چپر, interpreted as *chapri*, "bran," I would propose the Hindi छप्पर, چھप्पर *chhappar*, "a thatch" (Platts, 458), making the passage read, "grass three years old from thatches"; and on p. 29, ll. 3 and 11, *Sārat* and *Sorath* possibly do not refer to the same place, one being meant for the well-known port on the ocean, and the other for the province in the peninsula of Kāthiāwār (see Constable's Hand Atlas, pl. 31, Ba, Aa).

WILLIAM IRVINE.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF EAST INDIA AND PERSIA. By JOHN FRYER. Edited by WILLIAM CROOKE. Vol. I. Hakluyt Society, 1909.

In 1673 the East India Company's fleet carried out, as "chirurgeon for Bombay", a young man of the name of Fryer, who had just taken a medical degree at Cambridge. He was seen off from Gravesend by a friend, to whom he made the usual promise of a full and faithful account of all that should befall him in the strange lands to which he was going. In fulfilment of this undertaking, during the nine and a half years that elapsed before Fryer again set foot in England he dispatched to his correspondent seven long letters; and he followed these up with an eighth, written from Dover on his return, bringing the narrative to a conclusion. Sixteen years later (1698) the worthy doctor, now become a Fellow of the Royal Society, published the whole series—probably, as Mr. Crooke conjectures, revised and augmented—under the title of *A New Account of East-India and Persia*.

It is unnecessary to say much in praise of a work so well known to everyone interested in seventeenth century travel. Parts are written in a turgid, affected style, copied, it may be, from Sir Thomas Herbert: but, as his editor remarks, "his pages display many instances of graphic description, terse and vivid narrative: and he can tell a good story with quaint dry humour." The work is a mine of information about Western India and Persia: and Sir George Birdwood has gone so far as to pronounce it "the most delightful book ever published on those countries".

Fryer's *New Account* was many years ago placed on the Hakluyt Society's list of works to be included in its series. About 1896 the task of editing it was actually undertaken by Mr. A. T. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to the Madras Government; but his untimely death a few years later left the book again without an editor.

Recently Mr. William Crooke stepped into the breach : and the first of the three volumes of which the edition will consist has now been issued to members of the Hakluyt Society.

To those who know Mr. Crooke's work in other fields, it will be superfluous to say that he has discharged his duties in a most painstaking and efficient manner. Besides utilizing his own wide reading and personal acquaintance with India, he has enlisted the aid of several experts (such as Colonel Prain and Sir George Watt for botanical matters), and has diligently sought information from every available source. Further, in an excellent introduction, he has given us a good deal of fresh information about Fryer himself.

The narrative is not an easy one to annotate, and naturally there are some openings for criticism. On p. xxvi of the introduction it is stated that the holding of stock was a necessary preliminary for admission to the "freedom" of the East India Company ; in point of fact the exact opposite was the case, and Fryer must have claimed his freedom (by patrimony) in order to hold the stock which was thereupon transferred to him. The note (p. 105) on the acquisition of Madras requires revision ; and in one on p. 225 the establishment of a French factory at Surat is much antedated. Fryer's error (p. 161) as to the year of Vasco da Gama's voyage is not corrected, and his reference to "Dr. N. G." (p. 296) is left unexplained. These initials stand for Nehemiah Grew, Secretary to the Royal Society, 1677-9. The Oxenden Medal (p. 223) might well have been accorded the honour of a note, materials for which are to be found in J. H. Mayo's *Medals and Decorations* (vol. i, p. 55). The Anglo-Portuguese conflict at Swally mentioned on p. 224 was in 1630, not 1615. And finally, we may express a doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Crooke's identification of the "Naran Sinajj" of p. 199 with the "Narun Gi

Pundit" of the following page, who seems to have been quite a different person (cf. p. 204).

These, however, are but slight blemishes. Most of the notes are excellent; and we shall look forward with some impatience to the issue of the remaining two volumes.

W. F.

THE KATHAKA SAMHITA, Books I and II. Edited by Professor VON SCHROEDER. Leipzig, 1900 and 1909.

The fate of the *Kāthaka Samhitā* has been somewhat peculiar. A MS. of the work is included in the Chambers Collection at Berlin, and it was used by Weber in preparing his *Indian Literature*, and formed the theme of an essay in the third volume of the *Indische Studien*, while much of its lexicographical material was rendered available by Weber's energy to the authors of the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*. But publication of this important and interesting text has been long delayed by the absence of adequate manuscript material. It is due to the energy of Dr. Stein that further material has been made available, and even his efforts have not succeeded in obtaining a complete copy of the text, the MS. of Dayārām Jyotsī of Srīnagar, which alone can be compared for importance with the Chambers MS., being deficient for a portion of book i and for the whole of book ii.

Despite the lack of manuscript material, the edition of both books is an admirable piece of work, as was only to be expected from the editor of the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*. It is inevitable that the text should here and there remain doubtful, and unquestionably in several places the sense of the original is impossible to discover, but it may fairly be said that the editor has done practically everything that can be done with the materials available. Fortunately the *Kapīṣṭhala Samhitā* in the fragments preserved shows

such considerable similarity with the text of the *Kāṭhaka* that it has served to suggest many corrections of that text and to confirm others.

One general criticism only would we offer on the text, and that is regret that the editor should have declined to adopt a system of punctuation. It is true that he has authority on his side, and in particular Dr. Caland, whose assistance in constituting the text of book ii is acknowledged by Professor von Schroeder, has declared himself against punctuation. But the arguments on the other side are, in our opinion, overwhelming.¹ The editor of such a text as this must while preparing the text make himself master of the sense, and the probability that he will commit a few mistakes in his division of sentences is of no importance compared to the saving of time and trouble to users of the book by the simplification of its study through the adoption of a rational system of punctuation. It is true that punctuation can be overdone, as is the case with Böhtlingk's text of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣads*, where the punctuation increases the difficulty of the text, but there is no valid excuse for a chapter of two large pages with continuous Sandhi, including the assimilation of sibilants, and without a single punctuation mark or distinction of quotations. Moreover, comparison with Weber's text of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* shows how incomparable is the advantage of using transliteration² in dealing with Vedic texts, at any rate if the purpose of editing such texts is the legitimate desire to render readily available their contents.

As Weber had access to the Chambers MS. the publication of the text adds little to our knowledge of the subjects with which it deals, though an examination of it adds—if possible—to our admiration of the ability with

¹ Cf. Lanman in Hertel's *Panchatantra*, pp. xxvi seq.

² That Devanāgarī was used in my *Aitareya Aranyaka* was due to the exigencies of the Anecdota series of which it formed a volume.

which he handled the *Kāthaka*.¹ But it is of some interest to note that the parallel passage² to those in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*³ and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁴ on which Bürk⁵ has founded his theory that the Pythagorean problem was known in India in the eighth century B.C., like the passages themselves, is silent on the most important point, the dimensions of the hypotenuse. It contents itself with saying: *vedīm vimimīte triṃśatā poścāt prakramair mimīte sattriṃśatā prācīm caturviṃśatyā purastāt*. No doubt this means that the *prācī*, a line bisecting at right angles the western and eastern sides of the Vedi, is 36 units, and no doubt the hypotenuse of the triangle formed by the *prācī* (36), with half the western side of the altar (15), would have a hypotenuse of 39 units. But there is nothing in the *Samhitās* or *Brāhmaṇa* to show that the hypotenuse was ever measured, much less that it was of any importance at all, and even if the measurement of the hypotenuse were given, we would still be as far as ever from a knowledge of the Pythagorean theorem. To put it plainly, if anyone construct a figure with a right angle—one of the simplest figures possible—and then measure the sides, they will, of course, present the result (assuming any correct measurement) that the squares of the numbers representing the sides will equal the square of the number representing the hypotenuse: but to ascribe the knowledge of this fact—much less the knowledge of the theory underlying it—to a man who merely knew the measures of the sides is quite fantastic, and the absurdity of the whole construction is more obvious still when the man, as far as the records go, never even mentions, or knew the length of, the hypotenuse.

Nor does the *Kāthaka* support in any way the other

¹ The Mantra material is embodied in advance of publication of the text of xix, etc., in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*.

² xxv, 4.

³ vi, 2, 4, 5.

⁴ x, 2, 3, 4.

⁵ ZDMG., lv, 553-6.

argument¹ on which Bürk bases the view that the Pythagorean problem was early known in India. It is perfectly true that like the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*²—to which Bürk might have added the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*³—the *Kāthaka*⁴ gives a series of optional forms of the sacrificial fire for the case when a man has some special desire. Bürk⁵ lays down that in all these forms the space occupied by the fire must be the same as in the normal form, and he deduces thence—as one of the optional forms is that of a chariot wheel (*ratha-cakra*)—that the Indians knew at the time of the Saṃhitās how to construct a circle with an area equal to that of a square, and that they could transform one rectilinear figure into another. Unfortunately he does not quote his authority for the statement that the sizes of the figures must be the same, and unless it occurs in the Saṃhitās or Brāhmaṇas the argument is worthless. But even if there were to be found there a ritual direction that the size must be the same it would be absurd to assume, unless more details were given, that the priests really could make them identical and knew enough geometry to further this result. Empirical measurements would serve to obtain an approximately adequate result. Nor can we make anything out of the fact that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁶ contemplate the building of successive altars each larger than the other: the exact sense is obscure, and apparently the passage means no more than that each successive altar is to be larger than the former one by one unit (the length of a man) on each of its four sides.⁷ We are therefore faced with the fact that no geometrical knowledge like that of the Pythagorean problem can be asserted before

¹ ZDMG., lv, 346 seq.

² v, 4, 11, 1 seq.

³ iii, 4, 7.

⁴ xxi, 4.

⁵ Loc. cit., p. 548.

⁶ x, 2, 3, 18. The reference in Bürk (p. 549, n. 1) to Weber's *Indische Studien* is incorrect.

⁷ Cf. Eggeling, SBE., xliii, 310 seq.

the time of the Śulba Sūtras, the date of which remains doubtful.¹

The *Kāṭhaka* was clearly composed in the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas, like most of the Brāhmaṇa literature. This is shown by the references to that people and to Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya,² and the special interest shown in the Pañcālas and Kuntis.³ Unhappily the references are too slight to show us exactly the relations of the peoples, but they lend no support to the view recently adopted by Mr. Pargiter⁴ that the Kuru-Pañcāla alliance dates from after the great war. It is quite possible, as Mr. Pargiter argues, that the tradition of the priests as to secular matters was not good, but the utter confusion of the Epic and Purāṇa traditions renders it very doubtful whether it is wise to say⁵ that the account of the tradition of knowledge as to Soma-drinking in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁶ is chronologically erroneous. When we can control facts we see something different: we see, as in the Devāpi and Śantanu legend, the misunderstanding of a Vedic tradition.⁷

The style and grammar of the *Kāṭhaka* offer few surprises: indeed, the work conforms in this regard to the most approved Brāhmaṇa traditions. This is shown strikingly by the statistics of the use of the narrative tenses, figures for which as far as book i is concerned have been given in an earlier number of the Journal.⁸

¹ See my remarks, JRAS., 1909, 590 seq., to which I have nothing to add. Professor Garbe very kindly called my attention to the fact that I had not in my note dealt with Burk's evidence, and this omission I now repair.

² x, 6. ³ Cf. xxvi, 9; and for the Pañcālas, xxx, 2.

⁴ JRAS., 1910, p. 51, n. 5. The great war is unknown to the Brāhmaṇas, and it is legitimate to suppose that it was of later date, if it occurred at all.

⁵ Ibid., p. 53, n. 4. ⁶ vii, 34.

⁷ Cf. Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, pp. 129 seq.; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, i, 272; Macdonell, *Bṛhaddevatā*, i, p. xxix.

⁸ JRAS., 1909, pp. 149 seq.

In book ii (xix—xxx) there are approximately¹ 891 cases of the narrative imperfect: section xix has 49: xx, 49; xxi, 40; xxii, 44; xxiii, 118; xxiv, 88; xxv, 113; xxvi, 63; xxvii, 109; xxviii, 62; xxix, 79: xxx, 77. Against these the narrative perfects are extremely few: *vidām cakāra* occurs in xxi, 4, 9, and xxvii, 5, with *vidām cakṛma* in xxii, 6. In xx, 1, *uvāca* alternates with *vividuḥ* and *veda*; in xx, 8, *upadadhu* and *jagāma* follow; *uvāca* occurs alone in xx, 9, and xxii, 7; *abhyānuvāca* in xxviii, 4; *uvāca* and *niṅyuh* in xxvi, 7; *uvāca* (bis), *ācuḥ*, and *jagrhuḥ* in xxx, 2; *ānartha* in xxi, 4. The other perfects which occur are like *āha*, *āhuḥ*, *vedu*, *viduḥ* (xxiii, 2), present in sense, and include *ānaśe*, xx, 5, 11; xxx, 4, and *ājagāma*, “it is here,” xxvi, 6. Most common is *dādhāra*, xix, 11, 12; xx, 7, 10, 11 (bis); xxi, 3; xxvi, 1; xxviii, 10 (eight times repeated). In this use the form is so predominantly *dādhāra* that we would not hesitate to emend *dadhāra* in xx, 5 (p. 23, l. 10). In xxii, 3, von Schroeder himself has made a similar emendation, because *dadhāra* is followed by *dādhāra*, and in xx, 5, there is no reason to cling to the text of the Chambers MS. In striking contrast are the verse and prose Mantra portions of the work, where, e.g. in xxii, 10, a single verse equates *udāyan* and *ānaśuḥ*.

The aorist is used practically only in the sense rendered by “have” in English, in which it occurs some twenty-three times;² curiously enough, the sense of a present, which is so marked a feature of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*,

¹ Absolute accuracy is not aimed at, but the figures are such as to render it needless. The imperfect is in fact the only narrative tense; the perfect is sporadic and rather peculiar (*uvāca*, etc., predominate).

² *Acucyavat*, xx, 1; *abhūt*, xx, 7; *abhāvan*, xxiii, 7; xxix, 1; *acaiḥ*, *acaiṣam*, xxii, 6; *acaiṣa*, xxii, 7, 8; *upāgāt*, xxii, 8; *agan* (bis), xxv, 5; *upāgāḥ*, xxvi, 2; *akramūt*, *avocathāḥ*, xxv, 2; *asprkṣaḥ*, *āprāḥ*, *adṛghāḥ*, xxvi, 5; *agām*, xxix, 7; *agāt*, xxviii, 4; *asnihat*, *adrāpsit*, xxviii, 4; *agrahiṣṭa*, xxx, 2; *adabhat*, xxx, 7.

is quite rare; it is found in xx, 9—*yajñasyaivāntau samagrahīt*.

Of the use of the moods there is little to be said: in the Brāhmaṇa proper the optative as conditional, as injunctive, and as optative occurs frequently, but without irregularities of usage. In particular there is not a single irregular conditional sentence in xix–xxx. The subjunctive is found in its usual senses, once in both clauses of a conditional sentence, but it is not common.¹ The injunctive, both affirmative and negative, occurs, but also infrequently.

More characteristic is the distinct advance in the use of the infinitive in *tum*. The use is found more often with *arhati*,² but also with other verbs, viz., *anveṣtum adhriyanta*, xxiv, 7, and xxx, 4; *anvavaitum adhrṣṣvan*, xxiv, 10; *dabdhun nāsaknuvan*, xxx, 9,³ and *udatiṣṭhad hotum*, xxviii, 9. The only other form at all usual is the genitive with *īśvara*, as in xxvi, 1 (*abhyuṣaḥ*): xxx, 5 (*prametoḥ*), 9 (*parābhavitoḥ*). On a par with this is the frequent use of the verbal in *tarya*, and the repeated *na neṣtrā na potrā bhavitāryam*, xxvi, 1, etc.

In the use of the participles there is little of note, except that as to the other Brāhmaṇas, the perfect middle is of frequent occurrence. A good example of the apparent⁴ use of the present participle as a finite verb is to be seen in xxi, 2: *devā vai svargaṃ lokam gantus teṣāṃ yāni chandāṃsy aniruktāni svargyāny āsaṃs tais saha svāḥ² gaṃ lokam āyan*. Here the writer has recovered the construction after the break, but if he had forgotten it an apparent finite use of *gantus* would have been shown. On the other hand, in xxi, 8, there does occur an interesting

¹ *Ādat* in xx, 9, is a clearly correct conjecture of von Schroeder.

² *Āptum arhati*, xxi, 12: xxix, 3, 6 (bis); *gantum arhati*, xxx, 9; *samaṣṭum arhati*, xxix, 1: *bodhuyitum arhati*, xxii, 2.

³ So *aśaknuvan prāṇitum*, xxvii, 3, but *udyamaṇ nāsaknuvan*, xxviii, 7.

⁴ See my notes, ZDMG., lxiii, 336 seq.; JRAS., 1910, pp. 226, 227.

example of the development of a real dependent construction¹ in place of the use of the direct speech with *iti*. The sentence is : *ekaikayā juhuyād yadi kāmuyeta ciram pāpmano mucyete ciram eva pāpmano mucyate | sakṛt sarvān anādrutyottamayā juhuyād yadi kāmuyetājiram pāpmano mucyety ajiram eva pāpmano mucyate*. Von Schroeder does not even query the text, yet the ordinary use would be *mucyeyeti*, an easy conjecture, and one parallel to his² correction of *syāt* to *syām* in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, i, 11. But the text may well stand as a grammatical irregularity of the legitimate kind, admitting of easy if illogical explanation.

A few small points may be more briefly noticed. It is hardly consistent to let *invai* stand in the text in xix, 1, when *in nvai* is printed at p. 81, l. 3 ; 99, l. 8. The omission of double letters is a characteristic of every Sanskrit MS., and has no value. In xxii, 8, the name Śarkarākhyā seems doubtful as a proper name, and it is obvious and easy to read Śarkarākṣa instead, or even Śarkarākṣya. The former name is found in the Gaṇa Gargādi, and the latter in Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,³ while Śārkarākṣya occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.⁴ In xxix, 4, the Chambers MS. has the form *aṣṭakapāla* ; von Schroeder remarks "in Böhtlingk's Wörterbuch mit Sternchen versehen, also überliefert, aber nicht belegt". But in point of fact it is so quoted in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini⁵ in the form *aṣṭakapālaṃ brāhmaṇasya*, which is conclusive evidence of its legitimacy. It is more doubtful if the authority of the Chambers MS. is adequate to allow the form in the *Kāthaka*, which has repeatedly *aṣṭakapāla*. Similarly I think von Schroeder attributes too much weight to his MSS. when he reads the incorrect

¹ Cf. my *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. xv.

² *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, 13, n. 5.

⁴ Cf. my *Atureya Aranyaka*, p. 204.

³ v, 11, 2.

⁵ vi, 3, 46.

ta ārtim ārchanti in xxi, 6, for the correct *sa-ārchati* of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, xii, 3, 4. Again, in xxix, 8, the text adopted by von Schroeder seems open to objection. It runs: *tasmād utaiko bahvīr jāyā vindate naikā bahūn patīn upaśayaḥ* !. The form *upaśayaḥ* presents difficulties, and the obvious correction *upaśaye* (namely *e* for *o*) restores the necessary parallelism with *vindate*.

Of the uses of the cases it may be worth while mentioning the ablative of comparison in xxix, 8: *striyaḥ puṃso 'tiriktāḥ*, and the apparent accusatives in xxi, 10: *sa rāṣṭram abhavat yāṃ kāmayaṇa rāṣṭraṃ syāt*. The first *rāṣṭram* and the second must presumably be construed alike, and the accusative with *syāt* is even more difficult than that with *bhū*, of which we have written elsewhere.¹ Probably in both cases the nominative must be taken to be meant, and the abstract stand for the concrete, royalty for king.² In xix, 1, *jīvitamaḥ* must replace *jīvitatamaḥ*, which is most improbable. The *Kaṣiṣṭhala Saṃhitā* has *jīvitṛtamaḥ*, which is also possible, but nothing is easier than a duplication of *ta*.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA. By MABEL HAYNES BODE. Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

After a short introduction Mrs. Bode begins her review of the Pali literature in Burma with the arrival of the Pali Tipiṭaka in that country. As to the Suttapiṭaka, she states that among the great Nikāyas claiming to be the word of the Buddha the Dīghanikāya is *the best known and the most frequently to be found*. The reason for this preference is, according to Mrs. Bode, that it is

¹ JRAS., 1910, pp. 151 seq.

² See e.g. *Pañcarīṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, xxi, 12, 2: *sa rāṣṭram abhavat arāṣṭram itare*.

the shortest among these collections and contains all the essential doctrines of Buddhism.

The Vinaya offers the author an occasion to speak about the beginnings of Buddhist culture in Further India. Here Mrs. Bode might have mentioned the two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, who were travelling from Utkalā to Madhyadeza with 500 carts, when a deity stopped them and exhorted them to offer cakes of barley and honey to the Lord (Mahāvagga, i, 4). These merchants became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. The story of the Mahāvagga is confirmed by the celebrated inscription of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon (mentioned by Mrs. Bode at p. 78, n. 6), which dates from 1485 during the reign of King Dhammaceti. There is only one difference between the two records. The Mahāvagga states that the two merchants made their way from Utkalā to the Rājāyatana tree on the road (*addhānamaggaputipunnā honti*), while the Shwe Dagon inscription says that they came by ship. From this we may conclude that the author of the Mahāvagga believed Utkalā to mean Orissa in anterior India, from where they could easily go by road to the Rājāyatana tree. Dhammaceti, on the contrary, the author of the Shwe Dagon inscription, believed Utkalā to be the country from the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill down to the Irawaddy, where there must have been a settlement of colonists from anterior India in very early times. This is the reason why in his opinion the two merchants make their voyage by ship.

If we consider the later Buddhistical literature, we shall find the story of Tapussa and Bhallika in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa to the Vinaya and to the Anguttara-nikāya, which belong to the fifth century A.D. There also the place from where they came, and where they erected a dagoba after their return, is called Asitañjananagara, as in the inscription of Shwe Dagon. It therefore seems to be out of question that Buddhaghosa, the most

celebrated of the commentators, believed the country to be Burma and not Orissa, and that the dagoba was erected in the same place where the merchants had buried the relics which the Buddha had given them.¹ Buddhaghosa's opinion is of the utmost importance for us, because he has written most of his commentaries in Burma after having spent a certain time in Ceylon. Formerly Burmese historians believed him to have been born in Burma, but this opinion cannot hold good against the testimony of the *Mahāvamsa*, according to which he was born in the neighbourhood of the holy Bo-tree; cf. Mrs. Bode, p. 8, n. 1.

From her remarks on p. 10 it seems that Mrs. Bode is not inclined to attach much faith to the story of the Buddhist mission to Burma in the time of Asoka. I should like to say a few words about this matter. The place where the two missionaries, Sonā and Uttara, landed in Burma is called Golanagara or Golamittikānagara (*Sāsanavamsa*, p. 38). About this place different opinions have been uttered. Forchhammer believed that it is the same place which is mentioned by the Arabian geographers under the name of Kalah. In the eighth and ninth centuries it was the centre of the trade in aloe, camphor, sandal-wood, ivory, and lead. The ships coming from the east (China) and from the west (Persia) used to meet in Kalah and to exchange their merchandise there. In the neighbourhood of this Kalah there was a group of small islands which may help us in identifying the place. If we take the islands to be the Maldives, or the islands forming the Adam's Bridge, then Kalah must be in Ceylon; in the former case it could be identical with the modern Point de Galle in the south of Ceylon,² in the

¹ The name Dagon corresponds to the Pali *Tikumbha* (three bowls), and hence the legend originated that Gotama and his two favourite disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, had buried their bowls in this place.

² This is Sir Emerson Tennent's opinion.

latter it could be the north-east coast of this island. In both cases it cannot be the Golanagara in Burma, where the Buddhist missionaries landed. If, on the contrary, we take the group of islands to be the Nicobar Islands, we might identify Kalah with the modern Queddah in the neighbourhood of Penang in Further India. This is the opinion of the author of the anonymous book, *Ceylon, a general description of the island, historical, physical, and statistical* (London, 1876). He believes that the ships coming from Persia took their way to China directly from Cape Comorin through the Gulf of Bengal to the Nicobar Islands, and touched Kalah afterwards. This opinion seems preferable to that of Forchhammer and Sir Emerson Tennent, because the ships had to pass somewhere in the neighbourhood of Queddah, while they would have been obliged to take a roundabout way to the north if they had wanted to touch Golanagara.

After these remarks I have only little to add. As on former occasions, Mrs. Bode has given here also an excellent specimen of her scholarship. Following her sources, among which the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the *Gandhavaṃsa* are the principal, she gives us a vivid picture of the development of Pali literature in Burma from the eleventh century down to the present day. Chapter ii deals with the rise of Pali scholarship in Upper Burma and the relations between this country and Ceylon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Chapter iii is divided into two sections, of which the first gives us the Pali literature in Pegu and the Kalyāṇi inscriptions of King Dhammaeetī, while the second contains the literature in Upper Burma from the foundation of Ava to the end of the sixteenth century.

Chapters iv–vi are dedicated to the literature of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries respectively, and in the appendix on p. 101 ff. Mrs. Bode gives us a list of 295 Sanskrit and Pali books from an

inscription dated A.D. 1442. We notice here a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but most of them (not all) still recognizable. I shall add a few suggestions to the explanations which Mrs. Bode gives in the foot-notes: No. 193, *Vṛndatīkā*, is mentioned among other medical treatises by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Oxon.*, 311*b*; No. 197, *Dravyagūṇa*, *ib.*, p. 86*a* (cf. No. 254). I do not believe that No. 208 refers to Daṇḍin, because this name occurs again in its right form, Nos. 256–8, but rather to Tāṇḍin. No. 219, *Tarkabhāṣā*, is a book mentioned by Aufrecht, *l.l.*, 244*a*, and by Westergaard, *Codices Orientales Bibliothecae Harniensis*, p. 8*a*; Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanskrits et pâlis de la bibliothèque nationale*, fasc. i, Nos. 296, 884, 885. For No. 253, *Roganidāna*, see Westergaard, *l.l.*, p. 104*a*; No. 265, *Vidagdhamukhamanḍana*, see Cabaton, *l.l.*, Nos. 529, 686.

I have now reached the end of this review, which is a good deal longer than most of the reviews I have written for this Journal. But I can assure Mrs. Bode that the only reason of my verbosity is that I have found so many interesting points in her valuable book which I could not dismiss without fully discussing them.

E. MÜLLER.

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. ESPECIALLY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. Five lectures delivered at Harvard University by ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, etc. London: Luzac and Co., 1908.

In this little book of 235 pages we have a history of the recovery of the lost religion of Assyria and Babylonia, an account of its gods, its cosmologies, its sacred books, and its myths and epics. It is needless to say that the

picturesque faiths of these two ancient peoples can always be made interesting, and Dr. Rogers has well succeeded in his task. The pictures, though mainly reproductions of tablets and inscriptions, are well chosen to rouse the reader's interest and make him desirous of more light upon the faith of the two nations with whom it originated—a faith which must have had considerable influence upon their near kinsmen, the Israelites.

Naturally the first deity to be treated of is the head of the pantheon, and the author begins (p. 59) with a comparison between the Assyrian Aššur and the Babylonian Merodach. Aššur, he points out, was a local deity, as was Merodach at Babylon; but though Merodach always remained at Babylon, Aššur accompanied his people when the capital was changed to Calah, and then to Nineveh, and thence to Dûr-Šarrukîn (Khorsabad), and back again to Nineveh. But when the Assyrians had conquered Babylon they made no attempt to introduce the worship of Aššur into the southern capital, much less to supplant Merodach. And the reason of this is not far to seek—they were themselves the willing worshippers of Merodach, and it might be added, they regarded Aššur and Merodach as one and the same. And here I should like again to speak of the mysterious deity Nisroch, which Dr. Rogers (p. 65, foot-note) suggests may be a malforming of the name of Merodach. I had thought (see Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.) that Nisroch was a malformation of Aššur, or a combination of Aššur with the name of the moon-god Aku (otherwise Sin and Nannar), for the first element of Sennacherib's name being Sin, he would naturally regard that deity as his special protector, and might try to identify him with the national god of Assyria, especially if, as the tablets show, there was a desire to regard them all as manifestations of one and the same deity (in Babylonia Merodach, and in Assyria Aššur).

Professor Rogers's treatment of the subject is historical, and therefore different from what we are accustomed to. This naturally makes a refreshing change, and gives him an opportunity of writing about the gods of the Assyrians from the point of view of the nation itself. When speaking of the conquests of Esar-haddon, therefore, he points out that he ascribed his success in war to Aššur, the great Assyrian deity. The gods of Babylonia could not help him; there was needed the strong bow of Aššur—the great god of war. And even Aššur had never wrought a greater wrong than the sad desolation of Egypt. But on the fall of Nineveh in 608 B.C., the god Aššur went down with his people. "He was but a god of blood and fire, and could not survive the powers of blood and fire which alone had made him great." And here we may make a comparison. The god Aššur, as the author says, was not any better than his people, but how about the Babylonians, the worshippers of "the merciful Merodach"? When Nebuchadrezzar came to the throne of Babylonia, which had taken Assyria's place as a world-power, he, too, conquered the nations, including Egypt. And this reminds us that even Christians have been known to invoke "the god of battles".

Professor Rogers's examination of the religion of Babylonia is closer than that of Assyria, and in the main he seems to follow Jastrow and Sayce. A very interesting section is that in which Yau is treated of (pp. 90 ff.). As is well known, the name Yaum-ilu (the Heb. Joel) occurs on a tablet copied by the present writer for the Trustees of the British Museum some time before 1898, in which year Professor Sayce spoke of it, and Professor Delitzsch referred to it again in his well-known lecture *Babel und Bibel* in 1902. This is naturally not the name Yahwah, but Yah (Jah) simply. Whether Delitzsch is right in reading *Ja-a-pi-ilu* as *Ya-a-re-ilu* or not is a matter of opinion—the reading is possible, but still better

would be the reading *Ya-a-wa-ilu*, which is also a likely one. As I showed, as long ago as 1892,¹ the late Babylonian form of Yahwah was *Yâwa* or *Ya'awa*, and it is hardly likely that any other form existed 2000 B.C.

Professor Rogers's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* gives an interesting insight into the beliefs of those ancient peoples, and will be appreciated by many. His treatment of the Creation and Flood legends is attractive, and quotations from these "sacred books" are given, as well as a selection from the other legends, and numerous hymns, incantations, and chants.

T. G. PINCHES.

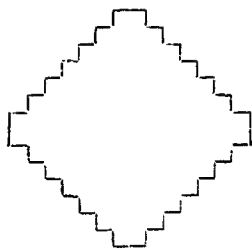
THE EARLIEST COSMOLOGIES, the Universe as Pictured in Thought by the ancient Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Iranians, and Indo-Aryans: A Guide-book for beginners in the study of ancient literatures and religions. By WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D., M.R.A.S., etc. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909.

The main object of this interesting work seems to be to try to show what was the most probable Babylonian (and general Semitic) idea of the universe, comparing it with other systems known, at the same time showing that they present certain points of agreement. The first two chapters aim at disproving the generally accepted theories of the Hebrew ideas of the universe as being a flat but more or less rugged disc, arched over by an impermeable vault, with the heavenly bodies and the stars on either the inner or the outer side of the same, and various devices for allowing the waters of the springs and rivers and the rains to enter and fertilize this hermetically sealed abode of living things. In some places the author is genially sarcastic, and probably rightly so,

¹ "Yâ and Yâwa (Jah and Jahwah) in Assyro-Babylonian Inscriptions" *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, November, 1892, pp. 13 ff.

but the writers whom he quotes probably did their best with the material and knowledge at their command, and we must take into consideration that there were many things which they found difficult to reconcile.








Professor Warren contends that the ancients had a much more correct idea of the world and the universe than they are generally credited with, such as the earth's globular form, though the motions of the sun, moon, and stars naturally confused them. With regard to the Babylonians, however, he contends—to all appearance with Professor Sayce—that they thought of the world as a double seven-staged temple-tower within seven concentric spheres, these spheres being the seven heavens, the upper half the region of light, and the lower that of darkness. This double temple-tower was so arranged that its counterpart, reversed, appeared below it; and being, with the spheres of the underworld by which it was surrounded, in darkness, the whole looks like a seven-staged Babylonian *ziggurat* with its seven over-arching hemispheres reflected in the waters of a great sea. The idea is strange and somewhat weird, but an examination of the texts and also the characters of the Babylonian syllabary shows it to be not altogether so improbable as it seems.





As is well known, the staged tower or step-pyramid was a common form of temple (and at the same time, it is supposed, observatory) in Babylonia and Assyria. Probably comparatively few of them had seven stages, the commonest number being no more than three or four. The most noteworthy of them, however, had the full number, seven—that at Babylon, which is described by Herodotus, being the one best known to us. This tower of Babel, which was probably attached to the neighbouring

temple of Bel-Merodach, was called *Ê-temen-ana-kiā*, "the house of the foundation of heaven and earth." Another, that at Borsippa (the traditional, though probably not the real, tower of Babel) was similar as to its form, and also, probably, in the number of its steps or stages. This had a similar name, *Ê-ur-imina-ana-kiā*, "the house of the seven regions of heaven and earth" (formerly rendered the temple of the "seven spheres"). Similarly emblematical, seemingly, was either the temple or the city of Erech, which is called, in the geographical lists, *Ar-imina*, *Da-imina*, and *Gipar-imina*, the seven regions, sometimes with the prefix for "city", leading to the probability that the temple-tower there may either have been in seven stages, emblematical of the seven regions of earth and heaven, or, if in fewer than seven stages, nevertheless typified that number. That Erech was especially a city associated with the seven regions or enclosures is also indicated by the fact that in the Legend of Gilgames it is always called *Uruk supuri*, "Erech of the enclosures," as though that were the city's distinctive characteristic.

Naturally an objection might be made that the elevation of the great temple-tower of Babylon, according to the tablet (all traces of which have now disappeared), which was for a time in the hands of the late George Smith, was not exactly like that of the diagram published by Professor Warren, the lowest and the second stages being about half the height of the whole erection, and the top-most a hall of considerable height. In all probability, however, this does not invalidate the idea, as the proportions, in the main, are preserved, the width, length, and height being the same. What seems really not to agree is the map of the world brought back by Mr. H. Rassam from Abu-Habbah, the site of Sippar, which he discovered. In that the world appears as a circle, with the salt sea around it, and eight gore-like districts on the other side of that sea, giving the world the appearance of a great

star whose points have intervals between. This map, however, would seem to be late, and perhaps drawn at a time when the ideas of the Babylonians had changed upon the subject. It is doubtful whether anything can be argued in favour of Professor Warren's theory from the ideogram for "earth",  in its ancient form. Though it appears as a kind of lozenge with cross-lines (about five in number) in the middle archaic style, the oldest forms show it with the right-hand side flat, or nearly so, which, as the line-forms of the Babylonian characters have to be turned round to get the true position of the original hieroglyphic, points to something like the following: . This would naturally agree with the author's upper part—the earth proper—but the vertical lines which would then replace the horizontals would in that case require another explanation. More satisfactory, perhaps, would be the ideograph , late form , the meaning of which, like  and , is *kiššatu*, "the universe," "world-all." In connexion with the name of Enlila's temple at Nippur, *Ê-kuru*, the common ideograph for "country", , regarded as a picture of three mountains, would naturally come into consideration.

But it is probable that more than one idea of the world existed in Babylonia, and in connexion with this the author's remark that the ancient Semites knew that the earth was a globe is noteworthy. The character  may just as easily have originated in a hemisphere as in a pyramid, and  may have been in reality not a lozenge or double pyramid, but a circle. And in this connexion the words of that important and remarkably perfect tablet found at Nineveh by G. Smith may be quoted. It is a hymn to Ištar, and the first three lines read as follows:—

"The light of heaven, which like fire dawneth in the land, art thou.

O Goddess in the earth, in thy fixed abode,

She who, like the earth, stately advanceth, art thou."

Here we have a comparison between Istar (Venus) and the earth, in which, as a planet, she is said to advance (*šūtugāt*, "she is caused to cross," *šuphul* of *ētēqu*) like the earth. As the Babylonians knew the phases of Venus, they must have recognized that she was disc-shaped or circular, and to say that the earth was like her is as much as saying that the earth was a globe too.

The Cosmology of the Babylonians is not, however, the only thing of which Professor Warren treats—he speaks also of the Egyptian, the Homeric, the Indo-Iranian, the Buddhistic universes, Homer's Abode of the Dead and of the Living, and many other things, the discussion of which would take up much space and need the pen of a specialist in each branch of study. In more ways than one, therefore, Professor Warren's *Earliest Cosmologies* is a book to attract the student and the thinker.

T. G. PINCHES.

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS.—I. PSALMS OF THE SISTERS. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. London: published for the Pali Text Society, 1909.

This is the second European translation of the collection of stanzas commonly known under the name of *Therīgāthā*, "psalms of the sisters." The first attempt was made by Dr. K. E. Neumann, who translated this collection, together with the songs of the brethren, into German verse in 1899, just ten years ago. The principal difference between Neumann's work and that of Mrs. Rhys Davids is that the former is totally independent of any commentary on the brethren's verses and treats the commentary on the sisters with utter scepticism, while the latter professes her indebtedness to Dhammapāla's work in a great many instances. Mrs. Rhys Davids even tells us in her introduction that the principal reason why she translates the psalms of the sisters before those of the brethren is that the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* is ready at hand in

my edition of 1893 published by the Pali Text Society, while she could only procure a single manuscript of the commentary on the Theragāthā through the exertions of Professor Charles Duroiselle of Rangoon College.

If the first European editor of the Therīgāthā, Professor Pischel, acknowledged the help he derived from Dhammapāla, it seems to me that the translator should be even more thankful for this help, and in this respect I entirely agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids when in many ambiguous terms she has been determined by the ruling of the commentator without accepting it in blind faith.

Another question treated in the introduction is that about the identity of the sisters. One of the most interesting persons is the therī Uppalavaṇṇā, whom we find not only in our Therīgāthā but also in different passages of the Vinaya, and who, according to Mrs. Rhys Davids, is "as difficult to identify as our own St. George". I have tried to give some information about this therī in the introduction to my edition of the Paramatthadīpanī (xiv f.), and I will add a few more notes here:—

Uppalavaṇṇā seems to be identical with Padmāvati in the Bodhisattvāvadānuakalpalatā (Rājendralālamitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal*, p. 65). The story of Ummādinī is also related in the Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney's translation, i, 104; ii, 322); and the story of the thera who married his own mother and sister (Paramatthadīpanī, p. 195 f.) occurs again in Ralston's Tibetan Tales, translated from the Kah-gyur (London, 1893) as No. X. With regard to Paṭācārā, Mrs. Rhys Davids states (p. xxi) that "of the two poems attributed to her one has been lost or merged with that of Kisāgotamī". Indeed, there seems to have been a confusion between the stories of Paṭācārā and Kisāgotamī, as the tale which is related of Paṭācārā in the Paramatthadīpanī occurs again in Ralston's Tibetan Tales as No. XI with the title Kisāgotamī. Moreover, the same story is related in the

twenty - fifth chapter of the Dsanglun with the title Uppalavaṇṇā (see T. T. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, pp. 206 ff.).

The translation reads very well. Mrs. Rhys Davids has not attempted to adhere more literally to the Pali text than her predecessor, Dr. Neumann, and, besides, the peculiarities of the English language have compelled her in some instances to adopt even a more independent rendering. In the following lines I shall give my opinion on some details that have struck me in the translation and in the notes:—

Page 29, note 1, we read *mittā* = *amica*, which is certainly right, but the derivation of the names *Mittā* and *Mettikā* from the Vedic Sun-god seems to me far-fetched and totally unnecessary. p. 61, instead of *Manoratanapūraṇī* read *Manorathapūraṇī*. p. 122, stanza 258, *upakālita* is correctly translated by “scared”. The same word occurs *Jāt. i*, 405, where Chalmers has “nigh roasted”. In Sanskrit we find *kālita*, *Suśruta*, 2. 435. 20, *kūḍayati*, *Rigveda*, 8. 26. 10, *kuḍate*, *Dhāt.* 8. 17, all with the meaning “to burn”.

The translation in stanza 265, “They with the waste of the years droop shrunken as skins without water,” is based on Kern’s suggestion (*Bijdrage tot de verklaring van eenige woorden in Pali geschriften voorkomende*, p. 15 f.) to read *ritī* instead of *rindī*, and to identify this with Sanskrit *dr̥ti*, “a leather bag.” This suggestion is confirmed by the commentary. Neumann reads *rittī*, and translates accordingly. As far as the meaning of the whole stanza is concerned, both renderings are equally good. In stanza 267 I cannot understand why Mrs. Davids follows Neumann and not the commentary. The comparison of a woman’s thighs to the trunks of an elephant is very frequent in Indian erotic literature. See, for instance, Weber, *Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, stanza 925.

In the translation of stanza 419 I agree in principle

with Mrs. Davids, who follows the ideas of Kern (*ll.*, p. 21). Perhaps it would have been better to say, "Alas! we have lost the pretty luck," instead of "We are beaten, pretty luck." At any rate, this translation is preferable to Neumann's, who treats the text with the utmost violence. Stanza 443 is a very difficult passage, and neither of the two renderings seems to me quite satisfactory. If I give the preference to that of Mrs. Davids it is on account of *Mahāvagga*, i, 46, where we find nearly the same words as in the commentary to this stanza.

In stanza 458 Mrs. Davids translates the words *kāyakkalinā asārena* by "in this poor body, froth without a soul", with special reference to *Jāt.* v, 134. If we look at the Cambridge *Jātaka* translation we find that the word *kali* in this passage is rendered by "sin", and thus I should prefer to say here also, "in this sinful body without a soul."

In stanza 504 *kuthitū* is translated by "boiling", while Neumann puts "Stank" instead. I think the best would be "distressed", just as it is rendered by Rhys Davids in a similar passage, *Milindapañha*, p. 250.

In stanza 509 both translators agree in reading *kāhinti*, instead of *khāhinti* proposed by Pischel and translated accordingly. I confess that both readings seem to me equally good, and that I cannot give the preference to either of them.

I conclude this review with best thanks to Mrs. Rhys Davids for the capital work she has given us in her translation of the psalms of the sisters, and hope that the psalms of the brethren will follow soon. The reader has seen that in going through this book of 200 pages I had only a few remarks to make, and that even of those remarks most were in favour of Mrs. Davids' readings of the text and of her translation.

E. MÜLLER.

AUF NEUEN WEGEN DURCH SUMATRA. Forschungsreisen in Ost- und Zentral-Sumatra (1907). Von MAX MOSZKOWSKI. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1909.

This is a well-illustrated and interesting account of travel by land and water through some little-known parts of Siak and the Rokan (or Rēkan) States. The author is a keen observer, and writes sympathetically and graphically of the things and people he has seen. In fact, the book is very suggestive, and raises a number of interesting points which it would be impossible to discuss fully in the space here available. I must confine myself to noticing a few of those that have struck me while reading it.

A considerable part of the book deals with the primitive jungle-tribes visited by the author, and as he has given an account of these in a paper published in the *Journal* for July, 1909, I need not recapitulate the facts he has recorded. Referring rather to his mode of presenting those facts and to the inferences which he has drawn from them, I am inclined at times to differ from his judgment. For instance, his view appears to be that the Sakai tribes have practically no material culture of their own, the little that they possess having been borrowed during the last few years from their Malay neighbours. Against this, however, there are several weighty arguments. In the first place, their Sakai relatives in the Peninsula (assuming the Sumatran tribes to be really of the same race) undoubtedly have some elements of material culture which they have not derived from the Malays, but appear to have possessed for many centuries; for they are things that the Malays either do not possess at all or only in some other form, and the Sakai names for them are quite unconnected with the Malay ones, and point back to a long distant past when the Sakais were connected with Indo-Chinese races. Secondly, the Siak Sakais now

speak only Malay. But if they are really related to the Peninsular Sakais, they must have had a language of their own formerly, and it takes some time for a language to disappear completely; the Peninsular Sakais have still in a great measure preserved theirs, though Malays have been hemming them in with ever-increasing persistency for the last five centuries or more. Moreover, the Malay spoken by the Siak Sakais is not the dialect of their Malay neighbours, but the remoter Menangkabau Malay of the West Sumatran uplands. It is evident, therefore, that they must have come under the direct influence of a Menangkabau-speaking community a long while back, before they settled in their present locations; at what period they left the uplands and came down into the lowlands of East Sumatra is unknown, but the event cannot possibly be a very recent one, or there would be some better recollection of it than the "old legend" with which the author (no doubt rightly) connects it.

So far as I can judge, it seems to be true that the Sakais of Siak have to a great extent borrowed their existing material culture from Malays, but probably this borrowing occurred in a much more distant past than he appears to suppose. It is likely enough that a good deal of racial admixture also took place, and that this accounts for the change in culture and language. But that in no way proves that the Sakais never had any culture of their own, though I admit that it must have been of a very primitive kind. One might just as reasonably argue from the same facts that they never had any language of their own, which surely would be a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Similarly in the matter of religion. Dr. Moszkowski spent some time amongst these people and made many inquiries, yet failed to find among them any original religious ideas. From this fact he is inclined to infer, first, that they have no such ideas now, and secondly, that

they never had any. Neither inference is absolutely safe. The religious ideas of a shy and primitive people are about the very last things which they are likely to communicate to a foreigner sojourning for a few weeks in their midst, however sympathetic he may be and however much trouble he may take to investigate such matters. On the other hand, all *a priori* theories on these subjects (of which we meet with so many nowadays, particularly in German works) are just as likely to mislead as to help us. Dr. Moszkowski has, if I understand him aright, the view that primitive races fail to form religious conceptions because, amongst other reasons, they are deficient in a sense of causality; they do not ask themselves "who created the world?" and so forth, for the reason that the perception of a causal nexus in events has not occurred to them. This is an opinion hard to reconcile, as it seems to me, not only with the exuberance of the mythopœic imagination amongst many savage peoples, but also with the common fact that even very young children (whose individual development in so many respects seems to reflect the past evolution of the race) are continually and quite spontaneously asking "why?" and in default of a satisfactory explanation from their elders as to the cause of what they see, very frequently make up some sort of childish explanation for themselves.

How extremely unsafe it is to rely on inferences drawn even by careful and scientifically trained observers from comparatively simple facts may be aptly illustrated by an instance out of the work now under review. One of the leading cases of what has been called "protective mimicry" is the Kallima butterfly in its various allied species. Wallace in his standard work on the Malay Archipelago draws special attention to it as an instance of the way in which variation and natural selection may give rise to forms which serve to give a special degree of protection to the individuals that embody them, by reason

of their close resemblance with their usual environment



Dr. Moszkowski, on the other hand, uses this very butterfly as an argument against any such directly protective adaptation, holding that such protection as may in fact be afforded is merely a secondary by-product not traceable to natural selection at all, and having no real connexion with the efficient causes which have given rise to these particular forms of variation. It is certainly not the business of a mere layman in these matters to express an opinion on a technical point of this kind. but it seems to me to afford an illuminating commentary on the touching faith in the "results of modern science" displayed by a number of estimable people who have not been trained to distinguish between facts and theories. Dr. Moszkowski's remarks on these subjects, whether we agree with them or not, at any rate conduce to clearer thinking.

Another trifling point may be mentioned in illustration of the same principle, and it happens to be a case in which one can come to a definite issue with our author. Finding that a small species of bee, called by the natives *damar-damar*, is concerned with the outflow of resin from certain trees, which it facilitates by its boring operations in their trunks, he infers that the native word for resin, *damar*, is derived from the name of this kind of bee. In fact, of course, it is the other way about, the little bees taking their name from the product with which they are associated. In numerous languages of the Archipelago the word *damar* (or its phonetic equivalents) bears such meanings as "light, torch, resin", and one of these must be its primary meaning: I am not concerned at present to inquire which one it is. The transference of the name

Unfortunately it is not always possible to test our author's theories so easily. His view of the relation of the white race to the coloured races is that the latter are inferior beings whose evolution has come to a standstill, like that of the anthropoid apes, while the white man still has long vistas of progress before him. Well, every conception of superiority seems to me to involve a reference to some end; in other words, it implies some particular form (or forms) of efficiency. And my own experience, such as it is, has convinced me that if the white man is more efficient in some departments (as he undoubtedly is), the coloured man surpasses him in others. Besides, who can tell for certain that the coloured man's evolution has already come to an end? We none of us have the gift of infallibility in matters of that kind. But I can well imagine that if some cultured Egyptian or Babylonian of (say) three thousand years ago had come into contact with our Teutonic ancestors in their native forests, he might very probably have uttered much the same sort of opinion about them as Dr. Moszkowski has expressed about the coloured races, namely, that the idea of ever educating them to our level is just as utopian as the idea of turning an ape into a man by some process of training. It would have been a singularly unfortunate *obiter dictum*: but what guarantee have we that Dr. Moszkowski's view may not in some distant future be negatived with equal conclusiveness by the course of events?

It must not be supposed that the book is full of theories like these: if I have singled out some for criticism, it is because I find the author's views stimulating and suggestive, even when I cannot bring myself to agree with him. But there is much more in his book that I should like to mention if there were room to do so. His descriptions of his journeys through tropical forests, of the native inhabitants, their social and political organization, customs, superstitions, and religion, their

material culture, and so forth, all make very interesting and instructive reading. I can cordially recommend the book.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1906-7; pp. 267; 74 plates, and numerous text-illustrations. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India; 1909.

The publication of this volume so soon after the preceding one has done much towards bringing the issue of the series up to date.

The first part of the volume, pp. 1-33, with 11 plates, deals as usual with conservation, in which line some specially important work was done at Jaumpūr, Agra, Lahore, and Shāhdara, in addition to good progress having been made at other places in India and in Burma.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to exploration and research: pp. 34-205, with plates 12-74. Operations were continued at Kasiā by Dr. Vogel (pp. 44-67), and at Sārnāth by Mr. Marshall and Dr. Konow (pp. 68-101). Some valuable discoveries were made at Sahribahlol by Dr. Spooner (pp. 102-18), including, notably, a fine group of Kubēra and Hāritī with attendant figures (plate 32, *c*), and a beautifully executed seated Buddha (plate 34, *a*). The latter article is followed by a second note by the late Dr. Bloch on his excavations at the funeral mounds at Lauriya (pp. 119-26). And Mr. Taw Sein Ko has given us, from the excavations at the Pet-leik-paya pagoda near Pagan in Burma, another series of the curious terra-cotta plaques illustrating the Jātaka stories (pp. 127-36).

We have next the first instalment of an article by Dr. Vogel on the Mathurā school of sculpture (pp. 137-60). What he may have to say on this topic will naturally be best understood and weighed when we have the

complete article before us. Meanwhile it appears from Mr. Marshall's résumé on p. 43 that the results so far are, that the Mathurā school was largely dependent on that of Gandhāra, though it did not owe its origin to that school; that its existence is carried back to at least the second century B.C.: that it had come under the influence of the fully developed Gandhāra art in the time of the early Kushan kings; and that, consequently, "the art of Gandhāra itself must be pushed back to a considerably earlier period; sufficiently far, that is, to account for the relatively great decadence of the Mathurā as compared with the Gandhāra work."

A contribution on Muhammadan architecture in Kashmir by Mr. W. H. Nicholls comes next (pp. 161-70). Then follows one by Mr. Cousens on the temple of Brahma at Khēḍ-Brahma (pp. 171-8). And then a contribution by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the Lakulīśa form of Śiva (pp. 179-92), in which he has very usefully given us a brief abstract of the Kārvāṇ Māhātmya, and the text, with translation, of an extract from a Jain work entitled Tarkarahasyadīpikā, which presents a summary of the Śaiva doctrine of the Naiyāyikas: regarding Lakulīśa, something has already been said in this Journal, 1907. 419-26.

The remainder of this part of the volume (pp. 193-205) is occupied with some notes by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni on the results of a short tour of inspection made by him in the Gōrakhpūr and Sāran Districts under instructions given by Mr. Marshall on a request made by the writer of this notice. The request was largely based on "information received" which does not seem to have been of a very reliable nature, since various reported indications of stūpas and other remains were not found to exist. The results, however, are not wholly unremunerative, though they have not at all come up to what was expected. And they do not upset the writer's belief that Kusināra, where

Buddha died, is to be looked for somewhere near Pachrukhi, a railway station about 32 miles north-west-by-north from Chhaprā.

The epigraphic portion of the volume contains a general progress report for the year written by the Epigraphist, Dr. Konow (pp. 206-16), and a comprehensive monograph on the Pallavas by the present Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya (pp. 217-43), which is a very useful addition to previous treatments of the history of that great ruling family of Southern India.

On p. 210 Dr. Konow has brought to notice, apparently from the Hazārā District, an interesting date recorded in the Laukika or Lōkakāla reckoning which is well known in connexion with Kashmir, the Kāngra District, and some of the neighbouring Hill States. The characteristic feature of this reckoning is the omission of the hundreds (both centuries and millenniums): so that, e.g., "the year 38" may mean also any such year as 138, 238, 338, and so on, up to 4938 (we have not yet come to the year 5038). In this new inscription, the year is stated in figures as simply Sainvat 38, in the usual fashion, but also fully in words as Laukya- or Lōkya-sainvat 538. The other given details are Kārttika śukla 13, Saturday. And they place the record on Saturday, October 17, A.D. 1461.

The interest attaching to this date lies in its stating the century, and in the point that according to the usual reckoning the date should fall one year later, in A.D. 1462. We find the explanation of the matter in Albērūnī's account of the Lōkakāla: see his *India*, translation by Sachau, 2. 8. He has told us that his gauge-year Śaka-sainvat 953 expired, = A.D. 1031-2, was the year 6 (expired) according to the Kashmir custom, but was counted by the people of Bardari and Mārīgala (Taxila) as the year 110 of an era of their own, and by the

people of Nīrahara, "behind Mārīgala", and of Lanbaga (Lamghān) as the year 108. From that we see that the reckoning had been introduced into countries outside Kashmīr at some time between A.D. 925 and 1025; and the people of the territories named by Albērūnī, not recognizing its purely centennial nature, had continued the numbers of that century into a new century instead of beginning again with a fresh year 1. The people of Nīrahara and Lanbaga had dislocated the reckoning to the extent of four months, by using it with a year which began with the Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 preceding the Chaitra śukla 1 with which the year of the same number began in Kashmīr. Subsequently, their reckoning must have been further dislocated, by eight months more, by an adoption of the Chaitra śukla 1 preceding Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 as the initial day of the year. And so it came about that Kārttika of the year 538, in which numbering we recognize a continuation of the era set up by the people of Nīrahara and Lanbaga, fell in A.D. 1461 instead of 1462.

J. F. FLEET.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

WILHELM AHLWARDT¹

WITH the death of Professor Wilhelm Ahlwardt on November 2, 1909, at the age of 81 years, Arabic studies have lost another of the chief representatives linking us to an earlier generation.

Born in Greifswald on July 4, 1828, the son of Christian Wilhelm Ahlwardt, who was Professor at the University, he lost his father when only 5 years of age. After a course at the gymnasium there, he studied during 1846-8 at the University of his native town, among others under Kosegarten; from 1848 to the autumn of 1849 he studied at Göttingen under Ewald, and again from 1849 to the autumn of 1850 at Greifswald, where on February 6, 1851, he received the degree of Ph.D.

After this he spent several years studying and copying, in a beautiful hand, MSS. in the libraries at Gotha and Paris. The copies made by him during this period, filling close upon a hundred volumes, will, it is to be hoped, find their way intact into the University Library of his native town.

At Easter, 1856, Ahlwardt received the post of assistant librarian in the University Library of Greifswald; and in this year appeared his first, as far as I know, printed work, *Über Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, dedicated to the University upon its jubilee.

On May 5, 1857, he took up the position of Privatdozent at Greifswald, and on February 11, 1861, he was

¹ His full name was Friedrich Wilhelm, and it is so entered in his own hand in the Album of Professors at Greifswald; but in his published works he used only the second name, and appears with it alone in the catalogue of professors and scholars published in Germany.

appointed Professor of Oriental Languages, which post he held till the time of his death. From February, 1861, to 1865 he was also second librarian at the University Library. During the summer of 1867 and winter of 1867-8 Ahlwardt was on furlough for scientific researches in Paris and Oxford.

On February 22, 1892, he was appointed Privy Councillor (Geheimer Regierungsrat). On his 80th birthday he was decorated with the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, 2nd Class with oak-leaves, and upon his jubilee as Ph.D. with the same Order, 3rd Class, with the number 50; he had also received the Prussian Order of the Royal Crown, 2nd Class, and the Order of Henry the Lion of the Duchy of Brunswick.

Ahlwardt married in Berlin on July 4, 1861. After losing his wife he had the sorrow of losing his only son, who had entered on a juristic career, at the age of 30 years. The ill-success of his German translation of the *Dīwān* of Rūba, moreover, had made him resolve not to publish any further works; he showed me the manuscript translation of the *Aṣma'īyyāt*, and he had also done a great deal towards the translation of *al-ʿAǧǧāy*; both works will probably be found among his papers.

I have indicated above that his first book was published in 1856 under the title *Über Poesie und Poetik der Araber*; it showed that the branch of Arabic studies which chiefly interested him was that of poetry. This work was followed in 1859 by *Chalef el-Aḥmars Qasside*, which put the literary activity of Joseph von Hammer under a glaring searchlight. In 1860 he edited *El-Fachri, Geschichte der islamischen Reiche*. In 1861 he published *Abū Nowas, Weinlieder*, promising a complete edition of the whole *Dīwān* and also a work on the social conditions under the Chalifate; unfortunately these promises were not fulfilled.

In 1870 appeared *The Dīwāns of the Six Ancient Arabic*

Poets, containing the poems of an-Nābiga, 'Antara, Ṭarafa, Zuhair, and 'Alqama in the recension of al-A'lam, and the poems of Imru'ul-Qais after the recension of as-Sukkari. This is the most frequently cited work of Ahlwardt's. It is a pity that he pursued in it a plan to which he adhered to the end; i.e. rearranging the poems according to the rhymes and omitting the commentaries. The former practice separates poems which belong to the same classes; for though no plan may be apparent in the way the *Dīwāns* of the ancient Arabic poets are arranged, it is certain that there is a reason underlying the arrangement, which it is to be hoped will lead us some day to trace the sources from which the ancient texts were derived. The commentaries, however meagre and poor, are often a very valuable help for understanding the difficult texts of early Arabic poetry. Ahlwardt remedied these defects to some extent by the publication in 1872 of his *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, in which he critically considers the texts published as to their genuineness and completeness.

After this Ahlwardt was for many years prevented from following his favourite studies, having been entrusted with the cataloguing of the Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library, Berlin. The work of these years is embodied in ten stupendous volumes, published between 1887 and 1899. Here he brought together rather more than is desirable, and the work is awkward to use on account of its enormous size. Moreover, in giving the dates of the authors, Ahlwardt not infrequently differs from other authorities, and as he does not quote his own sources, the correctness of his statements cannot be ascertained. As the compiling of this huge catalogue took a long time, he published intermediately several hand-lists:— (1871) *Verzeichniss Arabischer Handschriften* (on poetry, belles-lettres, literary history, and biographies); (1885)

Verzeichniss Landberg'scher Handschriften; (1887) *Verzeichniss Glaserscher Handschriften*. During this period he published also in autography (1883) the ninth volume of the Chronicle of al-Balāḍuri after an old MS. preserved in the Berlin Library.

Late in life he was again able to turn to his favourite study of poetry, and in 1902-3 appeared his *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, containing (vol. i) the *Aṣma'īyyāt* after the Vienna MS. and five poems abounding in difficult words, and later (vols. ii and iii) the *Dīwāns* of the very difficult *Rağaz* poems of al-ʿAğğāğ and Rūba, again without the commentaries, which are absolutely necessary for the understanding of these authors. He intended to make these poems more accessible by the publication of German translations; that of Rūba appeared in 1904, but the interest in it which Ahlwardt had expected was not shown.

Moreover, in the latter part of his life his eyesight began to fail, and he frequently expressed his fear of becoming blind; that, however, his enthusiasm survived till the last is demonstrated by the fact that he had actually announced a course of lectures for the winter term 1909-10. A gathering on the tongue, from which he suffered about a week, took him gently away.

Working from an early age with enthusiasm and conscientiousness, he always aimed at a very high standard of correctness, a model for succeeding generations. Though I am probably the latest friend Ahlwardt made, I am proud to write these few lines in his honour. After making inquiries in several quarters in vain, I received, through the kindness of Professor Hausleiter of Greifswald, some particulars supplementing my own knowledge, for which I thank him here publicly.

FRITZ KRENKOW.

WILLIAM HENRY ROBINSON

THE study of Eastern philosophy and languages is not always calculated and deliberate; sometimes it is spontaneous and irresistible. This was the case with William Henry Robinson, who died recently at Edmonton at the age of 81. He began and ended life a poor man, but in him there burned the flame of devotion to Oriental lore, even though at the last that flame had to be kept alive by means of an Old Age Pension. It was not in University or College that Mr. Robinson was inspired to study: it was when he had reached middle life that the fascination of India's literature fell upon him. Henceforward the British Museum was his workshop, and his enthusiasm the driving force by which he taught himself Sanskrit and delved into the treasures of the East.

His education, begun in the early thirties of last century at a dame's school in Westminster, had been continued and extended by his own exertions. For some years he followed teaching as a profession: then the claims of a growing family compelled him to seek more lucrative employment in various offices of trust, as well as in journalistic and philanthropic work. But once he had fallen under the spell of the East he could not devote himself seriously to other interests. He seems to have grown poorer financially as he grew richer in Oriental learning: and life was one long struggle to make ends meet. The death of his wife in 1889 after more than forty years of companionship was a great sorrow to him. Some years later a serious street accident impaired his physical powers: and for the last five or six years of his life he lay on his back in bed. Surrounded by his books, he would work day after day with interest born of undying enthusiasm at his *Golden Legend of India*. It was his solace through days and nights of weariness and pain, and though he did not live to see its publication,

the proofs submitted to him were a foretaste of an unrealized joy.

A musician, a practical social reformer, an authority on architecture, a keen debater in the Shakespeare-Bacon theory, an enthusiast for poetry, a devoted student of religions, a man with a keen intellect and innate humility, full of generous impulse and love for his fellows—such was William Henry Robinson, called, it seems, to hold aloft the torch of Oriental learning in lowly places, finding in the old Indian philosophies a foreshadowing of Christian truth.

The Golden Legend of India is a versified paraphrase of the story of Śamaśēpa, as told in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, giving the full ritual setting of the story and a literal translation of the hundred *Rk* verses which were employed in conjunction with it. Mr. Robinson seems to have been justified in his claim that his work supplies the first complete reproduction of the whole drama in a European version : and his astronomical interpretation has the merit of originality and may prove to be a genial intuition. The work has been shown to a few scholars, and it is hoped that there may be little difficulty in raising the modest subscription needed to guarantee its publication.

A. A. S.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1910

XIII

THE ARTHA-PANCAKA OF PILLAI LOKACARYA

TRANSLATED BY ALKONDAVILLI GOVINDACARYA, C.E., M.R.A.S.,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE been asked by Ālkonḍavilli Gōvindācārya Swāmī to offer the following pages to the Royal Asiatic Society. The *Artha-pancaka*, written in Tamil in the thirteenth century A.D. by the celebrated Pillai Lōkācārya, is quite the most important summary of the modern Bhāgavata doctrine of Southern India that we possess. A Sanskrit translation of this work by Nārāyaṇa Yati was noticed, and its contents partly described, by Dr. Bhandarkar at the Vienna Oriental Congress of 1886 (Aryan Section, Proceedings, p. 101), and the information is repeated by him in his Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-4, published in 1887 (pp. 68, 69). It is upon this work, and upon another (the *Yatindra-mata-dīpikā*¹ of Śrī-nivāsa) described at the same time, that Dr. Bhandarkar founded his well-known account of the origin of the Bhāgavata religion, which has formed the basis of all

¹ Gōvindācārya Swāmī informs me that a translation of this important work is under preparation.

researches into the subject conducted since then in Europe.

To those who have studied Gōvindācārya Swāmi's translation of the Bhagavad-Gītā with Rāmānuja's commentary, the author of the present paper needs no introduction. He has written several other valuable works dealing with the Bhāgavata beliefs of Southern India, which are perhaps not so well known in Europe. I may draw attention to his "Divine Wisdom of the Drāviḍa Saints", his "Lives of the Āzhvārs" (the Bhāgavata predecessors of Rāmānuja), his "Life of Rāmānuja", and his "Vade-mecum of Vēdānta". These are frequently quoted in the following pages. He has given me authority to edit his paper, and I have utilized the discretion thus afforded me to make one or two verbal alterations, and to omit a few passages that infringe the rule prohibiting the discussion of controversial religious topics in the pages of this Journal. I have also left out a few quotations from European writers on the Bhāgavata doctrines, whose views are familiar in this country and, however valuable, do not possess the authority of an Indian professor of the religion. In other respects I have left the article just as I received it.

It is well known that modern Bhāgavatas are divided into two *kalās*, or schools of thought, commonly known as that of the North (*Vaḍa-galai*) and that of the South (*Teṇ-galai*) respectively.¹ The main difference between these affects the doctrine of Grace, the former teaching that God's Grace is "co-operative", and the latter that it is "irresistible". They also differ in the view held regarding the Goddess Śrī. The Vaḍa-galais look upon her as a form or phase of the Supreme, assumed mainly for the purpose of spreading the truth, and, equally with Him, infinite and uncreate. The Teṇ-galais, on the

¹ The so-called "Monkey-" (*Markaṭa-nyāya*) and "Cat-" (*Mārjāra-nyāya*) schools. See JRAS., 1908, p. 338, and A. G.'s *Vade-mecum*, p. 45.

other hand, give her an independent personality. She is looked upon as the mediator between God and man, and, while from one point of view she is created by the Supreme, from another point of view she is one with Him.

The Bhāgavata doctrines brought to Northern India by Rāmānanda, as expressed in the *Bhakta-māla* and other works of the class, belong to the Vaḍa-galai school, and therefore differ in some points from those enunciated in the following pages. The Vaḍa-galais of Southern India, from whom these doctrines came, wrote mainly in Sanskrit, and their chief light was Vēdānta Dēśika (A.D. 1268), who belonged to the generation succeeding Pillai Lōkēcārya (A.D. 1213). The latter was the first great teacher of the Teṇ-galai school, the textbooks of which are mainly written in Tamil.

The doctrine of irresistible grace taught by Lōkēcārya demands a corresponding attitude on the part of the believer. This is known as *prapatti*, or self-surrender.¹ It is a stage beyond *bhakti*, which (like an infant monkey clinging to its mother) connotes *active* love and devotion, while *prapatti* (like the self-surrender of a kitten carried by its mother) is entirely *passive*. *Prapatti*, carried to its logical conclusions, entails the further doctrine that devotion and reverence are due to the mediator (*ācārya*), who puts the postulant on the right way, and presents him to God as a soul to be saved. It will therefore be noticed that the *Artha-pañcaka* lays great stress on *prapatti* and *ācāryābhimāna*, while the textbooks of the Vaḍa-galais, including all those of Northern India, stop at *bhakti*, and insist on the active participation of the soul in working out its salvation, with the loving co-operation of a merciful and gracious God.

¹ This is the Teṇ-galai use of the word. Radically it means "approaching". Cf. *prapadyatē* in *Bhg. G.*, vii, 19, and *prapanna*, ii, 7. Northern commentators translate this word by "*bhajati*", and hence virtually equate *prapatti* with *bhakti*. Rāmānuja's commentary is to much the same effect. Cf. also *Śaṇḍilya*, i, 9.

To me personally this translation is of particular value, as it corrects a mistake made by me on former occasions when writing about *bhakti*,—a mistake, I must confess, in which I have not been alone. Trusting to the best sense I could make out of one very incorrect MS. of the Sanskrit version of the *Artha-pañcaka*, I have more than once described those souls who are classed as “*kēvala*” as souls that are “only” devoted to the ADORABLE. I have now obtained an excellent MS. of this work, and it, as well as Gōvindācārya Swāmī’s paper, shows that the real explanation of the term as given by Pillai Lōkācārya is that *kēvala* here means “isolate”, and connotes those souls who seek self-salvation, i.e. those who are content with realizing their own nature, by means of knowledge (*jñāna*), instead of proceeding to the more advanced stage of *bhakti*.¹

As a further contribution to Gōvindācārya Swāmī’s translation, I give, after his article, the text of Nārāyaṇa Yati’s Sanskrit version of the *Artha-pañcaka*. This will serve two purposes: it will be useful for its own sake, and it will also help to show where the English translation of the Tamil original is literal, and where it has been expanded.²

G. A. G.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORKS

Śrī Pillai Lōkācārya, or Bāla-Lōkācārya, is called “Pillai” or “younger” because Nambillai or Kalivairi-Dāsa, hierarchically anterior to him by two stages in the apostolic succession, also bore that distinguished title, “Lōkācārya,” which means the same as “Jagad-Guru”.

Bāla-Lōkācārya, or Pillai Lōkācārya, or Ulagārian, was born in 1213 A.D. (see Table in our *Lives of the Āṣhvārs*

¹ The necessary correction should be made in n. 1 on p. 109 *ante*.

² Gōvindācārya Swāmī informs me that Nārāyaṇa Yati’s work is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation of the Tamil, and that in one or two passages he has either departed from or misunderstood the original.

or *Drāviḍa Saints*), as the son of Vadakkut - Tiru - Vidhi - ppillai, or Kṛṣṇa - Samāhva. He lived in times made troublous by Musalmān raids, which overran even Śrīraṅgam, not excepting the holy shrine of Śrī-Raṅganātha there enthroned. It is believed that the invaders sacked the place, and ruthlessly slaughtered the inhabitants, only a few escaping from the general massacre. But this vandalism and sacrilege elicited heroism and martyrdom. Lōkēcārya was compelled to leave Śrīraṅgam to follow his Lord, Śrī-Raṅganātha, and to protect him from Muhammadan outrage. When he came to Jyōtish-Kudi he fell ill, and leaving his Holy Charge to the keeping of his followers, passed away from this world.

Lōkēcārya is a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Divines, and his writings on philosophy and religion are considered to be precious gems of the first water. The sacred literature that flowed from his pen is the outcome of a long anterior religious and philosophic history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, stretching down ageless from Nārāyaṇa through Śrī. and thence through the archaic Āzhvārs and the mediaeval Ācāryas.

The style adopted for this literature is what is known as *Maṇi-pravāḷa*, or literature produced in the Drāviḍa tongue (Tamil) happily blended with Sanskrit, so as to place philosophy and religion within the reach of the masses. Lōkēcārya composed eighteen *Rahasyas* or Secret Treatises, called "Secret" because their contents are to be hidden only from those who do not deserve to be initiated into the Science of the Spirit. So goes the verse—

"Yō gōpayaty ayōgyānām yōgyānām samprayaecchati."

It is also said in the *Muktō'-paniṣad*—

"Vidyā ha vai brāhmaṇam ājagāma gōpāya mām śēvadhiṣṭhē 'ham asmi."

So also did Kṛṣṇa warn Arjuna in *Gītā*, xviii, 67.

The eighteen *Rahasyas* are—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mumukṣu-p-paḍi. | 10. Navaratna-māla. |
| 2. Tattva-traya. | 11. Navavidha-sambandha. |
| 3. Artha-pañcaka. | 12. Yādṛcchika-p-paḍi. |
| 4. Śrī-vacana-bhūṣaṇam. | 13. Paranda-paḍi. |
| 5. Arcir-ādi. | 14. Śrīyaḥ-pati-p-paḍi. |
| 6. Pramēya-Śēkhara. | 15. Tattva-śēkhara. |
| 7. Prapanna-paritrāṇa. | 16. Tani-dvayam. |
| 8. Sāra-saṁgraha. | 17. Tani-caramam. |
| 9. Sainsāra-sāmrājya. | 18. Tani-praṇavam. |

Of these, (1) is partly translated by me in the *Viśiṣṭādvaitin*, (2) and (4) by Śrī S. Pārthasārathi Yōgi, and (3), the *Artha-pañcaka*, is the one which is freely translated and presented herewith, expanded and illustrated wherever necessary—the technique of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava creed being explained where requisite by notes and appendixes. No. 4, the *Śrī-vacana-bhūṣaṇa*, is a difficult and abstruse work, composed in the *Sūtra* style. Śrī S. Pārthasārathi Yōgi made a scholarly rendering of it, to represent Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in August, 1893. Our tradition chronicles that it is inspired, Lōkācārya being himself considered as an *aṁśa* of the Lord Varada of Kāñcīpuram. This abstruse work can never be understood in all its intricacies unless read with the very lucid commentary by Varavaramuni Yōgi (= Maṇavāla-Mahāmuni, 1370 A.D.).¹ To translate it would be a formidable task, which yet might be undertaken if sufficient encouragement were forthcoming.

Finally, this is what we wrote on p. 103 of our *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*: “This *Vade-mecum* of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy is but the antechamber to the Holy Halls of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Religion.” By sending this *Artha-pañcaka*, or the “Five Truths”, out into the world, we

¹ See Table in our *Lives of Āzhvārs*.

A. I. U. E. O.
ARTHA-PANCAKA,
or
'The Five Truths'.

A. Sva-svarūpa, Nature
of Own-Self (= Soul).

I. Para-svarūpa, Nature
of Higher-Self (= God).

U. Puruṣārtha-svarūpa,
Nature of the Goal.

E. Upāya-svarūpa, Na-
ture of the Means.

O. Virōdhi-svarūpa, Na-
ture of the Bars, or
of the 'Anti' of A
to E and Prāpti
(= Fruit).

A 1. *Nitya*, (Nature of) the
Free.

A 2. *Mukta*, (Nature of) the
Freed.

A 3. *Baddha*, (Nature of) the
Bound.

A 4. *Kṛala*, (Nature of) the
Aloof or Isolate.

A 5. *Mumukṣu*, (Nature of) the
Would-be Free.

I 1. *Para*, (Nature of) the
Supreme or Beyond.

I 2. *Ṭyāha*, (Nature of) the
Grouped.

I 3. *Vibhava*, (Nature of) the
Multiplied.

I 4. *Antaryamī*, (Nature of) the
Indwelling (*lit.* Inruling).

I 5. *Arca*, (Nature of) the
Imaged.

U 1. *Dharma*, (Nature of) Duty,
or Good Works.

U 2. *Artha*, (Nature of) Wealth.

U 3. *Kāma*, (Nature of) Joy.

U 4. *Ātmānubhava*, (Nature of)
Soul-Bliss.

U 5. *Bhagavad-anubhava*, (Na-
ture of) God-Bliss.

E 1. *Karma*, (Nature of the)
Good Act.

E 2. *Jñāna*, (Nature of) Know-
ledge.

E 3. *Bhakti*, (Nature of) (Love-)
Faith.

E 4. *Prapatti*, (Nature of) (Sur-
render-)Faith.

E 5. *Ācāryābhīmāna*, (Nature
of) a Mediator.

O 1. *Svarūpa-Virōdhi*, (Nature
of) Anti-A.

O 2. *Paratra-Virōdhi*, (Nature
of) Anti-I.

O 3. *Puruṣārtha-Virōdhi*, (Na-
ture of) Anti-U.

O 4. *Upāya-Virōdhi*, (Nature of)
Anti-E.

O 5. *Prāpti-Virōdhi*, (Nature of)
Anti-Fruit.

just open the door of that antechamber, and, standing on the threshold, await to welcome those who arrive and ask for entrance into the inner sanctuaries.

INTRODUCTION

The soul,—which is whirled in the vortex of evolution ; in other words, entangled in the wheel of births and deaths, or subjected to the vicissitudes of bodily existence, or trammelled in the meshes of matter,—if it would escape from this vortex, i.e. gain deliverance from these vicissitudes, should obtain a knowledge of the Five Truths, or Principles, and, shaping his conduct ensuant on such knowledge, secure salvation.

The Five Truths or Principles are those of—

- A.** *Sva-svarūpa*,—Own-Self, or Soul.
- I.** *Para-svarūpa*,—Higher-Self, or God.
- U.** *Puruṣārtha-svarūpa*,—Goal, or End.
- E.** *Upāya-svarūpa*,—Means.
- O.** *Virōdhi-svarūpa*,—the “Anti” or opposite to these, which may be called “agnosis”, “nescience”, “sin”, and so forth, according to the context.

I

Hail, all Hail to Thee, All-bodied God !

- A.** *Sva-svarūpa*, Own-Self, or Soul-Principle.

Svarūpa means “Nature”, “Principle”, “Property”, or “Essence”. The knowledge of a thing consists in knowing its Nature, or knowing that Principle, by means of its properties. It is this truth, or knowledge, which is epitomized in this treatise.

The Own-Self is the Soul, so called as being owned as the Self or what is connoted by the expression “I”,

the *sum*, and the *meum* contingent thereon. This Truth, or Principle, of Own-Self, or the Soul, is subsumable under five categories—

A 1. The *Nitya*,—the Free (Ever-Free).

A 2. The *Mukta*,—the Freed.

A 3. The *Baddha*,—the Bound.

A 4. The *Kṛvāṇa*,—the Isolate, or the Aloof.

A 5. The *Mumukṣu*,—the Would-be Free.

A 1. The *Nityas*, or the Ever-Free, are those angelic spiritual beings, or blessed souls, who have never known conditioned existence: in other words, who are never involved in the wheel of worldly careers (*saṃsāra*);—beings who are ever in a state of bliss;—beings whose wills are ever in conformity with the will of Bhagavān¹ (the Blessed, or God);—beings who are endowed with the privilege, or possess the estate, by virtue of which they are able to perform the function of supreme advisers in all His schemes of the Kosmos;—beings with the powers, by delegation, to make and unmake worldly systems;—beings who remain at the side of God, His constant comrades and surrogates in all His doings, accompanying Him in His various incarnations, or *avatāras*;—beings who are entitled to perform the high offices of anointing and installing God Himself upon His throne;—[beings who, in the phraseology of other theologies, are known as “Thrones”, “Powers”, “Estates”, “Principalities”, “Hierarchies”, “Archangels”, and so forth];—the constant servants of God, as free from systems of *saṃsāra*,² but as interested in it as God Himself, and bearing such significant epithets as *Viśvak-sēna* (the High Lord of Hosts), *Ananta*, *Garuḍa*, etc.³

¹ See Appendix I.

² i.e. varieties of material existence.

³ See *Bhagavad-Gītā*, x, 29, “Anantaś cā’smi nāgānam,” and 30, “Vainatēyaś ca pakṣiṇām.”

A 2. The *Muktas*, or the Freed, are those who, by the grace of Bhagavān (God), have been liberated from all the pains and taints contingent on their conjunctive existence with matter (*prakṛti*); who taste in the fullest measure the blissfulness of Bhagavān in all His several aspects of Essence (*svarūpa*), Person (*rūpa*), Excellence (*guṇa*), and Glory, or the Pageant¹ (*vibhava*); who, by reason of such divine joy overflowing the bounds of their being, burst into pæans of praise, and so dwell for ever and ever, drowned in rapturous delights, in the eternal regions of heaven, called Vaikuṇṭha,² never more to return into the migrations of material existence.

A 3. The *Buddhas*, or the Bound, are those souls who are turned away from Bhagavān (God): (1) by reason of their illusorily identifying their Selves (Souls) with the bodies which they wear; constituted as these bodies are of the five material elements—impermanent cause of joy and grief—corrupt, so that in the absence of the indwelling spirit (soul), they are unfit for sight or touch—and which breed the mental aberrations, such as ignorance (*ajñāna*), misapprehension (*anyathā-jñāna*), and reversed apprehension (*viparīta-jñāna*): and (2) by reason of their notion that pandering to the pleasures of the body (catered to by the fivefold thralls of objects, sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell) is the be-all and end-all of their existence. To secure such pleasures of sense, they infringe all the salutary dictates comprised in the system known as *varṇa* and *āśrama*,³ become slaves to worldlings, inflict cruelty on creatures, seize others' wives and wealth, and thus swell the ranks of the mundane.

¹ Or Kosmic tapestry, of God, as it were.

² Literally, "the unfettered," i.e. "spiritual universe". "Kūṭhigati-pratighāte" iti dhātuḥ. Jñāna-pratighāti-karmādi-rahitās sūrayō vikunṭhāḥ; tatsambandhi-dēśō Vaikuṇṭhākhyāḥ" (Śrutaprakāśikācārya on *Saraṅgati-gadya* of Rāmānuja).

³ See Appendix II.

A 4. The *Kēvalas*, or the Isolate or Aloof, are those souls who feel like creatures stranded in solitude and who, stung by hunger and grown listless, devour their own flesh for food. They aspire to escape from the fires of *samsāra* (consortship with matter) that consume them, and seek retirement into their own Solitary Selves. These take sedulously to studies of the science of the soul, because they have come to discern that the soul is an entity distinct from the body, and that the latter (the body) is the Seat of Sorrow and the Compound of Corruption, while the former (the soul) is the 25th category, distinct from and above the sum of the 24 material categories¹ that comprise the body,—self-luminous, blissful, eternal, and the Spiritual Substance. By reason of the intensity of suffering endured by these souls in the *sāmsārika* state, as soon as they find a haven of refuge in the trivial enjoyment of their own soul-isolation, they rest so satisfied, and become on that account oblivious to the infinitely more joyful nature of Bhagavān (God), failing to know Him as such a Higher Entity. These are the men who embark particularly upon the path of *jñāna-yōga*,² which is chiefly the means to secure this coveted “zoistic” state—a disembodied or bodiless existence, hanging, as it were, in mid-heaven in æonic suspension,—a state past redemption.

A 5. The *Mumukṣus*, or the Would-be Free, are those souls in whom a longing desire for salvation (i.e. reaching Bhagavān) has arisen. These are of two classes, viz. the *Upāsakas*, or the Strivers, and the *Prapannas*, or the Resigned. The former seek salvation by self-effort, and the latter leave the same to Bhagavān’s (God’s) care. The former thinks of salvation as his concern, whereas the latter thinks of it as His concern.

¹ See Cosmological Table in our *Bhagavad-Gītā*, pp. 257-8.

² See E 2 (*infra*).

II

I. *Para-svarūpa*, or God-Principle.

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

- I 1. The *Para*,—the Supreme, or the Beyond.
- I 2. The *Vyūha*,—the Grouped.
- I 3. The *Vibhava*,—the Multiplied.
- I 4. The *Antaryāmī*,—the Indwelling.
- I 5. The *Arcā*,—the Imaged.

I 1. The *Para*-Form of Bhagavān is the eternal transcendent Essence—the spiritual Substance—which is the Noumenal, the Beyond, the Supreme, or the *Ne Plus Supra*, round which rotates, as it were, every kind of Kosmic phenomenon or manifestation.

I 2. The *Vyūha*-Form is His becoming grouped, after derivation from *Para*, into such groups as possess the fitness to perform severally the functions, in the material or manifested Kosmos, of the making, the keeping, and the breaking of the fabric of worlds, countless. These derived Godships take the names Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Saṅkarṣaṇa, and so forth.¹

I 3. The *Vibhava*-Form consists of the *Avatāras*, or Incarnations, such as Śrī-Rāma, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa,² etc.

I 4. The *Antaryāmī*-Form falls into two classes. The one is the All-pervadingness of Spirit (or God), the Inner Soul of all Souls, forming the very basis of their be-ness (*svarūpa-vyāpti*); and the other is the Beatific Presence, the union of the Mother-and-Father principles of Godhood (*guṇa-vyāpti*), enshrined in the heart, and ever watching

¹ See Appendix I. “Bhagavān” = “The Blessed”, or “The God of all Perfections”. The Perfections, infinite in number, are derivations from six Primary Types. The functioning pre-eminently of Two each of these Six is assigned to the Derivatives Pradyumna, etc. See pp. 80 ff. of our *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*.

² See pp. 83 ff. of *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*.

and directing the systole and diastole of all the processes of the soul's being.¹

I 5. The *Arca*-Form consists in the images of Bhagavān (God) which accommodate themselves to the various tastes of His creatures for their worship, having no fixed *form*, but that which the worshipper may choose and desire to have of Him: having no fixed *name* but that which the worshipper may choose and desire to call Him by; all-knowing, but seeming as if not-knowing; all-powerful, but seeming as if powerless: all-sufficient, but seeming as if needy:—thus seeming to exchange places, the Worshipped with the worshipper, and choosing to be ocularly manifest to him in temples and homes, in short at all places and at all times desired.²

III

U. *Puruṣārtha-svarūpa*, or Goal-Principle.

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

U 1. *Dharma*,—Duty.

U 2. *Artha*,—Wealth.

U 3. *Kāma*,—Joys.

U 4. *Ātmānubhava*,—Soul-Bliss

U 5. *Bhagavad-anubhava*,—God-Bliss } = *Mokṣa* = Release.

U 1. *Dharma*,³ or Duty, is good works done for the sake of all sentient creatures—such good works as sustain

¹ In other words, the activities of the soul towards, and away from, objectivity (*pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*).

² See note under *jñāna* (E2), and pp. 86 ff. of *Vade-mecum of Vedānta*. Cf. Professor Max Muller (*Physical Religion*, p. 201): “The old commandment ‘Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, or the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth,’ has been broken by all religions, if not by making likenesses, at least by conceiving the Deity in the likeness of man.”

³ Read *Itihāsa-samuccaya*, iii, 29—

“Lōkāḥ samastā dharmēṇa dhāryantē sa-carā-carāḥ |

Dharmō pi dhāryatē brahman stambha-bhūtair bhavadṛṣaiḥ ||”

the moral unity of the universe, or that cohesive force inherent in righteous works which binds together all existence into a harmonious whole or Unity. *Dharma* is unifying, *adharma* is separative; the one cohesive, the other divisive.

U 2. *Artha*, or Wealth, is money, grain, and such other possessions acquired in strict conformity with the rules of *varṇa* and *āśrama*, and using the same in the spirit of charity in the service of *Dēvas*, *Pitṛs*, and all creatures generally, with due regard to place, time, and fitness.

U 3. *Kāma*, or Joys, are of two kinds: terrestrial or mundane; and celestial or ultra-mundane. The joys of this world are those derived by means of the senses of sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell, from such objects as father, mother, gems, lucre, grain, raiment, food, drink, son, friend, wife, cattle, house, land, perfumes, flowers, and all such luxuries. The joys of the other material worlds are of a nature much exalted above those of this world, and consist in dwelling in such bright regions as *svarga*,¹ in being there bereft of such distempers as hunger, thirst, grief, passion, age, and death, and there enjoying draughts of nectar, and the love of celestial nymphs (*apsaras*) [but all one day to cease].²

U 4. *Ātmānubhava*, or Soul-bliss, is also *mōkṣa* (release), inasmuch as it is the release from, or cessation of, sorrow, or in other words, deliverance from the bonds of the revolving wheel of births and deaths and the recovery of the natural state of the soul in its freedom, or the soul-life confined to itself without objective contacts, in the condition called *kaivalya*, or isolation, a purely *psychic* state, but not divine.

U 5. *Bhagavad-anubhava*, or God-bliss, is true *mōkṣa*, or release, inasmuch as it is not only attended by the cessation of all the recurring cycles of physical life, but is release followed by God-bliss, the acme of the soul's

¹ See Appendix III.

² Read *Bhagavad-Gītā*, ix, 20, 21.

aspiration and destiny. A total effacement or remission of all the effects of deeds done, good or bad (which force the soul into material bondage), takes place, and the gross body,—which is the medium for experiencing the effects of such deeds (enjoyment or suffering)¹—which is the seat of the sixfold² states or modifications, eventuating therein, viz., conception, delivery, change, growth, decline, and death—which is the abode of the threefold³ miseries, viz., *Ādhyātmika*, *Ādhibhautika*, and *Ādhidaivika*—which screens God from the soul and breeds delusion—which, in short, is the root of *saṁsāra*,—is sloughed off. The soul then enters into the *suṣumnā-nāḍī*, rises into the head, and, rupturing the crown of the skull, soars aloft in the subtile body, journeying along the *arcir-ādi* path, and, piercing through the orb of the Sun, reaches the bounds of physical nature defined by the *Virajā* River.⁴ Here,

¹ It must be noted that this gross body is only the medium or vehicle by means of which pleasures and pains are conveyed to the mind (subtile body), and thence transmitted to the soul, which is the sufferer. Mind, according to Vēdānta, is the subtile material. What mind stands for in the English language is consciousness, which is the inseparable attributive adjunct of the soul. The Vēdāntik mind is said to garner and retain all germs of deeds permitted by the soul to be played on all the material planes, to be available for a new harvest in incarnations to come. Read *Itihāsa-samuccaya*, ii, 9—

“Maṇaḥ karma-mayaṁ prāhuḥ sarva-prāṇa-bhṛtām budhāḥ
Tat tathā cēṣṭatē tēṣāṁ bhāvi-karma-phalaṁ yathā.”

² The *śaḥ-bhāva-rikāras*.

³ The *Tāpa-traya*. For example, the eye is *Ādhyātma*, any sight or shape outside it affecting the eye is *Ādhibhūta*, and the sun is *Ādhidēva*. Pain may be engendered by any of these three causes—the senses, the object, and the presiding deity. In brief, *Ādhyātma* is the organ of sense, *Ādhibhūta* is the object of function, and *Ādhidēva* is the Power or Higher Intelligence which makes these two, and the contacts between them, possible.

⁴ *Virajā* is literally the purifying element, by immersion in which all the *-rajas* (traces of taint), *vi-*, disappear. If incredulity forbids the acceptance of a river forming the boundary between the terrestrial and the celestial, it is admissible as a symbol. We are bound by the very necessities of language to speak of the spiritual in terms of the material. See note, p. xi, of our *Lives of the Āzhr̥s*. For the *arcir-ādi* path, see our *Bhagavad-Gītā*, viii, 24–8, and foot-note references thereunder.

by a plunge into its sacred waters, the soul is rid of all the subtile remnants of physical defilement, as well as of the subtile body still adhering to it; and is anon received, on emerging from that holy immersion, by a glorious Personage called Amānava, whose very touch soothes and disperses for ever all the pangs endured in its æonic peregrinations in collusion with physical Nature. The released soul is then robed in a body of light and glory—*pañcōpaniṣan-māya*¹;—a body which obstructs not, but is made of such light stuff as helps the raying forth of the powers of the soul, which are Knowledge, Bliss, and Divine Service;—a body which is fitted for no other purpose than the service of God;—a body, in short, radiant, celestial, spiritual, divine. The soul is then conducted in due pomp and state—in cortège—into the Beatific Presence of God, who is visualized there as seated exaltedly in a celestial pavilion, made of such ineffable stuff as is celestial, supported on either side by Śrī, Bhū, and Nilā,² and other hosts of beings and objects, glorious and past compare or conception. These celestial hosts come and go before the August Presence in incessant procession, bent on serving the Lord, actuated by love indescribable: service before a Presence, instinct and vibrant with visions of beauty flitting before their vision in ever new forms, like golden eddies in perpetual making and unmaking, rippling along a stream as of molten gold.³ This Beatific Presence is no other than the High Lord of Vaikuṇṭha (*Vaikuṇṭha-*

¹ This is the *Suddha-sattra* nature (see our *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*, p. 67), i.e. radiant, or spiritual, matter, if it may be so called, having five *Upaniṣads*, or *śaktis*, or properties, called (1) *Paramēsthī*, (2) *Pumān*, (3) *Vīśva*, (4) *Nīrtti*, and (5) *Sarva*. Also read *Vedādhā-Hārīta-Smṛti*, 7th Adhyāya, and *Pādma-saṁhitā* (*Pāncarātra-* or *Bhagavat-sāstra*), chapter xii, *Jñāna-kāṇḍa*.

² See note on p. 15 and pp. 43 and 44 of our *Lives of Aṣṭāvīras*.

³ Cf. *Chāndōgya Upaniṣad*, I, vi, 6, *Āpranukhāt sarva ēva svarāṇaḥ*, and *Taittirya Up.*, III, x, 6, *Sucarṇa-jyōtiḥ*, etc., etc., *passim*.

nātha ¹), or the Changeless All—Absolute Being—the Immutable, beyond the Perishable—Whose joy without cessation is now granted to the saved soul as the high reward at the end of his evolutionary journey, and the boon of Whose service is to him conferred in terms of eternity. Thus is reached the *ne plus ultra* of blessedness (*parama-puruṣārtha*); in other words, the soul-long (*yāvad-ātmabhāvi*) loving divine service—service which is not a task, but a prerogative—a service joying in the work.

IV

E. *Upāya-svarūpa*, or Means-Principle.²

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

E 1. *Karma*,—Works.

E 2. *Jñāna*,—Knowledge.

E 3. *Bhakti*,—(Love-)Faith.

E 4. *Prapatti*,—(Surrender-)Faith.

E 5. *Ācāryābhimāna*,—Trust in the Mediator.

E 1. *Karma*, or Works, are those activities that so discipline and mortify the body as to kill sin. Their performance is called *Karma-yōga*. It consists of sacrifice (*yajña*), charity (*dāna*), austerities (*tapas*), meditation (*dhyāna*), prayers (*sandhyā-vandana*), the five great sacrifices (*pañca-mahāyajña*), fire-sacrifice (*agnihotra*), holy pilgrimage (*tīrtha-yātra*), holy residence (*puṇya-kṣētra-vāsa*), expiatory and purificatory rites (*kṛccra* and *cāndrāyana*), holy river-bathings (*puṇya-nudī-snāna*), vows (*vrata*), the quarterly sessions (*cāturmāsya*), living on fruits and roots (*phala-mūlā-śana*), study of holy works

¹ *Vaiṣṇava* is the “Land of unhampered Freedom and Joy”, fully described on pp. iv ff. of our *Lives of Āzhvārs*. *Nātha* is the Lord of that region. *Vaiṣṇava* is the *Tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam* of the Rg Vēda. See note 2 on p. 574.

² See Soteriological Table in our *Bhagavad-Gītā*, pp. 573-4.

(*śāstrābhyāsa*), holy feeding (*samārādhana*), silent holy repetitions (*japa*), oblations to ancestors (*tarpaṇa*), etc. These constant occupations for the organs of sense and the organs of action prevent the senses from contacts worldly, and consciousness is thus weaned from their contemplation. The consciousness streaming out through the senses to worldly objects, when prevented from sensuous experiences, stands in need of engagements otherwise, and these are afforded in the soul itself. In other words, consciousness is turned away from the Objective, and turned inwards to dwell on the Subjective—a process entitled inhibition or introspection. This process is divided into the eightfold stages of *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhyanā*, *dhāraṇa*, and *samādhi*. This eightfold process is specifically called “*yōga*”. This *yōga*¹ part of *karma-yōga* may be conceived as the transition between *karma-yōga* proper and *jñāna-yōga* proper. This *karma-yōga* is auxiliary to *jñāna-yōga*, and is the chief means of acquiring material prosperity (*aśvarya*), i.e. *artha* and *kāma*.²

E 2. *Jñāna*, or Knowledge, means the Highest Knowledge, or Divine Knowledge. *Jñāna-yōga* is its acquisition. The *Karma-yōga* aforesaid is productive of knowledge. The object; or objective, of this knowledge (in other words, consciousness functioning in this direction) is Divinity, conceivable in various localized situations, much as the orb of the Sun, the Heart-Lotus, and so forth, and concretizable into Figures of Beauty as that which has an Image in space limits, or the Idea, idolized, bearing the Discus and the Conch, attired in radiant robes, bedight with Crowns and Corselets, Armlets and Anklets, mated with Śrī, and so forth. God is thus conceived as confined in contours of bewitching beauty. This is the *special*

¹ On this eight-limbed *yōga*, read note 2, p. 106, of our *Divine Wisdom of the Drāviḍa Saints*; and Part II of our *Lectures on Inspiration*, etc.

² See Appendix IV.

manner in which it is yet allowed man to realize¹ the Divine Spirit in actual presence and for profit, and this serves the purposes of constraining attention, which is habitually dissipate, and of its being riveted on to the Holy Object of contemplation. Consciousness, so exercised, is itself moulded into that blessed shape, and, thus trained, is relieved of all distraction over various futile objects. This is Divine Meditation, which at the start is of brief duration, but which the postulant is to extend by practice into longer and longer periods, and in the end to render enduring.

This *Jñāna-yōga* is auxiliary to *Bhakti-yōga*, and is the chief means for effecting soul-realization (*kaivalya-mokṣa*).

E 3. *Bhakti* is Love. *Bhakti-yōga* is the practice of Loving Faith. Fixture of Consciousness (*Jñāna*) on an idolized ideal Object of Beauty is described to be its persistence and insistence thereon, like the streaming filament of a fluid substance, uninterrupted in flow. So far, the experience obtained from such fixture is what pertains to the province of *Jñāna-yōga* aforesaid. But when the experience partakes of the nature of love, or becomes a loving experience, it obtains the name of *Bhakti*. The practice of this loving experience of loving faith is *Bhakti-yōga*. In its onward progress it becomes more and more intense and rapturous. Instead of compelling, as it was, it has become inviting; instead of repelling, as it was, it has become bewitching. Effort is merged in craving, self-assertion giving place to self-abandon. The heart has become poured into the intellect, or, rather, the intellect has become fused with the heart. The purely mental has become united with the emotional.²

¹ See Appendix V.

² *Bhakti* exists wherever heart exists. All conjecture of borrowing of *Bhakti* by one nation from another, and by Hinduism from Christianity, is therefore, from consideration of intrinsic human nature and its

Sin is deed wrongly done, and is what confines one in the prison-house of flesh, cutting off from it all the ways of emancipation. It is put into three clusters: *sañcita*, *prārabdha*, and *āgāmi*.¹ All the *yōgas* have the virtue of sin-killing. Whereas this virtue is partly effected by the *Karma-yōga* and the *Jñāna-yōga* processes aforesaid, the residue of *prārabdha* which they leave untouched is also entirely eradicated (or effaced from the pages of the soul-life) by *Bhakti-yōga*. To the *Bhakti-yōgin* a vivid knowledge of Means and Ends is vouchsafed. In other words, the true perception of what constitutes the means of salvation, and what constitutes the End or what Salvation really signifies, is imparted to him.

E 4. *Prapatti* is lovingly surrendering or sacrificing faith, or resigned trust in God. The practising of this is *Prapatti-yōga*. In other words, it is the means of unreservedly placing oneself in His hands, and ridding oneself of all notions of securing salvation by self-effort. It is the attitude of mind entirely resigned to His will. This is real renunciation (*sañnyāsa*). *Bhakti-yōga*, supported by *Karma-yōga* and *Jñāna-yōga*, as described above, becomes a means that tries the utmost strength and capacity of mortals, nor is it compatible with the nature of those souls that have realized their essential nature—their relationship with God. This Path of *prapatti* is accessible to all,² irrespective of caste, colour,

instinctive promptings, waste of breath; and all further speculation on such lines seems waste of brain.

¹ *Sanñcita* is what is stored like grain; *prārabdha* is so much of it as is taken out of the store for actual use; and *āgāmi* is what is being sown for a future harvest, and when harvested it is added to *sañcita*.

² Read *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, II, iv, 18—

“Kirāta-Hūṇā-’ndhra-Pulinda-Pulkasā Ābhīra-Kaṇkā Yavanāḥ
Kaśādayaḥ |

Yē ’nyē ca pāpā yad-upāśrayā-’śrayās śuddhyanti tasmai
Prabhaviṣṇavē namaḥ ||”

Prapatti thus provides an open door to knowledge of soul and God, and a freedom from all religionistic restrictions, to which the other Means or

or creed (*varṇa* and *āśrama*), and soon bears fruit, while the other Paths are circumscribed by a variety of conditions. The mental act, "I trust Thee, Lord," once dedicated, is done once for all, for, as soon as done, it is accepted by Him. Whatever series of acts the Suppliant (*Prapanna*) may do thenceforward are no more Means to secure an End, but acquire the character of being Ends in themselves: inasmuch as all these acts become but acts of service done to Him, and devoid therefore of any ultra-motive. Motivelessness of all act arises from its being done as Divine Service; and is hence bereft of all binding character, such as entails phenomenal existence again for the soul who does it. The soul, moreover, does the act on the clear understanding of its own intrinsic position or character, as liege of the Lord whom it has to serve. This is the true relation between soul and God, and from it there naturally follows the recognition of the True Means as no other than surrendering faith, or entire loving trust, or trustful faith, which is resignation. Self-surrender, or Resignation, in other words, is sacrificing oneself, or offering an oblation of oneself, at God's feet. The truest freedom lies in self-surrender. The "Self-assert" of *Bhakti* has given place to the "Self-negate" of *Prapatti*. The uplift to sublime independence is the fruit of complete subservience to the Supreme Law—God.

Prapatti is of two kinds: *Dr̥pta*, or Patient; and *Ārta*, or Impatient. [The *Prapanna* is what we shall call the Suppliant, or Postulant.]

The Postulant, Patient (*Dr̥pta*), is he who is not only weary of, but dreads, migratory, or material, or embodied life, and is averse from all delights, mundane and ultra-mundane. To obtain relief from these and access to God,

Paths are necessarily subject. Freedom is here granted to all to meditate on the highest problems of life, unhampered by social conventions. A franchise of religion is here granted to all.

he seeks a competent teacher, and under his guidance adopts the Way (*Prapatti*) of Salvation. He adapts his life to the way of shunning evil, and of walking the paths prescribed by the laws of *varṇa* and *āśrama*, and, to the best of his ability, remains devoted to the service of God and of the Godly—straight in thought, speech, and deed. He constantly reflects on God being his Lord, and on himself being His liegeman; He as the Ruler, he as the ruled; He as the Master, he as the chattel; He as the Spirit, he as the body; He as the Pervader, he as the pervaded; He as the Enjoyer, he as but the enjoyed; He as the All-knowing, he as the ill-knowing; He as the All-powerful, he as the powerless; He as the Full, he as the void; He as the All-sufficient, and he as the all-wanting. Thus reflecting, the Postulant dedicates all to God, laying on Him all his burden, and spends the lease of his life that may still be left to him in perfect resignation, not allowing its peace to be distraught by considerations of self-care for self-salvation.

The Postulant, Impatient (*Ārta*), is he in whom—by the free grace of God—by study and service with a true Teacher, wisdom has dawned, making him loathe all such bodies, places, and leaders as wean him from God, and causing him to long for all such things as wed him to Him. He throws himself entirely on the mercy of God, saying, “Lord, Thou alone canst be my Deliverer from all ills,” “Thou alone, Lord, art my Way,” and “Thee alone, O High, I adore”. He grows impatient of salvation, beseeching and besieging God in all manner of ways to lift him once for all to His Holy Feet.¹

¹ *Prapatti* or *Śaraṇāgati* is *Bhāgavata-Dharma*, par excellence. Read the *Śaṇḍilya-Vidyā* (*Chāndōgya Up.*, III, xiv, 1 ff., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, VII, vi, and *Agnirahasya, Śukla-Yajus*) in our Table of Upaniṣad Vidyās, pp. 129, 130 of our *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The Pāñcarātras are specially devoted to their exposition, particularly the *Bhāradvāja-Saṁhitā* and the *Lakṣmī-Tantra*. Also, see *Śaṇḍilya-Bhakti-sūtras* and *Nārada-Bhakti-sūtras*, and pp. 20 ff. and 80 ff. of our *Vade-mecum of Vedānta*.

E 5. *Acāryābhīmāna* is either resort to the Mediator by the aspirant for salvation, or resort to the saved by the Mediator Himself from His own free choice.

This fifth Means of Salvation possesses the virtue of being within the nearest reach of mankind, as contradistinguished from all the other Means aforesaid. These no doubt prescribe God as the object for resort, but He is so beyond the reach of mankind's senses, minds, and hearts, as to forbid His being used in the manner of other objects more accessible. This want is supplied by the Mediator, insomuch as he is tangibly present in the midst of mankind, as one of their own, and therefore so accessible and so within reach, that the work of salvation becomes for souls, so to say, a practical reality. This contrivance in the Scheme of Salvation has been devised by God Himself, in the manner of the mother feeling love for her child, and the Mediator, patent to all mankind, is the result. The Mediator sees his children as weak and helpless, incapable of shifting for themselves. He stretches his hand down to them, on the one side, to lift them up, and he stretches his hand up, on the other side, to present them to God as fit objects for His mercy and compassion. The function of the Mediator is thus twofold. He is the Mother who is ready to sacrifice her own comfort by voluntarily treating herself to medicine and regimen for the sake of saving the sick child, and he is the Servant who, by such act of self-sacrifice, performs a great deed that pleases his Master, God, who, of course, in the first instance delegated him, or deputed him, for this loving task. He submits to personal suffering in order to redeem the fallen. The Mediator, then, is the Ready Means, under the grace of which souls may take refuge and shape their conduct entirely at his sole bidding.

The resort to a Mediator is both an independent Means and an auxiliary Means to the other Means aforesaid, just as God Himself, the Eternal, is both directly the

Goal, and indirectly the Goal as the Spirit indwelling in all the lesser Gods of the Pantheon.¹

V

0. *Virōdhi-svarūpa*, the “Anti”, or Hostile, Principle.

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

- 0 1. *Svarūpa-virōdhi*,—Anti-Soul.
- 0 2. *Puratva-virōdhi*,—Anti-God.
- 0 3. *Puruṣārtha-virōdhi*,—Anti-Goal.
- 0 4. *Upāya-virōdhi*,—Anti-Means.
- 0 5. *Prāpti-virōdhi*,—Anti-Gain.

0 1. *Svarūpa-virōdhi*—Anti-Soul, or what is hostile to the soul or soul-nature—is the soul identifying itself or its nature with the body.² When this nescience, so to

¹ Students of the *Gītā* will be interested to read in connexion with this fivefold Means the following two verses (xiii, 25, 26):—

“Dhyānēnā ’tmani paśyanti kēcid ātmānam ātmanā |
Anyē sām̐khyēna yōgēna karma-yōgēna cā ’parē ||
Anyē tv ēvam ajānantah śrutvā ’nyēbhya upāsatē |
Tē ’pi cā ’titaranty ēva mṛtyum śruti-parāyaṇāḥ ||”

As to many gods, or Hinduism smacking of Polytheism, Max Müller justified the hidden significance of this by the term “henotheism”; but the true significance has after all been discovered by only one scholar that we know, Dr. Grierson, in his paper on “The Monotheistic Religion of Ancient India, etc.”, read at the Oxford Congress of the History of Religions. I only quote this:—

“Other ‘Gods’ are spoken of—millions of them, great and small—but in spite of this a Bhāgavata is no more a polytheist than was the Jew who used the word *’ēlohīm* both for the Supreme and for His ministers. Just so does the modern Hindū use the word *dēva* both for the Adorable and for His ministering creatures, Brahmā, Śiva, and the rest, divine but finite, whom He called into temporary being to fulfil His will. We translate *’ēlohīm* by ‘God’ or by ‘angel’, according to its sense. If we translate *dēva* uniformly by ‘God’, no matter what idea it is meant to express in the original, it does not prove that the Bhāgavatas were polytheists, but it does prove that we are bad, and—what is worse—unfair translators.”

² The student of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* may read the whole of chapter xiii—a sequel, as it were, to chapter ii—discoursing on the knowledge

say, has vanished, then comes the profession of allegiance (*śeṣatva*) to deities other than the One God; but when this error too has disappeared, what may again supervene is the false idea of the Soul's independence, as if it (the Soul-entity) were not dependent for its very be-ness, not to speak of its activities and final doom, on a Kosmic Entity—God (*Bhagavān*).

0 2. *Paratva-virōdhi*—Anti-God, or what is hostile to God—is the mis-notion that lesser Gods¹ possess the character of the Supreme, or the mistaking of non-supreme deities or Gods for the One God; or believing them to be of equal status with God; the investing of minor deities with power that can only belong to the Supreme; the mistaking of God-incarnate (*Rāma*, *Kṛṣṇa*, etc.) as human; and thinking that the images of God are inert and powerless.

0 3. *Puruṣārtha-virōdhi*, Anti-Goal, or what is hostile to the Ultimate Aim. It is desire for fruits or ends other than that of God Himself (the others being those noted under *Puruṣārtha-svarūpa*); and the idea of deriving self-gratification or of gaining satisfaction for one's self in the doing of Divine Service.

0 4. *Upāya-virōdhi*, Anti-Means, or what is hostile to the true Means. It is the notion that other means (those noted under *Upāya-svarūpa*) are of equal, if not more, efficacy than the Means (Nos. **E 4** and **E 5**), which requires that those should be discarded, or at least looked down upon as subordinate or unimportant; the notion of doubt whether this real Means (**E 4** and **E 5**) can be so simple and light as described, and therefore the fear that it cannot be an efficient means to a goal; the notion

discriminatory between body (*kṣētra*) and soul (*kṣētrin*), particularly the concluding verse 35—

“Kṣētra-kṣētrajñayōr ēvaṁ antaraṁ jñāna-caḥṣuṣā |
Bhūta-prakṛti-mōkṣaṁ ca yē vidur yānti tē param ||”

¹ See Appendix VI. Also, read note 1, p. 588.

that the Fruit or Goal is so great (and therefore the fear that it is absurd or audacious to expect it to happen or to be had for the mere asking); and the notion that the obstacles to one's obtaining an End are so great and so many (and therefore the fear that the End is beyond reach, as against such tremendous odds obstructing the Postulant).

O 5. *Prāpti-virōdhi*, Anti-Gain or Anti-Fruit,¹ or what is hostile to what is one's Ultimate End or Ideal of Life. That Ideal being God, to sin against Him is but the defeating of that Ideal. The next is sinning against the Godly. The third is what is called "heinous sin" (*hēya*), begotten of the soul-and-body intimacy, devoid of remorse, atrocious and persistent in performance.

"Sins of Food" is hostile to knowledge or dawning of wisdom.

"Sins of Company" is hostile to bliss or reaping the fruit of real bliss.

"Sins of Self" or "Self-Love" is hostile to Self-Nature (as defined under **A**, *Sva-svarūpa*).

Conclusion

To the man in whom has dawned the knowledge of these Five Truths, in whom has arisen the thirst for Final Release (*mōkṣa*), but who has still to live in this world in the midst of the worldly, the manner of spending that life, till Release is obtained, and so that worldliness may not again besiege or inveigle him, is laid down briefly as follows :—

He shall earn food and raiment in accordance with the rules of *Varṇa*, *Āśrama*, and Vaiṣṇavism.² He shall invariably offer them to God, and give to the Godly according to his means; he shall use his earnings no

¹ The Fruit is Service on reaching the Goal. Disservice (*apacāra*) is what is adverse or hostile to that service. Divine Service is service to God and all that is His, and avoidance of what is contrary to it.

² See Appendix VII.

further than his physieal wants demand, and look upon them as gifts from God; he shall show gratitude to his spiritual Teacher, who takes pains to open in him the gates of Knowledge, and shall behave after his heart; he shall acknowledge his humility before God, his ignorance before his Teacher, and his obedience before Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas¹; he shall practise isolation from the worldly; he shall languish for liberation; he shall persist in the path he has chosen; he shall dread all that is inimical to his purpose; he shall not love his body; he shall be earnest in his upward effort: he shall ever be alive to his spiritual nature; he shall feel powerless to protect (or inability to save) himself; he shall bear in mind the solemn sublimity of the object of his attainment: he shall be grateful for good received; and he shall, above all, adore his Mediator and follow him.

So armed with the knowledge (of the Five Truths), and adorned by the conduct ensuant therefrom, the Pilgrim to the Kingdom of God becometh to Him an object dearer to Him than all the Heavenly Hosts (Eternals and Arch-angels) ever near to Him; nay, dearer to Him than even Śrī Herself.

“He that works for Me, strives for Me,
Unasking, gives himself to Me,—
That guileless Friend of all that lives
Soon comes to Me, O Pāṇḍava.”

Bhagavad-Gītā, xi, 55.

Hail, all Hail, to Thee, All-beloved God!

APPENDIX I (p. 573).

The term “Bhagavān” gives a conception of Divinity, as that which is All-Knowing (*jñāna*), All-Powerful (*śakti*), All-Strong (*bala*), All-Lord (*aiśvarya*), All-Capable

¹ See Appendix VIII.

(*vīrya*), and All-Bright (*tējas*).¹ Our Ācāryas add that these primary perfections of Divinity are the Six typifying an infinite number of them.² The term "ADORABLE", chosen by Dr. Grierson,³ accords with the root meaning of "Bhagavān". *Bhaga*, the Vedic God, *Bhagavān*, and *bhakti*, all come from *bhaj*, to adore, to love, to serve. In this treatise we shall not be far away from the conception of Bhagavān if we translate it by the term "God" (i.e. "Blessed" or "Perfect"), though our readers should keep in mind the warning of Max Müller—

"We ourselves, the heirs of so many centuries of toil and thought, possess, of course, the name and concept of God, and we can hardly imagine a human mind without that name and concept. But, as a matter of fact, the child's mind is without that name and concept, and such is the difference of meaning assigned by different religions, nay, even by members of the same religion, to the name of God, that a general definition of it has almost become an impossibility. Nevertheless, however our ideas of God may differ, for us to say that the sun or the moon, or a pebble, or the tail of a tiger was God, would be absurd or self-contradictory." (*Physical Religion*, p. 116.)

In the terms "Viṣṇu" (= All-Present) and "Vāsudēva" (= All-Pervading), the all-pervasive character of Divinity, which is of its *essence* alone, is radically evident; and not what is implied in the term "Bhagavān". There remains the immanence of Divinity to be provided for. Hence the name "Nārāyaṇa", which includes all these several conceptions, making it thus all-comprehensive. It could

¹ The very ancient name for expressing this concept of God, common to the whole Indo-European race is *Dēva* (Latin *Deus*, Lithuanian *Diēvas*), meaning "bright". This is only one attribute of the many that are connoted by the term *Bhagavān*. It may also be noted that *Bhagavān* is the epithet of the Deity to which Śaivas, as well as Vaiṣṇavas and every other denomination, including Buddhists and Jains, subscribe. See *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, VI, v, 71-9, and our *Bhagavad-Gītā*, pp. 5, 6, and 10.

² See p. 82 of our *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*.

³ See JRAS. for 1910, p. 159 ff.

be shown that this name includes all the ideas of God connoted by such terms as "Absolute" (*Sat*), "Infinite" (*Viṣṇu*), "Transcendent" (*Para*), and "Divine" (*Bhagavān*). This Holy Name has thus become to all Vedic people the highest conception of Divinity, and is the Name which they look upon as their solace in life, comfort in death, and salvation after death. When, therefore, we employ the word "God" we must be understood to represent by it all that has been briefly indicated above.¹

APPENDIX II (p. 574).

The *Varṇas*, or grades, in formulated, or stratified, Hindū Society are four: Brahma, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra; and the *Āśramas*, or stages of life, are *Brahmacārya*, *Gārhasthya*, *Vānaprastha*, and *Saṁnyāsa*. Both these divisions may be understood for our present purposes as intended by the foreign term "caste" or "the caste-system". The *Varṇa* (lit. colour, but also used in an occult sense) is peculiar to the Hindūs, but the *Āśramas* do more or less, in other forms, exist in other countries also beyond the confines of India.

APPENDIX III (p. 578).

Svarga is but one of the many material Paradises, or material Heavens. By the word "Heaven" in the Christian system is understood the Spiritual Universe; while, by the word Paradise, as described by Moslems, an approach is made to the Hindū idea of *Svarga*. Ultra-mundane *kāma* is what belongs to material regions of varying delights. *Mōkṣa* is really the heaven, or the Kingdom of God, which is eternal. It is *Vaikunṭha*, meaning "The Perfect"—that oft-repeated *tad Viṣṇoḥ Paramam Padam* (Viṣṇu's Supreme Realm) of the Rg

¹ Read further, Topics 14, 84, etc., of our *Divine Wisdom of the Drāviḍa Saints*. As to how the Primary Qualities group themselves and expand for kosmic work, we refer our readers to the *Vyūha*-Principle described on pp. 80 ff. of our *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*.

and other Vēdas. Those who would know in detail the difference between *Svarga* and *Vaikunṭha* are referred to the *Mudgalō-pākhyāna* (*MBh.*, III, cclix, cclx, 15, 405-15, 491, Calc. ed.) and *Itihāsa-samuccaya*, iii. Also read *Bhg. G.*, viii, 16, 28 ; and ix, 20, 21, 24, and 25.

APPENDIX IV (p. 582).

To the Hindūs all *karma* is sacrifice. *Karma* is "act", and all sacrifices are, of course, acts. Every act is natural, and this in time assumes the technical meaning of a most sacred and solemn act.

The *agnihōtra* is, in the beginning, the natural act of lighting and keeping the fire on the hearth at sunrise, noon, and sunset ; and in time this became a sacred function even to be enforced by law.

The rising and setting of the Sun naturally evoked gratitude and then praise, for the sun was the giver of light, heat, life, and joy. This in turn culminated in the sacred duty of the *Samdhyā-vandana*.

The *cāturmāsya*, or the Four-monthly Sacrifice, is a simple natural festive celebration of the three seasons of the year (summer, autumn, winter). This after a time became an artificial and complicated ritual, with more and more technique associated with it as time ran on.

Thus sacerdotal practices prevailing among all nations owe their origin to the most natural and simple habits of human nature prompted by natural phenomena surrounding it.

See *Śāṇḍilyō 'paniṣad* for an explanation of some of these terms.

APPENDIX V (p. 583).

God in Images is described thus :—

"Śrīśasya sarvādhiṣṭhānam dāru-vahni-vad īritam |
Viṣṇōr viśeṣādhiṣṭhānam ayaḥ-piṇḍā-'gni-van matam ||"¹

¹ Quoted in *Śrīvaiṣṇava-Samayācāra-Niṣkarṣa* by Pillai Lōkam Jīyar.

It is like electricity, which pervades the conducting wire, but which is nevertheless latent, and lacking in utility, till it becomes patently present, by its power of illuminating darkness, at the poles in a vacuum bulb. According to the Bhagavat-Śāstra entitled the *Pañcarātra Āgamas*, the types for making material representations on canvas or in sculpture are furnished by the *Vyāha* and *Vibhava* manifestations of the Deity. Cf. *Bhg. G.*, xi, 46 ff., *tēnairvārūpēṇa caturbhujēna*, etc. For the man-forms of God on earth, it is written that even the Dēvas desire to worship them: “Dēvā apy asya rūpasya nityaṁ darśana-kāṅkṣiṇaḥ” (*Bhg. G.*, xi, 52); “avatārēṣu yad rūpaṁ tad arcanti divaukasaḥ” (*Viṣṇu-P.*, I, iv, 17).

APPENDIX VI (p. 589).

See Appendix I. The term “Gods” requires explanation. The best that we can give cannot excel that of Ruskin—

“By gods in the plural,” he writes, “I mean the totality of spiritual powers, delegated by the Lord of the Universe to do, in their several heights, or offices, parts of His will respecting man, or the world that man is imprisoned in; not as myself knowing, or in security believing, that there are such, but in meekness accepting the testimony and belief of all ages, to the presence, and the like—with genii, fairies, or spirits ministering to and guarding, or destroying and tempting, or aiding good work and inspiring the mightiest. For all these I take the general term ‘gods’ as the best understood in all languages, and the truest and widest in meaning, including the minor ones of seraph, cherub, ghost, wraith, and the like, and myself knowing for indisputable fact, that no true happiness exists nor is any good work ever done by human creatures, but in the sense or imagination of such presences.” (*Præterita*, ii, 172.) Read *Bhg. G.*, ix, 24, 25.

APPENDIX VII (p. 590).

See Appendix II on *Varṇa* and *Āśrama* (caste-system). Vaiṣṇavism is here added to denote all those who could embrace that faith, irrespective of those who could remain within the pale defined by the caste-system. Vaiṣṇavism is simply the faith which acknowledges the All-Pervader (Viṣṇu) as God. To all theists, God, we guess, has by

this time become an all-pervading spiritual Essence, involving what is connoted by the term "immanency". To Vaiṣṇavism, therefore, every theist can belong, regardless of caste, creed, or race. In this simple sense it is universal and cosmopolitan. In time, as in everything else, the term became confined to a sect, invested once again with technicalities. Sacraments seem gradually to have become its annexe, the administration of which alone entitled one to be admitted as a votary into the fold of Vaiṣṇavism. Regarded in this sense, rules have been laid down as to the right ways a Vaiṣṇava should proceed, what he should adopt and what he should avoid, and so forth, in order to gain his livelihood. The code is, however, morally worthy of its name and helpful to spirituality, though restraints are placed upon the free exercise of one's power of earning. Where, without *varṇa*, *āśrama*, and Vaiṣṇavism, earning was before indiscriminate, it is now, with these limitations, restricted to a narrow and elect circle, cut out from the larger society. In cases of mendicancy, these rules also make the mendicant less of a prey on society, and urge him to adopt a less parasitic mode of life, than if he were left to roam at large without them.

APPENDIX VIII (p. 591).

The designation "Śrī-Vaiṣṇava" comes from Śrī and Viṣṇu, which two terms, divested of all anthropomorphism and allegory, mean, considered in their etymons, the Mother and the Father of the Universe. Śrī is *charis*, grace, the universal mediatrix, the reconciler, or peace-maker, between God and Soul. Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas are thus radically those who are believers in the Father-and-Mother principle of the Kosmos. Whether we study Nature without or from within, or the great Supreme lying behind both, it is governed by the two principles of Justice and Mercy, which in metaphor become Father

and Mother, and in symbol Viṣṇu and Śrī. In this universal sense, who is not a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava? Much has been written on this theme, for a few examples of which see note 1, p. 6 of our *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and Topics 17, pp. 19, 20 in our *Divine Wisdom of the Drāviḍa Saints*; the articles on Śrī and Christ in the *Theosophist*, vol. xxvi (January and February, 1905); and Śrī Pāthasārathi Yōgi's *Śrī-racana-bhūṣaṇa*, pp. 5, 6, etc. Also see note on p. 111 of our *Lives of the Āṣhvārs* ("Are there wives in Heaven?" etc.). In the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava system thus, like the three postulates of philosophy—*acit* (matter), *cit* (soul), and *Īśa* (God)—are these three postulates of religion vividly set forth, viz.:—

The Motherhood of God (Śrī or Bhagavatī) :

The Fatherhood of God (Viṣṇu or Bhagavān) :

The Brotherhood of Souls (Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas or Bhāgavatas).

If this scientifically significant language has in modern days been debased into shibboleths of party politics, who is to blame? But it is so all the world over.

There are various theories, both modern and ancient, as to what the *Śrī-tattva* exactly signifies. There are not wanting those who equate or identify it with inert or inanimate (*jaḍa*) Prakṛti, or Nature. But they forget that the *Śrī-tattva* is sentient or intelligent (*ajāḍa*). She is the *Goddess* of Nature, not Nature itself, as God is the God of Nature and not Nature itself, as some others identify Him. That Śrī is a conscious entity is borne out by all the Śāstras from the Ṛg Vēda (*Śrī-sūktā*) downwards. Here is one verse from Skānda:—

"Aparam tv akṣaram yā sā prakṛtir jaḍa-rūpikā |

Śrīḥ parā-prakṛtiḥ prōktā cētanā Viṣṇu-saṁśrayā || "

Śrī is the *Daivī-Prakṛti* of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and *Śrīḥ* of x, 34, of the same authority.

THE ARTHA-PANCAKA OF NARAYANA YATI

EDITED BY G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S.

[NOTE.—*Vide ante*, p. 568. Long vowels are, as usual, indicated by the sign $\bar{}$; thus, *Śrīmatē*. But when they are the result of *saṁdhi*, they are indicated by $\acute{}$. Thus, *rāmānuja*. The text is based on two MSS. (A and B), now in the library of the Deccan College. A (No. 152 of 1883-4) is without date, B (No. 267 of 1879-80) is dated Sam. 1846 = 1784 A.D. I am indebted to Professor Vinayak Sakharam Ghate for a careful copy, embodying the readings of both MSS. I am also indebted to Ālkonḍavilli Gōvindācārya Swāmī for kindly reading through the proofs and for making some valuable suggestions.—G. A. G.]

Śrīmatē Rāmānujāya namaḥ.

Śrīmān akhila-lōkānām nāyakaḥ, karuṇā-karaḥ |
Karōtu maṅgalaṁ puṁsām kamalā-nāyakō Hariḥ ||

Athā 'rthapañcakam nirūpyatē. Tē ca **JĪVĒ-ŚVARĒ-
PĀYA-PHALA-VIRŌDHIṆŌ** hy arthāḥ. Tatra **JĪVA**-lakṣaṇam. Śeṣatvē sati jñātṛtvam jīvatvam. Tē
ca pañcavidhāḥ, **NITYA-MUKTA-KĒVALA-BADDHA-
MUMUKṢU** - bhēdāt. Tatra **NITYĀ** asaṁsṛṣṭa - saṁsārāḥ. Ananta-garuda-viṣvaksēnā - 'dayaḥ. Jāyamāna - daśāyām
bhagavat-kaṭākṣa-labdhā - 'dvēṣā - 'bhīmukhyaiḥ satsaṅga-
sadācāryō - 'padēśa-labdhā-sanmantrā - ¹ 'rtha-tattva-jñāna-
nirmukta-saṁsāra-bandhāḥ kēvala-bhagavat-kaimkārya-
prayōjanā **MUKTĀḤ. KĒVALĀS** tu pūrvajanma-sukṛtā-
'nusārēṇa sarvē-śvara-kṛpā-prāpta-varnā-śrama-dharma-
karmā-nuṣṭhāna ² -nirdhūta-nikhila-malā-'ntaḥkaraṇa-saṁ-
jāta-tattva-jñāna-niṣṭhā-parākāṣṭhā vimirdhūta-saṁsārā
vidēha - sattva - rūpā ³ jñānā - 'nandā - 'nubhavatrptāḥ.
MUMUKṢAVŌ bhava-janita-vidita-vividha-nikhila-duḥkhā-

¹ B, *saṁmātrā-tha*.

² B, *varṇā-śramā-nuṣṭhāna*.

³ B, *vidēha-svarūpa-jñānā*.

'nubhavô-'dbhûta-nirvêdatayâ sâmsârikâi-'ka-pāralōkâi-
ka-sukha-vimukhāḥ kēvala-kaimkaryâ-'rthinaḥ. Tē ca
dvividhāḥ. **Bhakti-niṣṭhāḥ prapatti-niṣṭhās** cē 'ti.
Tatra **bhakti-niṣṭhās** tu bhagavat-kṛpā-labdha-nikhila-
niṣiddha-karma-tyāga-pūrvakam sva-śaktyā karma-yōgā-
'nuṣṭhāna-nirdhūta-nikhila-pratibandhakatayā samjāta-
tattva-jñāna-paripāka-daśô-'tpanna-prēmṇā sākṣātkāra-
paryantēna nirdhūta-nikhila-dōṣāḥ prārabdha-nikhila-
karmā - 'nubhava-paryantam vilambya mōkṣa-gāmināḥ.
Prapannās ca tāvan-mūtra-vilambā-'sahāḥ śaktyā 'nurū-
patayā samtyakta-sarvô-'pāyā bhagavad-ēkô-'pāyā mōkṣa-
gāmināḥ.¹ Tē (**prapatti-niṣṭhās**)² ca dvēdhā, *drptā*-'rta-
bhēdāt. Tatra *drptāḥ* prārabdha-dēhā-'vasāna-paryantam
niratisāyananda-parama-bhōgyam prāpya viraha-janita-
mahādulkhā - 'nabhijñāḥ. *Ārtās* tu samjāta³ - mithuna-
kaimkaryā - 'mrta-bhōga-tivrô-'tsukatayā tad-virōdhi-
dēha-sambandhā-'sahiṣṇavaḥ. **BADDHĀS** tv anādi-karma-
vāsānā-sampanna-dēva-tiryak-manuṣya-sthāvarā-'tmaka-
caturvidha-śarīra-kṛtā-'bhimānatayā tat-tad-anubhava-
viśaya-prāvanyēna parabrahmā-'nanda-vimukhās tat-tad-
viśaya-sādhana-yajña-dāna-tapō-vratānuṣṭhāna-mantrô-
'pāsanā-parāḥ.

ĪŚVARA - tattvam pañca-vidham, **PARA-VYŪHA-
VIBHAVĀ** - 'NTARYĀMY-ARCĀ-bhēdāt. Tatra **PARAḥ**,
vaikuṇṭha-vāsī nitya-muktāi-'ka-bhōgyaḥ, śrī-bhū-līlā⁴-
samētaḥ, śrīmad-divya-bhūṣaṇa-divyā-'yudha-divyā-
'mbara-divya-srag-gandha-lēpanā-'dy-alamkāro-'pasōbbhitē
divya-saundaryā-'parimita-divya-maṅgala-guṇa-viśiṣṭa-
vighraha-vān anādy-anantaḥ sva-tantrō brahmā-'dinām
prakatita-śāḍguṇyaḥ. **VYŪHAS** tu sṛṣṭi-sthiti-samhārā-
'rtham jñāna-śakty-ādi-guṇa-vyūhanēna. Vyūhāḥ sam-
karṣaṇa-pradyumnā-'niruddhāḥ. **VIBHAVAS** tu asad-

¹ A. mōkṣā-'gāmināḥ.

² These words are omitted in both MSS., but are required by the sense.

³ B substitutes for *prārabdha* . . . *samjāta*, 'bhagavat-kaimkaryā-
prēma-'mrta-bhōgā-'svādēna mattāḥ.'

⁴ Both MSS. have *līlā*, but the usual term is *nīlā* So elsewhere.

dharma - bādhita - sad¹ - dharma - vilōkanā - 'ksamaḥ sat-paritrāṇa-saddharma-sthāpanā-'rtham asaddharma-nirāsā-'rtham veditā²-vatārair jāyamānaḥ. Sa tu dvividhaḥ, **mukhya - gauna** - bhēdāt. Tatra **mukhyā** dipād utpanna-pradīpa-vat prakāṭita - samasta-kalyāṇa - guṇā - 'prākṛta-pañcō - 'paniṣan-maya-divya-maṅgala - vilakṣaṇa - vigraha - viśistā rāma - kṛṣṇā - 'di - rūpāḥ. **Gauṇās** ca dvividhāḥ, *śuddhā* - 'śuddha - bhēdāt. Śuddha - cētanēṣv āvirbhāvāḥ *śuddhāḥ*, bali-vyāsā-'dayaḥ. Asuddha-cētanēṣv āvirbhāvā *asuddhāḥ*, śaṁkara-jāmadagnyā-'dayaḥ. Viśva-niyantā **'NTARYĀMĪ**. Sa tu dvividhaḥ, **avigraha - vigraha**-bhēdāt. Tatrā **'vigrahas** tu jñānā-'nandāi-'ka-svarūpī samasta-kalyāṇa-guṇā-'karō, 'khila-hēya-pratyanikaḥ samasta - cētanā - 'cēтана-sattā-nirvāhakō, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa - Vāsudēva - Parabrahma - Paramātmā - śabda - vācyāḥ, sarva-vyāpakāḥ, sarva-śarīrī, tila-tailavad dāru-vahniavad durvivēcanīya - svarūpāḥ. **Sa - vigrahas** tu kēvalā - 'prākṛta - śaṁkha - cakrādi - divyā-'yudha - dharāḥ. kiritā-'di-divya-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣitaḥ, samasta-kalyāṇa-guṇō-'dadhīr yaḥ samasta-hēya-pratibhāṭaḥ, sarva-śakti-pravartakāḥ,³ samasta-bhōktā, Hṛṣikēśaḥ, Parama-Puruṣōt-tama - Vāsudēvā - 'di - śabda - vācyō, vān - mayō, hārḍaḥ. **ARCYAS** tv acid-vigrahā-'vatārō bhaktā-'dhīna-samasta-vyāpārāḥ, sarvajñō 'py asarvajña iva, cētanō 'py acēтана iva, sva-tantrō 'pi para-tantra iva, sarva-śaktir apy aśakta iva, avāpta-samasta-kāmō 'pi sa-kāma iva, sarva-rakṣakō-'py asarva-rakṣaka iva, svāmy apy asvāmī 'va, adṛśyō 'pi sarvê-'ndriya-viśayaḥ, sudurlabhō 'pi parama-sulabha iva, puṇyadēśa - puṇyasthāna - puṇyatīrtha - puṇyanagara - puṇyagrāma - puṇyāyatana - puṇyagrha - puṇyapuruseṣu kṛta - saṁnidhānaḥ. Sa caturvidhaḥ, **svayamvyakta-divya - siddha - mānuṣa** - bhēdāt. Bhaktā - 'nugrahā-'rtham svayam evā 'virbhūtaṁ **svayamvyaktaṁ**.

¹ So B, A *sarva*.³ B, *sarva-śaktiḥ*.² So both MSS. ,? *vividhā*.

Śrīraṅga-śrīmuṣṇa-śrīvēṅkaṭa¹ - śāligrāma² - naimiṣa-tōtādri-
puṣkara-naranārāyaṇā - 'ṣṭakam. **Divyam** dēva-sthāpitam.
Śrīmad - aṣṭākṣarā - 'di - mahāvyāpaka - mantra - siddhāḥ,
śrīman - Nārāyaṇa - prāpti - phala - siddhāḥ, maha - rsayaḥ,
siddhā ity ucyantē, taiḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaiḥ **saidham**.
Manuṣyaiḥ sthāpitam **mānuṣam**. Tad - anantaram
grāmēṣu grhēṣu puṇyadēśēṣu prasiddhaiḥ.³ Svayaṁvyaktāt
samantād yōjana-trayaṁ, yōjanaṁ divyāt, ardha-yōjanaṁ
saiddhāt, mānuṣāt krōśa-mātraṁ, grhārcāyām grhamātraṁ,
śāligrāma-śīlāyām yōjana-trayaṁ. Paraś ca vyūhaś ca
pañcō - 'paniṣan - mayā - 'prākṛta - divya - maṅgala - vigrahaḥ.
Vibhavaḥ sāttvika⁴ - śarirāḥ, āvēśāḥ pāncabhautikāḥ.
Arcā - 'vatārō dāru - lōha - śilā - mṛt - svādhīna - vigrahaḥ.
Svayaṁvyakta - bimba - pratibimbāyamānāny aprākṛtāni
cinmayāni. Anyat sarvaṁ prākṛtaṁ. Tathā - 'pi sarvatrō-
'pādāna-buddhir niśiddhā, dēvatā-buddhir ēva kartavyā.
Anyathā, ātma-nāśō dhruva ēva.

UPĀYĀH pañca-vidhāḥ, **KARMAYŌGA-JÑĀNAYŌGA-**
BHAKTIYŌGA-PRAPATTIYŌGĀ - 'CĀRYĀBHIMĀNAYŌGA⁵ -
bhēdāt. Tatra **KARMA-YŌGAS** tu yajña, -dāna, -tapō,
-vrata, -saindhyā - vandana, -pañca-mahāyajña, -tīrtha-
snāna -, dēva - pitṛ - bhūta - manuṣya - brahmā - 'di -⁶ pañca-
mahāyajñāḥ, - puṇya - dēśa - gamana, - nivāsa, - kṛcchra -
cāndrāyana, - cāturmāsya - niyama, - phalamūlā - 'śana,
- śāstrā - 'bhyāsa, - samārādhana, - mantra - japa, tarpaṇa,
- 'di - karmā - 'nusthānēna kāya - sōṣaṇam⁷ kṛtvā, indriya-
dvārā pravartamānasya dharma - bhūta - jñānasya śabdā-
'din aviśayi - kṛtya parama - viśaya - sākṣāttvaṁ utpādyā
yama - niyamā - 'sana - prāṇā - 'yāma - pratyāhāra - dhyāna -
dhāraṇā - samādhi - rūpā - 'ṣṭāṅga - yōga - kramēṇā 'tmanō
viśayi - karaṇam. Tad eva jñāna - yōgasya saha-karōti,
aiśvarya - pradhāna - sādhanam. **JÑĀNA-YŌGAS** tu karma-

¹ B, *śrīraṅga-muṣṭi-śrīvēṅkaṭa*.

² Sic both MSS.

³ *Manuṣyaiḥ . . . prasiddham* only in B.

⁴ A, *sāṁkalpika*.

⁵ B, *pravṛttiyōgā - cāryādhīnayōga*.

⁶ *dēva . . . 'di*, only in A.

⁷ A, *sōdhanam*.

yōga-janitâ - 'tma-jñāna-janita-svâtma-prati¹-saṁbandhi-jñānasya hrdaya - kamalâ - 'ditya - maṇḍala - vyômâ - 'diṣu Upêndram Tridhāmaṁ Vāsudēvaṁ Viṣṇuṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Sarvēśvaraṁ Śaṅkha-cakra-divyâ - 'yudha-dharaṁ Pitâ - 'mbarâ - 'laṁkṛtaṁ Kirīṭâ - 'di - divya - bhūṣaṇa - bhūṣita - vilakṣaṇa - vigrahaṁ viṣayī - kṛtyâ 'nubhūyâ 'nubhava - yōgâ - bhyāsa-balēnâ 'nubhava-kālaṁ vardhayitvâ - 'nu-bhava - nairantaryô - pādānam. Tad ētaḍ bhakti-yōgasya saha - karōti, kaivalya - mōkṣasya pradhāna - sādhanam.

BHAKTI-YŌGAS tu taila - dhārâ - vad avicchinna - smṛti - saṁtāna-rūpatām āpādyā prârabdha-karmâ - 'vasāna-pary-antam punaḥ punar anubhava-prakarṣeṇa sâksâtkāratvô - 'pādānam. **PRAPATTI-YŌGAS** tu ēvaṁ-vidha-jñāna-saha-kṛta - bhaktiyōgâ - 'śaktasya, prapatti - yōgaś ca su-karah śīghra-phaladaḥ. "Sakṛd ēva hi śâstrâ-rtha" ity upâyâ - 'nuṣṭhānasya sakṛttvād anuṣṭhānâ - 'nantara - bhāvi - bhagavad - viṣayāṇāṁ sarvēśāṁ prāpya - kōṭi - ghaṭitatvāt. Svarūpâ-nurūpaś cā 'dhyavasāya-viśeṣaḥ. Sa tu dvividhaḥ, **ārta-prapatti - yōgaḥ drpta - prapatti - yōgaś** cē 'ti.

Ārta-prapatti-yōgas tu yādṛcchika-bhagavat-kaṭākṣa-samanantara - sadācāryô - 'padēsa - mūla - sacchāstrâ - 'bhyāsa - śravaṇâdi - tō yathārtha² - jñāna-samanantaraṁ paramā - nanda - rūpa - bhagavad - anubhava - virōdhi - dēha - saṁbandh-asya duḥśahatayā bhagavad - anubhavaḥ - 'kāntikâ - 'tyantikâ - 'nukūla - rūpa - dēha - dēśikaprapṛti - vāñcchâ - 'dinā atyanta - tvarayâ tāvad - bhagavad - anusaṁdhānē tatparô - 'tpādana - viśeṣaḥ. Tad-uktaṁ abhiyuktaiḥ :—

" Na dēhaṁ na prāṇān	na ca sukham aśēṣâ - 'bhilaṣitam |
Na vâ 'tmānaṁ nâ 'nyat	kim-api tava śēṣatva-vibhavāt ||
Bahir-bhūtaṁ nātha	kṣaṇam-api sahe yātu śatadhā |
Vināśaṁ tat satyaṁ	Madhu-mathana vijñāpanam
	idam. || "

¹ B, *karmayōga-janitâ-tma-prati*.

² A, *sacchāstrâ-bhyāsa-samanūdītō yathārtha*.

“Nanu prapannah sakṛd ēva ‘nātha |
 Tavā ‘hanu asmi’ ‘ti ca yācamānaḥ ||
 Tavā ‘nukampyaḥ smarataḥ pratijñān |
 Mad-eka-varjaṁ kim idaṁ vrataṁ tē ||”¹

Drpta - prapatti - yōgas tū ‘pacayā - ‘pacaya² - dēhā -
 ‘ntara - prāpty - ādiṣu tad - yōgya - bhūta - sukha - duḥkha-
 garbha - vāsēṣu svarga - narakā - ‘diṣu ca viraktō bhītaś
 ca bhūtvā tan-nivṛtṭy-arthanā bhagavat prāpty-arthanā
 ca sad - ācāryō - ‘padēśa - prāptitayā hēyō - ‘pādēyatayā
 viparīta-pravṛtṭi-nivṛtṭaḥ, vihitā-varṇā-śramā-nuṣṭhānān
 ca bhagavat-karmikaryān, kāyikān vācikaṁ mānasikaṁ
 ca karmikaryān yathā - śaktyā cā ‘nutiṣṭhan paramā-
 ‘tmanāḥ svasya ca śēśa-śēśi - sambandham, piṭṛ - putra-
 sambandham, bhartṛ - bhāryā - sambandham, niyantr -
 niyāmya - sambandham, śarīra - śarīri - bhāva - sambandham,
 dharṇi - dharma - bhāva - sambandham, dhāraka - dhārya-
 bhāva - sambandham, rakṣya - rakṣaka - sambandham, bhōkṭṛ-
 bhōgya - bhāva - sambandham cā ‘nusandhāya, tasya ca
 sarva - jñatā - ‘tmanaś cā ‘kūncanatvaṁ cā ‘nusandhāya,
 svō - ‘pēya - nimitta - sarva - bhara - nyāsaṁ bhagavaty ēvā
 ‘rōpya nīrbharatayā vinivṛtaḥ³ sva - prapannō bhūtvā
 ‘vasthānam. **ĀCĀRYĀBHIMĀNA-YŌGAS** tū ‘ktō-‘pāyēṣv
 aśaktasya tad-arthanā kēvalayāi ‘va kṛpayā parigrāhya-
 puruṣasyā ‘nārtha-lānām artha-prāptim ca tat-prāptika-
 bhagavat - prīti - parama - samṛddhi - paratvō - ‘papādaka -
 tayā svarūpa - lābham cā ‘nusandhāya, vyādhi - grasta-
 stanandhayē naśyati svātma - hāni - tad - rōga - nivartak’-
 auṣadham sēvamānā mātē ‘va tad-arthanā svayam ēva,
 ‘nuṣṭhānān kurvantaṁ parama - dayālum mahātmānān
 āśritya, tat-sākṣāt-kṛta-kṣētra-grha-kalatrā-‘patya-dhana-
 śarīraḥ san. tad-adhīna-pravṛtṭi-nivṛtṭikō bhūtvā ‘vasthā-
 nām. Yathē ‘śvarō - ‘pāyō nitya - siddha - prāpya - svarūpaḥ
 sann ēva sarva-dēvā-ntaryāmitayā prāpya-bhūtaḥ, tathā-

¹ This passage is taken from Yamunācārya’s *Stōtra-ratnam*.—[A. G.]

² B, *uccā’vaca* for *upacayā-pacaya*.

³ A, *vinivṛtṭaḥ*.

'cāryō 'pi svayam ēvô 'pāyaḥ sann ēva sarvēśāṃ upāyānāṃ saha-karōti.

Puruṣair arthyāḥ **PURUṢĀRTHĀḤ**, yad vā puruṣa ēvā 'rthaḥ **PURUṢĀRTHĀḤ**. Svâtma - janita - pritiṛ arthaḥ. Tad-arthatayā dharmâ-rthâ-'dayaḥ **PURUṢĀ-'RTHA** ity ucyatē. Tē ca pañca - vidhāḥ, **DHARMĀ-'RTHA - KĀMA - KAIVALYA - BHAGAVATPRĀPTI** - bhēdāt. Tatra **DHARMŌ** nāma prāṇi¹ - samrakṣaṇa - hētubhūta - pravṛtti-viśēṣaḥ. Êtad-antam ēvâ 'nyad-akhilam; yathâ:—

Dharmaḥ-prāṇa-paritrāṇam	tad-vaimukhyaṃ tu pātakam |
Sarvāṇi dharma-jātāni	ētac-chēṣāṇi vai jaguḥ ||
Ēkataḥ kratavaḥ sarvē	samagra-vara-dakṣiṇāḥ |
Ēkataḥ prāṇa-bhītasya	prāṇinaḥ prāṇa-rakṣaṇam ||

ARTHAS tu sva-varṇâ-'śrama-kramēṇa dhana-dhānyâ-'dikam saṃpādyā samrakṣya samvardhya dēśa-kāla-pātra-pitr-dēva-kaimkarya-satsambhāvanâ - guru - dakṣiṇâ-pāri-tōṣika-tyāga-bhōgâ-'di kṛtē viniyujya taj-janya-sukha-duḥkhâ - 'nubhava - viśēṣaḥ. **KĀMAS** tu stri - viśayakaḥ śāstrâ-'niśiddhō bhōgaḥ. **KAIVALYAM** tu "jarâ-marāṇa-mōkṣâyē"² 'tyādy - ukta - prakārēṇa prakṛti - vimukta - svâtma - mâtṛâ - 'nubhavaḥ. **BHAGAVAT - PRĀPTIS**³ tu prârabdha-khaṇḍasyâ 'nubhava-vināśyatayâ 'nubhāvya-punya-pāpâ-'vasānē asti (1), jāyatē (2), vardhatē (3), pariṇamatē (4), 'pakṣiyatē (5), vinaśyatī (6), 'ti ṣaḍ-bhāva-vikāra-yuktâ - 'dhyātmikâ-'dhībhautikâ-'dhidaivikâ-'khyā-tāpa-trayâ-'spada - bhagavat-svarūpa - tirō - dhāyaka - viparīta-jñāna-janaka - saṃsāra - hētubhūta - naraka-svarga-bhōga-mōkṣâ-'dy-anything-nidāna-bhūtaṃ sthūla-dēhaṃ hēyatayâ parityajya, suṣumnayâ śīraḥ-kapālaṃ bhittvô 'tkra-mya, kēvala - sūkṣma - śārīrēṇâ 'reirādi - mārḡa - pravṛtṭyâ sūrya - maṇḍalaṃ bhittvâ, prakṛtim uttīrya, virajāyāṃ snātvâ, sūkṣma-śārīraṃ vāsanâ-rēṇuṃ cā 'vadhūya, virajō bhūtvâ saṃkalpād ēva virajāṃ atītya, amānava-kara-

¹ B, nāma hi prāṇa.

² Bhg. G., vii, 29.

³ B, Parama-puruṣâ-'rtha-lakṣaṇa-bhagavat-prāptis.

sparsa-labdha-triguṇa - sattva - vilakṣaṇa-śuddha - sattva -
 dravyâ - 'tmaka - pañcô - 'paniṣaṇmaya - jñânâ - 'nanda - prakâ -
 śaka - bhagavat-svarûpa - guṇa - vibhûti - prakâśaka - nirava -
 dhika-tējô-rûpa-vigrahaṁ dhrtvâ, 'mânava-darśita-panthas
 tilyavanam¹ âsâdya, tatr' airammadâ-khya-divyâ-'mrta-
 sarasi snâtvâ, sômasavâ-'khya-divyâ-'śvattha-mûla-divya-
 mânîkya-vêdikâyâm pañca-śatair divyâ-'psara-gaṇaiḥ kṛta-
 brahmâ-'laukâras, tad-anubhava-janita-prîty-utkarṣa-sam-
 jâta-tvarâ-'dlûkyâd bhagavat-prêṣita-svâ-'ntaraṅga-pari-
 karâ - 'hvânâ - janita - gamana - tvarâ-'kulas, tad - darśita-
 mârگاś ca darśana - kutûhalâ - 'bhidrutas, tat - svikâra -
 samâjam iti kṣaṇam udvêlâ-'nanda-viśêṣâ-'tîta, -divya-jana-
 pada-viśêṣa-darśana - kutûhalâd âgata-nâgarikâ-'bhîhûtas,
 tat-satkṛta-satkâra-viśêṣa - para-vaśô, vaikunṭha-nagara-
 dvâri kṛta-praṇâmaḥ, pravistâḥ nagarê, râja-mârگam
 âviśya,² tat-tad anêkâ-'ścarya-sâkṣâtkâra-prîti-taraṅga-
 sampâtâ - (lôlayamânâḥ, kṛechrât krameṇa divya -
 bhavana-prâkâra-dvâra-gôpurâṇi saṁgamyâ, dvâra-pâlau
 praṇamyâ, tat-satkṛtaḥ praviśya, divya-ratna-maya -
 sahasra-sthûna-maṇḍapam ratna - mânîkya-sôpâna-mâr-
 gêṇâ 'ruhya, tatra bhakta-viślêṣâ-'sahiṣṇum saṁślêṣô-
 'tsukam bhagavantam Nârâyanaṁ śrî-bhû-lilâ-samêtam
 divya-rûpam saṁkha-cakra-gadâ-'di-dharam kirîṭâ-'di-
 divya-bhûṣaṇa-bhûṣitam pîtâ - 'mbara - dharam divya-
 malyâ-'laukîkâṁ sarva-gandham sarva-rasam sarva-
 sparśam sarva - śabda - vâcyam sarva - svâminam nitya-
 muktâi-'ka-bhōgyam âtmê-'śvaram anubhûya, anubhava-
 janita - prîti - kârîta - kaimkaryâ - 'bhinivêśaḥ, parigrhîta
 'nêka - vigraha - vidhiyamânâḥ, sarva - deśa - sarva - kâla -
 sarvâ-'vasthâ - 'cîta-kaimkaryâ-'tisaya - janita - prîty - ati-
 sayîtvam.

Virôdhî tu viśêṣêṇô-'pâdêyam rupaddhî 'ti **VIRÔDHÎ**.
 Sa tu pañca - vidhaḥ, **SVA-SVARÛPA-VIRÔDHÎ**, **PARA-**
SVARÛPA - VIRÔDHÎ, **UPÂYA - SVARÛPA - VIRÔDHÎ**,

¹ So A ; B, *panthas tilavam*.

² B om. *tat-svikâra . . . âviśya*.

This passage is taken from Lökâcârya's Arcir-âdi, see p. 570.—[A. G.]

PURUṢĀRTHA-SVARŪPA-VIRŌDHĪ, PRĀPTI-VIRŌDHĪ cê 'ti. **SVA-SVARŪPA-VIRŌDHĪ**, tu anātmany ātma-buddhiḥ,¹ svātmany anya - śēṣatva - buddhiḥ, svātantrya - buddhiḥ. **PARA-SVARŪPA-VIRŌDHĪ** tu dēvatā - 'ntarē - paratva - buddhiḥ, tad - rakṣakatva - buddhiḥ,² tad - īśvara - sāmya - buddhir,³ bhagavad - avatārēṣu manuṣyatvā - 'di - buddhiḥ, arcā - 'vatārēṣū⁴ 'pādāna - buddhir, aśaktatva - buddhir, asvāmitva - buddhiḥ, sva - racitatva - buddhir, anīśvara - buddhiś ca. **SĀDHANA - VIRŌDHĪ** tu sādhanā - 'ntara - gaurava - pratipattir, upēya - gauravō - 'pāya - lāghava - pratipattiḥ, sva - dōṣa - bāhulya - pratipattiś ca. **PURUṢ-ĀRTHA-VIRŌDHĪ** tu puruṣārthā-'ntarā-'bhinivēśaḥ, svē-'cehḥā-'nugūṇyēna svātantryāt svārthatayā kaimkārya-pratipattiś ca. **PRĀPTI - VIRŌDHĪ** tu prārabdha - dēha - sambandhas⁵ tat-sambandha-dēhi-sambandhaś cā 'nutāpa-śūnya - bhagavad - apacāraḥ, bhāgavatā - 'pacārō, 'sahyā - 'pacāraś cê 'ty apacāra-trayam. Svarūpō-'pāyō-'pēya-svarūpa-virōdhī,⁶ anna-dōṣō jñāna-virōdhī, saḥavāsa-dōṣō bhōga-virōdhī.

Ēvaṁ samjātā - '**RTHA - PAṆCAKA** - jñānasya mu - mukṣōḥ kāla-kṣēpāya, kaimkāryatayā, bhagavat-prayō-janatayā cā 'vaśya-kartavyam. Saṁsāra-tāpa-nivāraṇa-bhūtaṁ, varṇā - śramō - 'cita - vaiṣṇavatvō - 'citam, aśēṣa-dharmā - 'nuṣṭhānaṁ, niṣiddha - karma - varjanam, viḥita-kramēṇō⁷ 'tpanna - pātrā - 'di - samipādita - dravyēṣu svatva-nivṛtti-pūrvakam bhagavat-svatvā-'nusandhānam tat-tad-bhagavad-ājñā-kaimkāryō-'citā-'rtha-viniyōgam⁸ viśēṣataḥ svā-'cārya - bhāgavata - bhagavad - vigraha - kṣētra - vasana-bhūṣaṇa - dhāraṇa - pōṣaṇa - bhōga - vivāhā⁹ - 'di - kṛtyēsu bhagavan-mandira - nirmāṇō - 'ddharaṇā - 'diṣu divya-vimānō-

¹ B, *anātma-buddhiḥ* for *anātmany ātma*°.

² B, *takṣakatva-bu*°.

³ B, *tadiśvarutra-buddhiḥ, sāmya-bu*°.

⁴ A, *ācāryā-'vatār*°.

⁵ B, *dēha-sambandhas tat-sambandhēṣv 'nutāpa-śū*°.

⁶ We ought to have here *Abhimānaḥ svarūpō-'pāyō-'pēya-virōdhī*.

⁷ B, *viḥitā-'nna-pānā-'di-kramēṇā 'nna-pānā-'di-samipādita*.

⁸ B, *kaimkārya-viniyōgam*.

⁹ B, *bhōgya-ryavahārā-'di*.

'dyāna¹ - divya - gōpura - divya - prākāra - candana - kusuma -
 tāmbulā - 'di - sakala - bhōga - saṃpādanā - 'diṣu vidyamānā -
 'rtham pratipādyā, vidyamāna - putra - mitra - kalatra - kṣētra -
 dhana - dhānyā - 'di - śabdā - 'diṣu samatā - buddhi - tyāga - pūr -
 vakaṃ svābhāvika - tadīyatvam anusaṃdhāya, śrī - vaiṣṇavā -
 'nugatō bhūtvā, avaiṣṇavān asan - mārḡān² parityajya, san -
 mārḡa - vartti bhūtvā, pañca - kāla - paras tv abhigamanō -
 'pādānē - 'jyā - svādhyāya - yōgā - 'khyēṣu³ pañca - kālēṣu
 prasāda - pratipattyā ca śrutvā, svā - 'cārya - bhāgavata -
 bhagavat - kaimkāryā - 'bhiniṣṭas, tat - saṃnidhau - niran -
 tara - vāsa - kutūhalaḥ, svā - 'cārya - saṃnidhau ajñāna iva,
 bhāgavata - saṃnidhau pāratantryam, bhagavat - saṃnidhau
 sva - dōṣā - 'nusaṃdhānam, svā - 'cāryasya sarvajñatām,
 bhāgavata - paratvam, bhagavat - kalyāṇa - guṇānś ca 'nu -
 saṃdhāyā, 'satsu vyāghra - viṣa - sarpā - 'diṣv iva bhitaḥ,
 sarva - prakārēṇa tattva - jñēṣu, saṃsārā - 'diṣu svasyai 'vā
 'dhitatām⁴ vyāvṛttim ca 'nusaṃdhāya, prāpya - tvarita⁵ -
 prāpaka - dṛdhā - 'dhyavasāya - janita - nirbharatva - bhūṣitas,
 tyakta - dēhaḥ, sva - spṛhā - saṃpādita - nirantarā - 'nusaṃ -
 dhēya - sva - rakṣaṇa - śakti - parama - śīla - kṛtō⁶ bhūtvā, prā -
 rabdha - dēhā - 'vasāna - paryantam evā 'nuṣṭhānam⁷ kurvan,
 pūrvō - 'kta - rityō - 'tkṛtyā 'reirādi - gatyā hārda - puruṣa -
 saṃkalpa - prāpta - vēdā - 'tma - vihaḡēśvara - vāhanēna bhaga -
 vatā saha bhagavat - tvarā - 'tisāya - saṃpanna - kṣaṇā - 'rdha -
 kāla - bhagavat - prāpti - saṃpādaka - bhagavan - mārḡēṇa sa
 prāpya - dēsam prāpyā 'nukūla - dēha - saṃbandha - saṃrak -
 ṣaka⁸ - bhagavad - anubhava - janita - prīti - kārita - kaimkāry' -
 aiśvaryam samāprāpnōti.

Iti śrī - paramahansa - parivrājakā - 'cārya - śrīman -
 Nārāyaṇa - yati - pravara - kṛtāv **ARTHA-PANCAKAM**
 samāptam.

¹ B om. *divya-rimānō* 'dyāna.

² B, *asan-mārḡa-niratān*.

³ A, *yōgā-khyai* [sic]. These, *abhigamana*, etc., are the five Pāñcarātra ceremonies.

⁴ ? *adhikatām*.

⁵ B om. *tvarita*.

⁶ A, *kṛṣṇō*.

⁷ ? *ēvam anuṣṭhānam*.

⁸ B om. *saṃrakṣaka*.



XIV

THE SIBYL AND THE DREAM OF ONE HUNDRED SUNS AN OLD APOCRYPHON

By M. GASTER

IN addition to the more or less accredited ancient Sibylline oracles, others circulated, under the name of the one or the other of the Sibyls, which also claimed to be of equal authority. The name was a recommendation for a special kind of apocalyptic literature, and the example set of old of foretelling the future was thereby continued for many centuries. The character of this Sibylline Oracle was akin to some of the old Apocalypses, in which the future was revealed in a symbolical form, and the events to come foretold by allegories and signs, which were interpreted by the Sibyl as by one of the prophets of old. By connecting such apocalyptic revelations with some ancient name and ascribing to men or women of the past works composed at a much later time, these compositions entered into the domain of that apocryphal Christian literature which made use of old formulas for disseminating new teaching and thus prepared the mind of the people for untoward incidents. These oracles were soon drawn into the cycle of the Doomsday; the legends of Antichrist and of the Last Judgment were incorporated with the older oracle; and thus an oracle which originally may have been a mere forecast of purely political events became a religious manifesto, a prophetic pronouncement on the course of events, leading up to the final drama.

Such an apocryphal oracle was then ascribed to the Sibyl of Tibur. This was one of the best known among the nations of Europe and has been preserved in two ancient Latin versions, known as the Sibyl of Beda, one, however, dependent upon the other. According to the researches

of Sackur, it had assumed its last form in the ninth century, though its origin must be much older and is to be sought in the East. The most prominent feature in this oracle is a dream seen by one hundred noblemen on one and the same night, in which they saw seven or nine suns appearing on the horizon, each one distinguished from the other by some peculiarity. The Sibyl is called upon to explain the dream and what the seven or nine suns portend. This symbolical multiplication of the sun and its diverse aspects and manifestations, by which the future was to be foretold, and which required an expert interpreter, is of Oriental origin. Important events in the life of men and nations have often been connected with wonderful apparitions and signs in the skies. The appearance of the star which led the Magi from the East to the cave in Bethlehem is only one of numerous similar examples in Oriental literature. The Rabbinical literature knows of a brilliant star appearing at the birth of Abraham; and of four stars fighting, three of which were swallowed up by one at the birth of Moses. In both cases astrologers are called in to interpret their significance—in the one case to Nimrod, in the other to Pharaoh.

In the interpretation of those nine suns there was a wide scope given to the imagination of the successive interpreters and adaptors of the old oracle. For, after a lapse of time the same nine suns were represented as signifying some such series of events as the writer of the time took a more personal interest in. In the West, e.g., the history of the Frankish kingdom was read into it, and, as will be seen later on, in the East at a later period Muhammedan history had to do duty and become the object of the prophecy. The authors of these oracles were invariably Christians, and therefore the eschatological element was joined with the history of the appearance and spread of Christianity.

The vaticination of the Sibyl did not stop at a list of succeeding kings, but the last of them was to lay down his crown at the gates of Jerusalem and thereupon was to follow the time of the Antichrist and the final struggle, until the Day of Judgment would put an end to the rule of evil, and then would be ushered in the kingdom of heaven. It was this final portion which assured to the Sibyl the popularity which her prophecy enjoyed. Professor Bousset in his exhaustive study on the Antichrist (*Der Antichrist in d. Ueberlieferung d. Judenthums*, etc., Göttingen, 1895), has devoted a special chapter to the investigation of the relation in which the Latin Sibyl of Beda stands to other compilations of a similar nature. He compared it with that of Adso, Pseudo-Methodius, the Syriac homily of Pseudo-Ephraem on the Antichrist, and the genuine writings of Ephraem. The date of this apocalyptic prophecy he thus moved upwards, first to the time of the irruption of the Arabs into the West of Asia and their spread far and wide, then higher up to the epoch of Leo the Isaurian (eighth century), then the period of Heraclius, the time of the invasion of the Huns, the allied nations from Asia, and still higher up to the time of the establishment of a Christian emperor on the throne of Byzantium. We are thus led back as far as the fourth century for the latter part of the prophecy. Curiously enough, the first part, the vision of the hundred suns, is missing in those ancient texts, even in Pseudo-Methodius (*Orthodoxographia*, Basel, 1555, fols. 387 ff., an edition unknown to Bousset and others), and must have been lost at an early period, so soon as the legend had reached the West of Europe. In the light of Arabic versions of the legend it cannot be doubted that the dream of the hundred suns was not only an integral part, but the very starting-point. In it lay the justification for ascribing the prophecy to the Sibyl and ensuring to it a wide circulation. It is precisely this first part which

claims our attention. Thus far no old parallels nor any link have been shown to exist between the oracle of the Sibyl of Beda and such Oriental versions as are preserved in Arabic and Ethiopian.

Dr. J. Schleifer¹ has now published for the first time these Oriental texts of the Sibylline apocryphon in Arabic and Ethiopian. One of them is a Karshuni text, of course Arabic, but written in Syriac characters. The editor confines himself primarily to a critical edition of these various texts, none of them very old, and yet each one interesting in its own way. The Karshuni text, the Ethiopian, and then three Arabic texts, are printed in five parallel columns, and so arranged that the relation between these texts should be seen at a glance. In the foot-notes various readings are carefully noted. A minute description of the MSS. used is given, and a German translation in three columns. In this translation Dr. Schleifer has combined the three Arabic versions into one, and given the result of the critical emendation of these texts. In the foot-notes to the translation reference is made to the Latin Tiburtan Sibyl (Beda), and the book concludes with an examination of the relation in which these versions stand to one another. They all go back to one ancient original, to which the Karshuni text is most closely related, and almost of equal value as the Arabic, though differing from the latter sufficiently not to be its immediate source. The latest is the Ethiopian, which rests on a text closely akin, though not identical with, Arabic iii.

This edition of the Oriental versions is of great importance for the history of the apocryphal tale, which has exercised so great an influence upon popular imagination, and was at the same time a reflex of the popular

¹ *Die Erzählung der Sibylle*. Ein Apokryph nach den Karschunischen, Arabischen, und Aethiopischen Handschriften zu London, Oxford, Paris, und Rom veröffentlicht von. (Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien, vol. liii.) 4to; pp. 80. Wien, 1908.

naïve philosophy of history, which sees in the present the realization of events foretold in the past, and finds in it a source of comfort and hope for the future, lifting the people above the temporary trials and holding out a promise of reward and of peace everlasting. For it is all fore-ordained, and it is part and parcel of the divine economy which shapes human life and leads the world on irresistibly to a final day of judgment, when the actions of man will be weighed—the good rewarded, the evil punished, and the destroyed harmony of the world re-established.

These Oriental texts start with the dream, and the interpretation given by the Sibyl brings us down to the time of the rule of Al-Ma'mun and his successors (ninth century), possibly also to that of the Crusaders and Richard Cœur de Lion. The king immediately before the appearance of the Antichrist will be the "son of the Lion" from the land of the Franks. In some points there is a close resemblance between these versions and the oldest Latin text. The question naturally arises: Where is the connecting link between the Eastern tale and its Western parallels, and which is their ultimate source? Dr. Schleifer might have turned his attention to this question, the importance of which for the history of this apocryphon cannot be gainsaid, but he scarcely touches it. The Arabic version rests probably on an older Syriac text, for that the book is of Oriental origin there cannot be any doubt. The whole setting and the detailed history of the Muhammedan Empire down to the tenth century and later, exclude the possibility of an Occidental origin. No old Arabic book has been translated from the Latin. But the Syriac itself could hardly be anything but a translation from a Greek text. That the Arabic may have been translated from the Greek is rather a remote probability, for if the book was originally written in Greek it has no doubt

reached the Arabs through Syriac mediation. A Greek text would be the natural link between East and West. Unfortunately, hitherto no such Greek text has come to light: at any rate, I am not aware of its existence. I have now discovered another version, which may safely be taken to represent the hitherto undiscovered Greek original. As far back as 1883, in my *History of the Rumanian Popular Literature* (pp. 338-9), I have discussed at some length an old Rumanian legend of "The Sivila and the dream which was seen of one hundred Senators in one night", the very same dream of nine suns and of the "Sivila" interpreting the dream to the emperor. This Rumanian version in its turn is only a literal translation of a much older Slavonic version, which again rests ultimately on a Greek original. All the Slavonic and Rumanian apocrypha go back to older Greek originals which were as a rule literally translated, and then only slightly altered in those details that affected their own nation. At times they ventured also—but very rarely—upon some small interpolations. A comparison between these texts and the oldest Latin form of the Tiburtan Sibyl shows the closest possible parallelism. No room for doubt is left that the one must be dependent on the other, and the internal evidence goes far to prove the dependence of the Latin on the Greek (= Slavonic) version. Moreover, the whole Slavo-Rumanian text is very short, and all the eschatological portions, as well as every reference to the Antichrist and the Last Judgment, are entirely missing. The introduction is also very brief, and differs entirely from all other versions. Every apocryphal story or legend must be an addition to the history of the Bible. In one way or another it must embellish the narration of Holy Writ. By these means the apocryphal story enters the holy cycle and forms henceforth part of the "Historiated Bible". Only in the Slavonic version this connexion with the

Bible is found—a proof of its great antiquity and its independence of the Western versions. It is an attempt to connect the Sibyl with David, whose offspring she is in a marvellous manner. She is here the oldest form, if not the origin, of the legend of Reine Pédauque, and possibly the ancestor of "Mother Goose". Professor Vesselofsky has studied this cycle exhaustively in his *Opyty po istorii razvitiya khristianskoi legendy* (ii pp. 351–3). There he refers also to the legend current in the name of the Venerable Bede, and he shows that it agrees in the main with the Sibylline oracle in a Slavonic version, of which a copy had been placed at his disposal by Buslaev and Drinov. Since then an old Slavonic original and the Rumanian version, of which I wrote in my *Literatură populară română* (Bucharest 1883, 337 pp.), have been published by L. Miletitch in the *Sbornik* of the Bulgarian Minister of Public Instruction (vol. ix, Sofia, 1893, pp. 177–80). According to Miletitch the Slavonic MS. (now in the Library of the State Archives in Bucharest) of the sixteenth century is merely a copy of an older MS. which belongs at latest to the fourteenth century. The Rumanian codex (in the Library of the Rumanian Academy) from which I published many years ago, also a portion of the legend of Adam and Eve (*Revista pentru Istorie și filologie*, ed. Tocilescu, Bucharest, i, pp. 78 ff.), belongs to the end of the sixteenth century. It is an almost literal translation of the Slavonic. In a few details it differs from the text published by Dr. Miletitch and supplements the latter. I have now translated these texts into English, following in the main the Slavonian version as the oldest, and adding in brackets the variants of the Rumanian. I am also reprinting here the Rumanian text, for it is preserved in a unique copy: the edition of Dr. Miletitch is unfortunately faulty in many passages, and the text is practically inaccessible

in the Bulgarian Sbornik. Moreover, it is written in the old Slavonic or Cyrillian alphabet. I have transliterated it and corrected the mistakes which have crept into the last-mentioned publication.

The comparison between these texts and the Latin versions of the Sibylline oracles mentioned before proves identity of origin and close resemblance in details. The description of the nine suns in the Slavonic and in Beda and their peculiar appearance agrees in many points. The divergence begins with the interpretation, which has undergone the greatest possible change. It had to be adapted to local exigencies if it was to be of any use, and if it was to be believed in as an old prophecy of coming events. In the Slavonian, unlike the Latin, the name of the great emperor is called explicitly Constantin, which might settle one of the difficulties of the Latin texts where the names of the kings and emperors are not fully given; they are indicated only by the initial letter, and it was left to the imagination of the reader to supply the remainder, thus leaving an open field to fantastic interpretation and interested guesswork. In other respects the Slavonic also differs in the names of the various nations that were to make incursions into the western world and bring trouble upon the peoples. No doubt, as often happens with texts in which the names of ancient nations since extinct appear, more modern names are substituted by the later copyists for those of the older nations that had come and gone. Thus, the Tartars have no doubt taken the place of the ancient Huns, and the Saracens that of the Persians in the older versions. These names indicate the latest date for these Slavo-Rumanian versions, and lead us to the time of the invasion of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, known among the nations of Eastern Europe mostly under the name of "Tartars".

Peculiar to these versions is the animosity against the

Greeks and the exaltation of the "Iberians" of Armenia, whom they describe as a God-fearing, pious, and modest nation, just the contrary to the rapacious, impious Greeks, who have changed their faith three times, and are inhospitable and greedy. This no doubt reflects the feelings of the Bulgarians, who were in constant warfare with the Byzantine emperors. The author of the translation and adaptation from the Greek probably belonged to the sect of the Bogomils, whose chief literary activity centred in the translation and dissemination of the old apocryphal literature. This predilection for the "Iberians" is found also in other apocryphal and popular writings which were translated from the Greek by the same agencies, the members of that famous sect, and then adapted to their own peculiar teaching. This may also be the reason why some of the eschatological details found in all the other versions, and which therefore formed part of the old original, are missing in the Slavonic text, and why the Archangel Gabriel, who was the special favourite of the Bogomils, is introduced as the restorer of peace at the end of days. I cannot here follow up in greater detail the examination and comparison of these texts. Until a Greek text of this apocryphal tale comes to light the Slavonian version forms the connecting link between East and West.

THE HISTORY OF THE SIBYL AND THE DREAM OF THE HUNDRED SENATORS OF ROME.

*Translated from the Old Slavonic and from the
Rumanian.*

King David was a man of overpowering strength, and it oozed out of him. The servant one day wiped the phial with some grass, and threw it out, and a goose came and ate it. No sooner had it eaten it than it laid an egg, and the egg burst, and out of the egg came a girl. They told it in secret to David, who when he heard of it understood what

had happened, and gave orders to hide the child: and they hid her away in the land Gorskia (Rum. Ugorsku). (and she grew up and studied), and she was wiser and more beautiful than the whole world, and through her wisdom (she obtained the rule over the whole land of Ugorsku), and she became the ruler of Rome (Rimū), and she considered (or, pondered over) the word of the prophets, for God had said unto David: "Of thy seed will I place upon thy throne;" and she considered also what the other prophecies foretold. And her name was Maria, but for her wisdom they gave her the name Sivila. And she hoped that from her Christ would be born, and she kept her virginity for fifty years. until one hundred of the great boyars saw a dream, and then Sivila understood that it would not come to pass as she had hoped.

And the boyars came together and said: "Let us go to the Queen and tell her the dream which we have seen." And they came to her and said: "May it please your Majesty. We the one hundred boyars have had one and the same dream." And Sivila said: "Tell me the dream. and I will endeavour to explain it." And the barons said: "We have seen nine suns rising." Sivila replied: "Tell me how these suns looked." And they said: "The first sun rose clear and gentle. and it was a pleasure for us to look at it. The second sun, its light was three times darkened and hidden. The third was black, with dark rays round about it. The fourth sun was like flaming dark smoke. The fifth sun was (white) and burning hot; it was difficult for us to look at it. The sixth sun was white as snow. The seventh sun had a blood-red glow. and in the midst thereof there were hands. The eighth sun had soft and clear rays. The ninth was the most terrible and awe-inspiring, and hotter than all."

The Sivila replied: "The nine suns signify nine generations (or, periods). The first sun is the generation of the Bulgarians, who are good and hospitable and true

believers and worship in the Christian faith. The second sun signifies the nation of the Greeks for they have three times changed their faith and mix with other nations: they are fond of money, publicans (or, taking bribes), and they betray the kingdom of God. The third sun signifies the Franks: they will conquer all the nations, and from among them will be born a man from two nations (two origins or families?), whose name will be Constantin, and he will conquer many nations, and he will wage great wars on the earth, and signs will be shown to him in the heavens: and he will lift up the Greeks, and he will raise an empire among the Greeks, and he will build among them a town, and he will call it New Jerusalem, a fortress for the Greeks and a resting-place for the Saints. And to his mother the crosses of Christ will be revealed, and they will perform many miracles in the world. The fourth sun signifies the Arkadians, who will conquer the Franks and will take Rome. And Rome will again be rebuilt (or, sacked?), and that man will be drowned (die) in the water. The fifth sun signifies the Saracens, who will destroy Jerusalem and take Syria. The sixth sun signifies the Syrians, who held Jerusalem and lost their throne; and their country will be devastated for three hundred years. The seventh sun signifies the Jews. A woman will arise in their midst and give birth to a child from heaven, and his name will be called Jesus, and the girl that will give birth to him will remain a pure virgin. His throne is the heaven, and the earth his footstool. The name of the woman is Maria. And all the princes and judges will gather together and will hand him over to be crucified, and he will be buried, and on the third day he will rise and ascend to heaven. And he will send twelve men who will spread our faith, and that faith will grow strong, and that faith will have dominion from the rising of the sun to its setting."

The Jewish priests and the princes exclaimed then: "Be silent, O our Queen, for we wish to ask thee one thing more. Is it possible that God should descend from heaven and beget a son from a woman and destroy our faith?" And the Sivila answered: "O my foolish people! do not wonder at great and marvellous things. Consider well in your minds on what do the heavens hang and on what is the earth established that it does not move? Our law is not a good one, and I up till now had hoped that the Christ would be born of me, and I have kept my virginity for fifty years, but now I know that he will not be born of me.

"The eighth sun signifies the Iberians, a righteous and hospitable people (loving the stranger); they keep the Church and fear God, and (observe His holy Word). There is no guile among them, and it is of them that God says: 'Blessed are the meek ones, (for they will obtain salvation).' The ninth sun signifies the Tartars, who shed blood upon the earth, and no one can withstand them; they will eat up the whole earth, and they will destroy from among men the name of the archangels (and for a time they will be so strong that no nation will be able to stand up against them, but in the end they will be destroyed from among men by the name of the archangel Gabriel). Our God be praised for ever and ever."

THE RUMANIAN TEXT

CUVÂNTU DE PRÉ ÎNTELÉPTA SAVILA

David, prorocul lui Dumnezeu, avé pohtă mare cât esiea vrătutea lui adecă plodul lui și puné un vas și pica in vas. Iară într'o zi un inas, al lui șterse plodul cu niște buruiane, și le aruncă afară. Și eși o gânscă și mănecă burueanele. Și cum le mănecă îndată oó un ou, și crepă oul și din ou eși o pruncă parte muerescă, și intru ascuns, spuseră lui David. (Cum) a auză, de acasta David,

bine înțelese precum se făcu. Acieași zise de ascuseră fata acéea intru pământul Ugorscului. Și ea crescú și învăță carte și fu înțeleptă mai vrătos decât toți oamenii ce petrecea în toată lumea. Și cu înțelepciune ei dobândi țara Ugorscului toată, și împărăți în Râm, și socotea zisele prorocilor, cum zise dumnezău lui David: "Din sămânța ta voi pune spre scaunul tău," și a altor proroci zisele le socotea. Numele ei era Marica, și pentru înțelepciune ei îi ziseră Sivila. Și trăge nădejde că dintru dansa se va naște Hristos, și feri fecărica sa în 50 de ani, până când văzură o sută de boeari mari toți un vis. Atuncea înțelese Savila că nu easte acéea ce nădăjducaște.

Și să adunară toți boearii și ziseră: "Blânați la împărătesa să spunem visul ce am văzut." Și veniră câtră însă și ziseră: "Să erți împărăția ta, iată cum avurăm noi o sută de boeari ai tăi un vis." Sivila zise: "Spuneți visul și eu îl voi dizlega." Domnii ziseră: "Văzut-am noao sori răsărind." Iară Sivila zise: "Spuneți-mi cum era acei sori." Ei ziseră: "Soarele dintâiu curat și lin răsăria și noi foarte cu drag îl așteptam și-l socoteam). 2. Al doile soare de trei ori întunecă și se ascunse lumina. 3. Al treile soare cu zări negre pregiur dânsul. 4. Al patrul soare ca o pară de fum năgră. 5. Al cincile soare alb și fierbinte era noao a-l socoti. 6. Al șasele soare lumină avé ca zăpada. 7. Al șaptele soare cu zare roșie și în mijloc mâni avé. 8. Al optule soare zările lui era line și curate. 9. Al noole soare de toți era mai groaznic spăimat, era și fierbinte."

Sivila zise: "Noao sori sânt, noao roduri. Cel soare dintâi este rodul Bălgarilor, buni și iubitori la oaspeți și credincioși, și cea dréptă credință creștinescă lui Dumnezău au închinat. Al doile soare sânt Grecii, că ei de trei ori credința sa au lepădat-o și cu toate limbile să amestecă, iubitori de argint și luători de adămană împărăție lui Dumnezău déderă. Al treile soare sânt, Franței, ce ei vor călea toate limbile, eși-va dintru dânsii om

de 2 roduri, și numele lui va fi Constantin, și acela va călca toate limbile și va face războaie mari pre pământ și i să vor arăta lui semne pre ceri și va rădica Grecii, și va face împărăție întru Greci, și va zidi întru dânsii cetate și să va chieama Ierusalimul nou, ograda Grecilor și răpaosul svântilor, și mâni-sa i să vor arăta crucile lui Hristos ce iale vor face semne multe pre pământ. Al patru-le soare aceștea sânt Arcadei ce vor birui Francii și vor călca Rimul și iară va fi Rimul, și acela om într-apă va muri. Al cincile soare, aceștea sânt Sărăcineștii (-nenii ?), ce vor pustii Ierusalimul și vor călca Siria. Al șesele soare, aceștea sânt Sirieanii, ce ținură Ierusalimul, și pierdură scaunul său și pământul lor va fi pustii trei sute de ani. Al șaptele soare aceștea sânt Jidovii. Eși-va o mucare dintru dânsii și va naște fiu din ceri și-i vor zice numele lui Isus, și fata cea ce va naște va fi tot fecoară curată; scaunul lui iaste ceriul. Iară pământul iaste așternut picioarelor lui. Numele fecoarei va fi Maria, aduna-să-vor toți domnii și toți giudecătorii, și-l vor da spre răstignire, îngropa-l-vor pre dânsul și a treea zi va învie și să va sui în ceri: și va trimite 12 bărbați și aceea legea noastră vor răsăpi, și a lor lege vor întări, și aceea lege va împărăti de la răsăritul soarelui până la apus."

Atuncea ziseră popii jidovești și toți boarii: "Năi, taci împărăția ta, că încă una te vom întreba. Poate aceea a fi, să pogoară dumnezău din ceri și să nască din fecoară și să spargă legea noastră?" Atuncea Savila a zis: "O nebum rodul meu cel mare și minunat! nu vă mirareți de acesta, ci socotiți cu înțelepciune voastră, ci socotiți pre ce stă ceriul aninat și pământul întărit și neclătit; iară legea voastră nu spre bine stă, că și eu până acum m'am nădărduit că dintru mine să va naște Hristos și mie-am ferit fecoria mea în 50 de ani, iară acum cunosc că nu-s eu aceea."

Al optule soare, aceștea sânt Iverii derepti și iubitori

la oaspeti, besérecă păzâscu. de dumnezâu se tem și cuvintele svintiei sale căreă. și petrec fără de răutate, i unora ca acestora le zice dumnezâu : " Ferice la ceea ce se plăcă aceea vor dobândi spasenica." Al noôle soare, aceea sănt. Tătarii ce varsă sânge pre pământ, și nînea înaintea lor nu vor sta. mânca-vor toate țărâle și până la o vréme atâta putére vor avé cât, înainté lor din limbi nînea nu să va puté protivi. iară când, va fi pre urmă cu numele lui arhangel Gavriil iar de(n) oameni vor peri.—Slavă parintelui și fiului și duhului svânt, acum și pururé. și întru vécii de vécii amin."

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XV

THE BRAHMINS OF MALABAR¹

By K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THE lofty chain of the Western Ghats bears much the same relation to the land of Bhārgava - kṣetra,² a Sanskrit name of the coastal country of Kerala or Malabar, as the gigantic Himālayan range bears to the land of Bhārata-varṣa, or the Indian continent as a whole. This huge and impervious mountain-barrier, shutting off the low-lying seaboard region from the high table-land of the Deccan behind, has made it a separate world in every respect. The face of Nature, with its luxuriant growth of palms nurtured by the abundant tropical monsoons, differs from that of any other part of the Indian Peninsula. The language, Malayālam, though a branch of Dravidian speech, is confined to this region.

¹ Note by Professor Macdonell: "This article is a result of my Indian tour. in the course of which I stayed, in December, 1907, at the Residency on the island of Bolghatty, near Ernakulam. Cochin State. The writer, with whom I had previously been in correspondence, had two long interviews with me there. He is a graduate of Madras University and the author of a small collection of essays on some highly problematic questions of mythology, etymology, and race, entitled *Comparative Studies* (Madras, 1908, pp. 47), of which he has presented a copy to the Royal Asiatic Society. I found him eager for advice as to how to set about some line of research which his knowledge qualified him to pursue. I suggested to him an account of the Brahmins of Malabar, about whom little is known in Europe, and with whose life and literature he himself is personally familiar. Setting to work on this task he completed it last year, when he sent me his manuscript. This I have revised and prepared for publication in the form of the present article, adding a few footnotes of my own."

² In allusion to the legend that this country was created or reclaimed from the sea by Bhārgava Rāma for the purpose of free distribution among the Brahmins whom he is said to have brought and settled here, in sixty-four villages, in order to expiate the sin of having exterminated the Kṣatriya dynasties thrice seven times.

The pre-Āryan population, isolated for many centuries, retained their ancient institutions and customs, such as polyandry and matriarchy, some of which have survived unmodified down to the present day. Into this region Āryan Brahmin colonists migrated, settling down in it perhaps fifteen centuries ago. They, too, suffered the fate of isolation, which became so complete that they contented themselves with local substitutes for the holy Ganges and Gayā, the sacred city of the north—with the river Nila, otherwise called the Bhārata or Ponnani, and the hilly hamlet of Tirunelli. Cut off thus from their brethren in other parts of India, they formed themselves into a distinct caste—a caste formed by migration, as Sir H. Risley would express it—chiefly known as Nambūtiris. The first part of this word is *nambu*, “faith” or “knowledge”, being the Dravidian equivalent in sense of the Sanskrit *veda*, “sacred knowledge.” This name, as well as the corresponding Sanskrit Brāhmaṇa, is extended in Malabar to include Brahmins of an inferior order who are not entitled to study the Vedas, though enjoying certain quasi-Brahminical privileges. The latter are excluded from the scope of this paper, which will confine itself to describing the Vedic section of the Brahmin community of Malabar.

In order to understand fully the internal structure of this caste, it is necessary to be familiar with the order of precedence recognized among these Vedic Nambūtiris and the privileges on which that precedence is based. The section called Aghuvaancheri Thampurakkal (which is the combined family name and title of the members of a single Nambūtiri house) occupies the highest rung of the social ladder. Even the (native) rulers of the land pay homage to the members of this house by inviting them to their courts as well as by visiting them to show their respect in person. Next in order come the remaining noble (*ādhyā*) houses. These Brahmin chiefs

are said to have been at the head of the theocracy of ancient Malabar. They are now mostly the rich landlords, having armed retainers to attend on them and scorning to serve as priests. It is doubtless for this reason that sacrifices have become obsolete among them. The Brahmins of the third grade are called Āsyas. They are not all of equal status, but are arranged in the following gradation :—

- A. (1) The Bhaṭṭavṛtti Brahmins, or those who are supposed to be proficient in the Śāstras of Grammar, sacrificial lore (*Pāraṇmīmāṃsā*), and *Veśānta* ;
- (2) The Agnihotra Brahmins, or those who have the right to perform sacrifices.
- B. (1) Brahmins who are eligible for service as Vedic teachers ;
- (2) Brahmins who are eligible for admission into the order of Samyāsis or ascetics.
- C. (1) Brahmins entitled to services as Pujāris or ministrants (but not as Tantris or temple priests) ;
- (2) Brahmins entitled to the bare right of Vedic study.¹

All the titles and privileges I have mentioned are supposed to be hereditary. Instances are, however, not wanting of interchange of status between Āsyas and Ādhyas, that is to say, of members of the former class becoming members of the latter, and vice versa.

In order to describe and illustrate the village organization of the Brahmins of Malabar, I propose to select three well-known and typical villages (*grāmas*) : (1) Chovvaram, (2) Perumanam, and (3) Irinjalakudai. In each of these

¹ According to another view the two subdivisions of the C class are : (1) those entitled to the full right of Vedic study ; (2) those entitled to the performance of temple service as Pujaris and to the bare right of Vedic study.

are found Nambūtiri householders, who are not only entitled to perform, but have actually performed or still perform, the Vedic sacrifices (e.g. *Agnihotra*, *Iṣṭi*, *Agniṣṭoma*, and *Atirātra*). Each contains two families of hereditary Vaidikas or sacrificial priests (or altogether six Vaidika families) who are at the same time the highest authorities on all religious, social, or caste rules, entitled also to prescribe the expiatory procedure for the violation of such rules. Each of these villages further possesses an endowed institution called the *Subhāmāth* (assembly college), which is said to have been originally intended for training the Brahmin youths of the village in sacrificial lore and priest-craft, but the net income of which is now divided among its managing trustees, the Karmis (those who have actually performed any of the sacrifices other than the daily *Agnihotra*). The Karmis have an additional source of regular income in the funds set apart for annual distribution among them, and called *Karmi-thānam* = *Karmi-sthānam* ("sacrificers' share"). Hence they are sarcastically, but perhaps truly, described as "performing sacrifices for livelihood only". *Bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, or the status of the Bhaṭṭas, is the hereditary privilege of many a Nambūtiri of these villages, qualifying him for *putta-thānam*, the vernacular form of *bhaṭṭa-sthānam* ("scholars' share"), or a share of the sum divided annually among a certain number of the Bhaṭṭas of each village, but originally meant only for those who had studied and acquired proficiency in either *Mīmāṃsā* (according to the Bhaṭṭa or the Prābhākara system), *Vedānta*, or *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar). These subjects could be studied in a class of endowed *Subhāmāths* different from those in which sacrificial priests were trained. There is still in existence a *māth* of the former kind, which has a few pupils on its roll and possesses a library of old Grantha MSS., including, as I am told by the present head of the institution, several volumes that originally belonged to the

learned Payyur Bhaṭṭatiris of old, and, after their death, found their way into this *math*.

What is common to all the households of a village is its patron deity. The villagers are regarded as once having had a voice in the management of his temple and the property belonging to it. On the other hand, the characteristic features of a typical village community, such as equality of holdings, their customary management and periodical redistribution, communal lands, hereditary village officers, and so forth, are all absent, having perhaps been swept away by lapse of time. The houses are not clustered together nor built in rows with streets between them, as in the adjoining Tamil country, but are scattered far and wide, many of them being situated miles away from the central village temple. They are built in gardens fenced on all sides. Their plan is rectangular, the four blocks which enclose the rectangular central courtyard being supposed to constitute four tenements separated from one another by some conventional contrivance of native architecture, such as a beam, a narrow passage or corridor, so as to prevent pollution from one to another by contact. The traditional explanation of this plan is that a Brahmin can by this device provide separate lodgings for his four wives taken from each of the four castes. But tradition fails to supply specific instances of such a practice. The village of Panneur, which was once a rival to Chovvaram and held in high esteem as a centre of culture, is now under the ban of perpetual degradation for a very sacrilegious act which the villagers are accused of having committed in the distant past—the burning of the idol of their patron deity (the *varāha-mārti* or Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) and the spoliation of his temple. Similar interesting traditions account for the peculiarities of other villages, but they are too numerous to be included in this short paper.

Only the first three Vedas (*tri-vidyā*), the Rig-, Yajus-, and Sāma-, are current among the Nambūtiris. The first

two have a larger following than the last. The Sāmaveda is, indeed, confined to a dozen or two households only, all of which belong to the school of the Jaininiyas. The Kauṣītaki and the Āśvalāyana sections of the Nambūtiris have one and the same Saṃhitā text of the Rigveda, but separate Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. For the advanced study of the Rigveda there exist two rival colleges, or *maths*, the one at Trichur and the other at Tirnāvaye, each managed by its hereditary Vādhyān or managing teacher. These ancient endowed institutions are respectively patronized by the Rāja of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut, the heads of the two rival kingdoms of ancient Malabar. Almost every year pupils from these rival colleges meet at the Temple of Kadavellōre and whole-heartedly compete for the verdict of proficiency. The syllabus consists of the text of the Rigveda in the four forms of the *Padapāṭha*, *Krama-pāṭha*, *Jaṭā-pāṭha*, and *Ratha-pāṭha*. The last, which is the most complicated and difficult mode of recitation, is based on the second (*krama*) method. It may be described thus: if one *anta* or half-verse consists of four words *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, these must be grouped in the following order: *ab*, *ba*, *ab*, *bc*, *cha*, *ab bc*, *cd*, *dcha*, and *ab bc, cd*, and *d*. The symbolic representation and teaching of the *Padapāṭha* and the more elaborate methods of recitation based on it seem to be peculiar to, if not a special invention of, the Nambūtiris of Malabar. All the verses that are analysed in the Pada text, and these only, are mechanically reproduced with exactness, being communicated and taught by means of a series of finger and palm signs or symbols resembling those of the deaf and dumb alphabet. This course also is taught in the two Vedic colleges I have mentioned.

The text of the Yajurveda current among the Nambūtiris is that of the Taittirīya school of the so-called "Black" recension of this Veda. Its Āpastamba sub-division is said to have existed in Malabar till not very

long ago, but is now extinct. Almost all the Yajurvedic Nambūtīri families belong to the Baudhāyana school, the remaining few representing the Bādhlūka¹ section. The latter I am inclined to regard as the followers of the Vādhlūna Sūtra mentioned by Malādeva in the introduction to his commentary on the Kalpa Sūtra of Satyāsādhā Hiranyakeśin.² The only difference now existing between these two schools—the Baudhāyanas and the Bādhlūkas—is to be found in their Vedic ritual and ceremonies, not in their Vedic texts, both the Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa being the same for both.

The period of *Brahma-carya* or pupilage, from the seventh to the fifteenth year inclusive, of every Nambūtīri youth is wholly devoted to the learning of his Veda by heart, though some discontinue the study afterwards and even forget what they have already committed to memory. Considerably more than half the Nambūtīris, indeed nearly 75 per cent., can recite the Saṃhitā texts of their respective Vedas.³ Much smaller is the number of those well-versed in the *Paṇḍupāṭha* and the more elaborate methods of recitation. One or two may even be found who can recite more than one Veda. Those who have committed the Brāhmaṇas to memory are limited in number. The Vedic texts are not only learned by heart, but are also practically applied, both in everyday religious observances (such as the *Seādhyaṇa* or the *Brahma-yajña*), and in the great Vedic festivals held in the temples, such as the Vāram, Trisandha, Ōthūkottu, Pañchasandha, and others. The Nambūtīris' intonation (not accentuation) in chanting the Vedic hymns is peculiar, differing much to the ear from that of the

¹ On Bādhlūka as the name of a family see Hall's *Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems* (Calcutta, 1859), p. 112, and Burnell's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. at Tanjore*, pp. 97, 122. [A. A. M.]

² See Weber's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, second edition, London, 1882, p. 100.

³ The Rājā of Cochin informed me that at least 3500 Brahmins in his State can recite the whole of a single Veda. [A. A. M.]

Brahmins in other parts of India. Their customs and observances also diverge in many respects from those prevailing elsewhere. Some of the more important of these peculiarities I will here indicate.

1. The tuft of hair is worn on the top or crown of the head.

2. Not more than one sacred thread is ever worn at the same time.

3. The dress of both sexes must be made of white cotton cloth.

4. The eldest son alone is allowed to marry. The object of this restriction seems to have been to prevent the family being divided into branches. The inevitable result was polygamy, subject to the restriction that a Brahmin cannot marry another woman while he has three wives alive or during the lifetime of his sacrificial partner (*patnī*). His brothers, however, may marry if there is a sufficiently cogent reason, such as lack of issue on the part of the eldest brother, or exchange of girls in marriage to avoid the necessity of cash payment to a bridegroom as a dowry. Otherwise they are "to live a life of strict celibacy" as *Snātakas* (those who have completed the period of studentship); but they generally lead a licentious life by freely contracting what are called fugitive alliances with the women of the Marumakkathayam or matriarchal families.

5. The marriage of girls after attaining puberty, and even at a more advanced age, is not only permitted but is common. Infant marriage is unknown.

6. The marriage is consummated very soon after the wedding ceremony, generally on the fourth day. This is also the custom in the rare cases in which girls are married before they attain the age of puberty.

7. A form of marriage known as *Surva-sra-dānam* ("gift of one's entire possessions"), not recognized in the

Mitākṣarā, but based on Vasiṣṭha's formula. "I give unto thee this virgin (who has no brother), decked with ornaments, and the son who shall be born of her shall be my son," is still in force among the Nambūtiris: and the adoption of a son in the elsewhere obsolete *Drayāma-syāyama* form, that is, as the son of two (the natural and the adoptive) fathers, is the one current in Malabar.

8. The Nambūtiri women's life is regulated according to the strict Gosha system of female seclusion. Their noses are never bored, and their ornaments are far from showy, attractive, or fashionable. The punishment for unchastity is excommunication, following upon the confession of the guilty woman and of her male partner in the sexual crime, after an elaborate investigation, which includes what is known as *dāsī-ricāra* or "examination of (her Nayar) maidservant".

9. The corpse of the dead man is burned in his own compound, not being conveyed to a common crematorium.

10. *Śrāddhas*, or death anniversaries, are performed on the star-day (*nakṣatra*), on which the person died, and not on the lunar day (*tithi*), of his death, unless both coincide. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule.

Besides the customs I have mentioned there are many special rules regulating the ablutions, observances, and ceremonies of daily life, which are, generally speaking, performed with care and punctiliousness, and seldom neglected or wilfully violated.

From what I have said it would appear that, as far as the religious side of life is concerned, ancient tradition is by no means neglected among the Brahmins of Malabar: for Vedic study, inasmuch as it consists of learning the Vedas by heart, may be said to flourish among them, and Brahminical rites are still carefully observed. On the other hand, general Brahminical learning and culture are in a state of decline. For the *Sabdhāmatthas* have become

lifeless institutions, rarely resorted to, and hardly utilized as they were intended to be, while the religious endowments no longer fulfil their original educational purpose.

I can now proceed to describe briefly what the Nambūtiri Brahmins have preserved of their ancient literature and science down to the present day.

Bhārgava Rāma, the Brahmin warrior, the mythical creator of Malabar, is also regarded as its first lawgiver, and the author of a special code for Malabar, known as the *Bhārgava Smṛti*. It exists now only in name, for no copy of it has ever been found in any library yet searched. It is, however, cited as the chief authority followed by Śaṅkara in his abridged code, the *Laghu-dharma-prakāśikā*, of which the first part, in twelve chapters, has been published in Malayālam characters, and in which are noted the peculiar customs and observances current in Malabar. The Śaṅkara to whom this work is attributed has, however, by no means been proved to be identical with Śrī Śaṅkarācārya,¹ the versatile and encyclopædic genius of ancient Malabar.

There are six ancient native authorities who are consulted in regard to sacrificial (*śrauta*) and domestic (*gṛhya*) ceremonies and allied subjects. Thekkad Yogiātiri and Erkara Brahman are specially connected with the Kauṣītaki school. Parangode and Mazhangalam follow the system of Āśvalāyana, the latter also that of Baudhāyana. Puthumana Chomatiri belongs to the school of Āśvalāyana, and Kovād to that of Bādhūlaka.

As regards the study of the speculative and philosophical portion of Vedic literature contained in the Upanishads, the people of Malabar, with pardonable pride, claim its great exponent, Śaṅkarācārya, as a native of their country. He is regarded as a divine teacher,

¹ In fact, he is more probably Śaṅkara Bhatta, son of Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Sarva-dharma-prakāśa*, a work of which there is a MS. in the India Office Library. [A. A. M.]

a prophet, an incarnation of Śiva, as one whose mission it was to stamp out heresy, reform religion, and regenerate society. The revival of asceticism, and the consequent establishment of the order of Saṃnyāsis, or religious mendicants, and their endowed *maths* at Trichur and elsewhere in Malabar, are standing witnesses of his propaganda of religious reform.

Special attention was paid in former days to the study of Astronomy (including Astrology) in Malabar. The following are the most authoritative works on the subject produced in the country. (1) The *Daśādhyāyī* is an elaborate commentary on the first ten chapters of Varāha Mihira's *Horā-sāstra*, by Thalakkolathur Bhaṭṭatīri; (2) the *Āryabhaṭīya Bhāṣya* is a commentary on Āryabhaṭa; (3) the *Tantra-saṃgraha* is a treatise on computation; (4) the *Grahaṇa-nirṇaya* is a work dealing with the "determination of eclipses". The last three treatises (2-4), as well as another, the *Siddhānta-darpaṇa* (5), were all written by Kelallore Nilakaṇṭha Chōmatīri (Sōmayāji, 'one who has performed the Soma sacrifice'). In addition to these are to be mentioned the *Mānasa-gaṇita* (6) on "mental calculation", by Puthumana Chōmatīri (Sōmayāji), and the *Kāla-dīpaka* (7) or "Lamp of Times", by Mazhamgalam. There are, besides, many minor textbooks on *Mahārta* (division of time), *Praśna* (astrological inquiry), *Jātaka* (horoscope), and *Gaṇita* (calculation).¹

Medicine and surgery have been from early times the hereditary professions of Vaidya (medical) families who have not only practised but taught, and thus popularized, the system of *Āyur-veda*, or medical science, introduced into Malabar from elsewhere. No indigenous Sanskrit works of any importance on this subject are, however, known to me.

¹ Cf. Mr. Sthanu Pillai's article on Āryabhaṭa in the *Indian Review*, July, 1905.

Temple ceremonies and kindred topics connected with idolatry, including the principles and rules of temple construction, form the subject-matter of what are known as *Tantra-granthas*. Of these, the most important indigenous work is the *Tantra-samuccaya*, by Chenna Mangalath Narayanan Nambūtiri, himself a Tantri, or temple-priest (not one of the Pujāri or ministrant class), as well as a Mantra-vādī or magician, who also seems to be the author of a commentary on the *Kṛiyā-sāra* ("Essence of Magic"). The *Śeṣa-samuccaya* is said to form a supplement to the *Tantra-samuccaya*. Another class of *Granthas*, closely related to that just described, are the *Mantra-granthas*, or treatises dealing with spells, their intrinsic value, their use, and so forth. The well-known and often quoted standard work on this subject is the *Prapañca-sāra* ("Essence of the World"), by Śrī-Śaṅkarācārya, who is also the reputed author of a number of *Stotras* or short prayer-books, such as the *Saundaryalaharī*, the *Bhujāṅga-prayāta-stotra*, and the *Dakṣināmūrti-aṣṭakam*.¹ To this last class belongs the *Nārāyaṇīya*, by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri of the Meppathur family. It is an abridgment of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, addressed in the form of prayers to the god Nārāyaṇa in the Guruvāyur Temple. It is especially current among such castes as are not entitled to read the original *Purāṇa*. One of its commentators, Desamangalath Variyar, belongs to one of these castes. Kulaśekhara Bhūpa, mentioned as the author of the well-known *Mukunda-mālā* and of some other *Stotras* in the Catalogue of the Palace Library at Trivandrum, seems to have been a native hymn-writer belonging to a royal house.²

¹ Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* enumerates more than fifty *Stotras* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya. He there gives a list of nearly 300 works attributed to the same scholar, who is reputed to have died at the age of 32! [A. A. M.]

² He is perhaps identical with the Kulaśekhara-varma Bhūpa mentioned below.

Sanskrit grammar has always been a favourite subject of study in Malabar. The Koodallore or Nareri Nambūtiri house, which possesses one of the oldest and best manuscript libraries in Malabar, has been a welcome resort for all persons wishing to devote themselves to this branch of Sanskrit learning. The following indigenous works under this head may be noted here. The *Prakriyā-sarvasaṁ* (1) and an incomplete commentary (2) on Kaiyaṭa's *Mahābhāṣya-pratīpa* are both by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri. The *Sarva-pratyaya-māhā*, by Śaukarācārya, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Palace Library at Trivandrum, seems to be known outside Malabar by only one entry in Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India*.¹

Under the comprehensive heading of general poetical and prose literature, including the Court epics, lyrics, and dramas, as well as the class of writings known as *Campūs* and *Prabandhas*, written partly in prose and partly in verse, mention might be made of many modern books, some of them by authors still living, but in this brief sketch I can only refer to old standard works. The *Āścārya-cūḍāmaṇi*, by Śakti-bhadra, the *Samvarama* and the *Subhadrā-dharmajaya*² of Kuḷasekhara-varma Bhūpa,³ are the three dramas that are even now acted according to local stage-lore by the native Naṭa caste, the Chakkyars, who are said to be the representatives in Malabar of the Purāṇic *Sūtas*, or story-tellers, and in this capacity entertain their audiences on festive occasions with Purāṇic tales humorously related, and in so doing instruct their hearers with moral sermons, for which the texts are generally chosen from *Prabandhas* and *Campūs*. In the Catalogue

¹ Vol. i, p. 453, No. 5701, as existing in the private library of Aṇṇāsvāmī, at Śrīvalliputtūr, in the Tinnevely District. [A. A. M.]

² The only drama with this title in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* is there stated to be by Gururāma Kavi. [A. A. M.]

³ Identified by tradition with the Cheraman Perumal or one of the Perumal rulers of ancient and undivided Kerala.

of the Palace Library at Trivandrum, Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri is mentioned as the author of several *Prabandhas*; and the *Mānareḷa Campū* was composed by a Zamorin of Malabar.

The well-known old Kāvyaas are the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-vilāsa* of Sukumāra and the *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* of Pathath Vasudeva Bhaṭṭatiri, who belonged to the village of Perumanam. The *Śuka-saṃlēśa*, or "Parrot's Message", is a lyrical poem, similar in metre, diction, and subject to Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. It was written by a poet of the Karingampilli Nambūtiri family, Lakṣmīdāsa as he calls himself, and was commented on by a scholar of the Zamorin's family. The authorship of the *Amaru-śataka*, "The Hundred Stanzas of Amaru," is, like that of so many other works, attributed to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, who, before establishing his claim to encyclopædic knowledge, had to prove his proficiency in erotic science also. The *Kṛṣṇa-nāṭakam* (in Malayālam *Kṛṣṇāṭ-tam*) is a lyric drama of the *Gīta-govinda* type, which was composed by a pious Zamorin of old. It is even now acted, especially in the southern district of British Malabar, not by members of the professional caste, but by men specially trained for the purpose.

The foregoing sketch of the institutions and literature of the Brahmins of Malabar is meagre, and largely based on traditional knowledge. Before an exhaustive and critical account of them can be written, every manuscript library, and there are many such in Malabar, must be carefully and patiently searched, and all rare works believed to be of indigenous origin, together with the native traditional lore and the current chronograms (astronomical formulas recording the dates of great and memorable events), must be subjected to a thoroughly systematic and critical examination, an undertaking for which I am not sufficiently well equipped. This will indeed be a huge task, which nothing short of an organized enterprise will succeed in accomplishing.

In conclusion, I wish only to add that almost all the above-mentioned departments of learning are also well represented by standard textbooks in the vernacular Malayālam literature of the country. I would also point out as noteworthy the fact that the Malayālam texts dealing with the Vedic ceremonies and kindred topics have acquired a semi-Vedic sanctity, and are treated as sacred literature.¹

¹ Further information on the subject of the paper will be found in the following publications: (1) Mr. Fawcett's monograph on the Nambūdhiris, Madras Museum Bulletin, vol. iii; (2) the old District Manual of British Malabar and the recently published District Gazetteer, Malabar and Anjengo; (3) the Travancore State Manual, 3 vols., Trivandrum, 1906; (4) *The Census Reports of Cochin, Travancore, and British Malabar*, 1901, more especially that of Cochin, chapter viii, on Caste, Tribe, or Race.

XVI

THE AHUNA VAIRYA, WITH ITS PAHLAVI AND SANSKRIT TRANSLATIONS

(Continued from p. 68.)

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

IX. A single additional word upon the *Pahlavi*, *Sanskrit*, and *Persian* Commentaries is needed here.

It has been sometimes carelessly supposed that all the commentaries upon the Avesta are those which appear in the secondary stage of the Avesta language, with their *Sanskrit* and *Persian* translation, but of this *Ahuna-ver* we have at Yasna XIX an interesting discussion of a very representative character, and in the original *Avesta* language, though it is not impossibly, yet I think hardly probably, a retranslation from an extinct *Pahlavi* original. A translation of its *Avesta* text into English will be found in the thirty-first volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* at the place designated by the page number. This text itself is actually a commentary upon the Avesta *Ahuna-ver*, but it has also—as said above—in due course, its own separate and entire (!) *Pahlavi* translation-text in the body of the *Pahlavi* Yasna, which has been edited by the present writer with all the MSS. collated, and in its deciphered form, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band vi. a translation of it into English having followed in the JRAS.; and it—this *Pahlavi* translation-text—has also its own *Sanskrit* translation in the course of *Nēryōsangh's* translation at the place, with its *Persian* translation, like those of the Gāthic Sections, which appear in my addition of the Gāthas. The treatment of their original, the *Avesta-Ahuna*, in both this *Avesta* Commentary upon the *Avesta-Ahuna* and in its—this

Avesta Commentary's—translation into *Pahlavi*—always, of course, a necessary distinction—is somewhat artificial and erratic when regarded as a tentatively exact and exhaustive exposition: but it has, perhaps all the more its own interest, in spite of that very necessary defect if not in consequence of it, as being a fine specimen of the products of the later Sassanian schools: and, as may be seen above, it is unexpectedly important on account of some of its expressions, which have created much discussion in the matter of the history of the Christian *Logos* Doctrine.¹ But this *Zand.* or *Commentary*, upon the *Ahuna Vairya* in the *Avesta* language, etc., at Yasna XIX need not detain us here, as I have just given above in this Journal, p. 61, the full and immediate *Pahlavi* translation of the Ahunaver at Yasna XXVII (Sp.), and also treated Yasna XIX fully, as said above, in ZDMG. and JRAS., and we need now only to remark that those more diffuse translations in Yasna XIX are in general harmony with those of the actual and immediate *Pahlavi* translation of the Ahunaver at Yasna XXVII as regards the main question upon the moral idea which I here bring chiefly into issue (see below upon the interpretation), and some of its expressions I must cite further on.

Having done what I could to provisionally exploit our leading materials,² we can now proceed in our final attempted exhaustive exegesis of the *Ahuna* Text itself.

X. *Final Textual, Grammatical, and Syntactical Criticism in view of the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Avesta Commentaries, now fully exploited above and in other volumes.*

Verbatim.—A word as to the closeness of the *verbatim*

¹ "The word which was before the world, etc.": see Yasna XIX, SBE. xxxi, JRAS., and ZDMG., has been erroneously supposed to be the original motive of the Philonian and *Gnostic Logos*, with that of St. John.

² See JRAS. for January, 1910.

renderings will not come amiss : all the words are *verbatim* clear and certain as to their root ideas, save one, *vāstāram* as indicated while here acceptable alternatives at once suggest themselves. As to form also, save as to one expression, we might say much the same thing, the exception readily admitting reconstruction. This latter exception is "*dazdā*", which some hold to mean "giving" : so following the Pahlavi translator, while others prefer "giver".

Again, indeed, some others, or a single author, seem still to suggest a verbal form, as to which see below. As regards *vāstāram*, the one word of doubtful origin, one might think of the root *vah*, "to clothe" : so the Pahlavi here, who has *vastary* = "a garment" at Yasna XIX, 35, however, the Persian seems to render *va-āsān* (or *va-āsānī*), while Nēryōsangh there made the important first suggestion of a root for *vastryā* as a *vah*, *vāh* (*va-vāh*) = "to fodder", or "to pasture" : he has *āhāram* with its later sense of "food", this at Yasna XIX, 35, with however, merely *pālanam* there in the *χordah Avesta* from which my present text of him is taken.

As to the word *vairyō* (which is clear), an eminent scholar, by a curious side-slip, used to follow the Pahlavi (see above) rendering as if the word were a substantive = "the will" : "as is the will of the Lord", a rendering which is impossible, the word being, of course, the fut. pass. participle, nom. sing. masc., and as such is now almost universally recognized. As is frequent in the Iranian and Indian languages, the verb "to be" is not expressed : and the future passive sense of *vairyō*, which suggests the nature of a future needed action, naturally leads us to supply a mild imperative after *uθā* : as the *ahū* (is) to be chosen, so (let the) *ratu* (be) . . .

That the word *dazdā* is not a verbal, but a nominal, form is sufficiently obvious from its position between the two related genitives, a verbal being here, again, quite

impossible. I prefer to accept it (*dazdā*) as the reconstructed equivalent of a *dudhitā* to an Indian *dudhit-tār*,¹ the binding vowel having fallen out, and for the meaning I should prefer "creator", in the rhetorical sense of it, as each of the genitives belong reciprocally to the other. "a creator of a good intention and disposition:" so also, the Pahlavi translator has a nominal form (see above), though he prefers the rendering "gift" to "giver" or "establisher", "the giving of *rahman*" [*sic*], as to which see above and below. The word means "establisher", as I hold, and is in apposition with the *ratus̄*. "So . . . the *ratu*, an establisher (and promulgator) of good views and intentions."

šyaoθnanām must refer back to *Daždā* as the agent noun, while *añhēuš* cannot be separated from *šyaoθnanām*, nor in any way associated with "Lord"; see above, also its Avesta original in the *Gāthā*, at the place named, p. 58: nor can it be taken in any sense but that of "life" or "world"; and *Mazdāi*, in spite of its original and its undoubted connexion with *χšaθrem ahurāi ā*, seems also inevitably connected with *šyaoθnanām añhēuš*; for it is hard to resist the conviction that, in the constant use of the formula, the thoughts of both hearers and readers were directed towards this connexion; "and of actions (done) for *Mazdāi*"; see above; see also the commentaries, both that in the Avesta language at Yasna XIX, and that in the more immediate translation in the Pahlavi at Yasna XXVII above: and so also, I believe, all the moderns. But here at this end of line *b* and at the beginning of line *c* occurs one of those half double uses, or double translations, to which I have so often called attention in my commentaries upon the Avesta texts as translated by the *Pahlavi* writers, in ZDMG. and JRAS.

¹ Perhaps the binding vowel is to be restored, so filling out the metre, for *rañhēuš* is to be read as two syllables only. Without the binding vowel, *d + d* becomes *zd*.

These two-fold and sometimes widely differing, though closely adjacent, renderings of the same words and sentences, which abound in these documents, seem to have been the early scholars' idea of an "alternative translation". Here we must again emphatically recall the obvious facts of the method of its composition. The piece *not being at all spontaneous* either in its origin, or in its expressions, leaves such curious usages the more possible at every step; which indeed rather adds to its significance in one light upon the matter. For its artificial construction resulted from the fact that it is made up of words expressly selected because of their being already sacrosanct, and signally characteristic of the main ideas contained in the *Gāthas*. If a composer purposely sets to work to construct a group of terms *with the preconceived intention* of bringing in certain well-known parts of sentences, *of course his flow will be constrained*.

Mazdāi *χšaθremē* *ahurāi* *ā* here, at the end of (b), and at the beginning of (c), evidently once belonged closely together: see *Mazdā tarā* *χšaθrem*, Yasna LIII, 9, cited above: yet here we must separate them, so violating their original connexion: *the deeds of life for Mazda*, and then *the Kingdom (is) to Ahura*. This artificial nature of the composition is further illustrated by the extremely awkward position of *yim* . . . *drigubhyō dadat* *vāstārem*; that is to say, if, as I now hold, *yim* . . . *vāstārem* refers back to the *ahū* or the *ratus* of line *a*—probably to the *ratus*, as this term stands the nearest to it in the wording.

I may mention here, however, that other expositors relieve this difficulty by refusing to translate this part of the text as it stands, often a most warranted withdrawal, with conjectural suggestions, but here not called for; as to this see further on.

XI. *It is now necessary to turn a friendly glance in criticism* upon the opinions of more modern expositors upon the Avesta text. And we must first note that it is

extremely desirable when dealing with ancient composition to avoid falling into that conspicuous mistake of beginners, the error of seeing too much meaning, or too modern a tone of thought, in our document, especially so in the present case because some of us have obviously lost all sight of that quasi-artificial nature of this composition to which I have endeavoured more than once above to call such close attention. All the meaning conceivable should be indeed closely examined as well as challenged, for it would be disastrous for us to miss a single point of it; but, as in the case of our own Holy Semitic Scriptures, a successful critique often forces us to abandon the first suspected abstract, higher, and more spiritual, meaning for the concrete, familiar, and lower one. But we must not, of course, on the other side, fail in placing ideas to a degree more than may be warranted in simple realistic objectivity.

First of all, the secondary, general, and merely implied references to *Zarathuštra* are too definitively pointed by some. One distinguished writer would point the references here to such a degree that he would put this *Ahunaver* (as to point) almost on a level with the "Cry of Islam", which has the name of *Muhammed* in its chief significance. Other parts of the Avesta itself mention *ahura* in its secondary sense of "Lord" as applied to human potentates, while there is no mention of *Zarathuštra's* name¹ at all in our entire passage. As seen above, I take the *Ahū* and the *ratu* as being the titles of the two classes of officials; both terms obviously cannot refer exclusively, without much difficulty, to the same person, even if *Z.* were immediately intended, for the terms are plainly put in a certain antithesis, if in an harmonious one; the reference or expectation obviously points to some high-class functionaries, holding office, perhaps, in the immediate

¹ The *Zartūšt* in the Pahlavi commentary is the name of a later commentator.

time and circle of the compiler, and it carries with it, as of course, a far deeper religious effect if whole classes are held in view than if the isolated Prophet himself were the sole subject considered. for in this last case some personal influence might be suspected. Then some hold *ašāt' rīt* to be personal in the sense of "by Aša even . . . he is to be chosen". A most egregious error, in my opinion, for Aša, as the Archangel, would occur most awkwardly in such a connexion. Why should he, the Archangel, engage in such a function as the "appointment of officials": and while *rīt* may, indeed, certainly mean "even" at times, it is here by far the most effectively used in its generalizing sense, as *just the idea needed* "from his, the *ratu's*, exact correctness *in every particular whatsoever* is he thus to be chosen". See also the original passage above cited from which *ratuš ašāt'rīt* was taken. Yasna XXIX, 6: there the Personal Archangel is similarly impossible. That *dazdā* can be a verbal form is, I fear, still asserted by some: see above, though it stands between the two closely related genitives, while the simple terms *anhēuš syaoθnanām Mazdāi* are dragged sometimes into unnatural connexion with what precedes: *anhēuš* cannot mean anything but "life", "world" here, and such is the meaning of the Pahlavi *axrān*, in form a plural but singular in meaning: see also Nēr's *antur būvane* above. All seem to feel the connexion between *Mazdāi* and *syaoθnanām*, "deeds for Mazda," while some (or "all"?) strangely overlook the further addition, or the doubled application of it (in the terms of this connexion): see above, in *Mazdāi xšaθrem Ahurāi ā*, as to which compare again Yasna LIII, 9. The difficult form *yim*, immediately following, was once sought to be relieved by resolving it into *yo-im*: see above (a suggestion not at all to be despised, though later retracted by its author): others regard the accusative form as attracted from the nominative, *yō* being its force.

I, however, think it best to regard the occurrence of it as an awkward misplacement, or a bit of debris owing, as said above, to the early artificial state of the grouping, and so I refer it to the *ahū* or *ratus* of line *a*, although so widely separated from it in the lines, "whom (the *ratu*) He (*Ahura*) appointed as a nurturer to the poor" (possibly "will appoint", for all the preterites may be taken in a conjunctive future sense). Some might hold *χšaθrem* to be a masculine here on account of *yīm*: but could this "Archangel" be so named as the nurturer of the poor? The talk is of the *ahū* or of the *ratu*, and if *χšaθrem* be masculine we should be further forced to render a *χšaθrō Ahurāi ā* as "And the Archangel is Ahura's", which would be equally rapid, as no one had any hesitation as to whether *χšaθrem*, or any other Archangel, belonged to that Supreme Deity.

XII. This brings us back once more to the most important consideration in the entire discussion, which requires very full and careful additional treatment as to its historical bearings, both retrospective and prospective; I refer to that point already slightly touched upon at the outset by way of Introduction, see p. 57; again, see also above in the treatment of the Pahlavi at p. 66; I refer, of course, to that *moral idea*, which is so indefinitely precious and so anxiously sought for by searchers into its history,¹ and by this crucial principle, I mean simply Human Faith—as only externally synoptized in the Decalogue—that one interior element in all real religion, for the sake of which, first of all, let us hope religion mainly exists—an equitably balancing and measuring force, without which civilization becomes impossible and life an evil. If, therefore, any religious lore can assert and maintain its claim to be regarded as *The Document* of such a principle, it should become, by the very fact, the symbol of the most

¹ The main question in all historical moral theology.

endeared and solemn interior power which has ever arisen from the elements of nature to ameliorate humanity.

Can the Avesta, then, in its original compositions, as in their sequents, be termed such a *document*?

As readers here may recall, I have made much effort, as above all other considerations, to put this point in as clear a light as was feasible—for this lays a totally exceptional obligation upon us as expositors of Zoroastrian Lore—see especially my careful contributions to JAOS. in vol. xx. where I separate and group the *Gāthic* passages, which express this universally applicable law according to their degrees of point.

But all arguments may be assisted by corroborative evidence: let me then sum up in a few concise words this additional proof which presents itself in this *Ahuna* as a symbol of the essential principle named, so gathering up, as it were, and clinching, as they bear upon this matter, whatever especial views have been expressed above here in this treatise.

XIII. The terms *ašāt ʾišt hačā* here at once control the interpretation to the interior sense indicated, for us, and this completely. *Ašāt ʾišt hačā* alone fixes for us the idea in *vairyo* as being highly ethical, see above upon p. 66, *in re* the Pahlavi translation: and even if the Archangel *Aša* were here meant, the words could only refer to him as the impersonation of a principle of equity. Even in the very-most rudimental application of the meaning of the word the idea of Right is at once involved, for the *Ahū*, as the *Ratu*, was to be appointed “especially and in every way” (*-ʾišt-*, see above and below), “in accordance with his fitness for his office,” one of the most obvious and practical of all the forms of sound adjustment: and this, as involved in the first syllables of the *Ahuna*, should naturally guide us in forming, if it does not actually dominate, our exegesis of the formula throughout, suggesting interior ideas in all the terms, rather than mere

references to persons below Ahura, however individually exalted they might be.

So also, as often implied above and below, of *Vanhēus dazdā mananhō*; it must have a similar interior significance, for neither the *Ahū* nor the *Ratu* could have been "the Creator", or "regulator", of *rohu manah* when understood as the Person of the Archangel *Vohumanah*; and the *Pahlavi* translation (see above), though apparently for another reason, itself avoids the proper word "Creator", having the rendering "the giving" — a less forcible expression; nor could either of them, the *Ahū* or the *Ratu*, have discharged a similar creative function towards *Vohumanah* as equalling "the correct citizen", "the typical good man", as later more fully represented by these words *rohu manah* in the Avesta,—except in a far-fetched, secondary, and indirect manner through the ordinary channels of better influence. So also "the actions of life", while those "actions" of course, as ever, included a due attention to sacred ceremonies, they were positively determined to a more practical sense by the mention of the "poor" and their "relief" (inculeated in line c), an idea which again dominates the whole collection of words at their close, as *asāt čit hačā* affords their "keynote" at their beginning. So also in the rest of the contexts (see again above in the *Pahlavi* translation). I might add here that the term *ṣyaṭhna*, in its Vedic form *śyautná*, had never, there, in Veda, any reference at all to "ceremonies", yet etymology and cognate meanings in alien documents are extremely dangerous sources of certainty as to such points as those before us, and they are, therefore, badly and justly discredited among critics, and it is only with reluctance that I allude to this item here. To resume, nor can *Mazda xšaθremčā Ahurāi ā* mean anything else but "the Kingdom" and not "the Archangel" (this fatuously) is to *Ahura* (see above): this also forbids us to regard *gim* as referring to *xšaθrem*, though even if

it were, indeed, the "Archangel" who would be so needlessly said to be "Ahura's", then the "Archangel" is only God's Sovereign Power personified, and if the meaning could be again the "King is Ahura's", this strengthens rather than debilitates the moral idea expressed in the passage. Even when understood as standing in the accusative masculine, "The King He appointed as a nurturer for the poor," then, too, the conscience-idea is again most practically focussed, for the "care of the afflicted" was then, as now, perhaps the first dictate of equity, next after personal righteousness, *asā* (*arša*), and coming itself under the head of *Vohumanah*, benevolence (as to which see below): and in fact we have in practical actuality in Yasna LVI, 2, 7 (?) one of the earliest instances of the mention of an "asylum" or "hospital" for the poor, perhaps the very first in a refined and extended literature: and as this idea affords the after "keynote" to the *Gāthas*, so it sends its tone throughout the then coming, but now to us, only later, Avesta. And this is memorable. Such, then, are the conspicuous literary circumstances little questioned by any serious inquirer who has become qualified for their examination, the incisive value of these elements affecting religious history in its most interior range of annotation and record. Whereas, then, in the Original Hymns, as we have seen, and as a *crucial* point, the moral idea is incisively present in certain passages, and this to the exclusion of all others:—and while it is also implied everywhere as a vital necessity to the accordant and concomitant sense in the rhetorical and dogmatic personifications of the Attributes, the *Amesha Spentas*;—and while also it is yet often expressed amidst a small chaos of admixture of these two cognate points of profoundly important meaning—that of the Attribute and that of its personification in an Archangel (see above);—yet here, in the *Ahuna Vairya*, we have also an invaluable triplet evidently chosen out from the *Gāthas* in an especial

spirit, as if in a quasi-synopsis,—and in every one of the selected expressions the moral idea, in its most practical application, is present; while every lower allusion, as if to ceremonies, seems to be completely excluded—a most remarkable circumstance in itself considered, when we study it attentively in all its bearings.

XIV. But we have also, as resulting from its examination, *three technical particulars*, each of high moment, which bear especially, and in a sense indispensably, upon the history of ethical doctrine, for first, the spirit of the *Ahuna* adds corroborative evidence to our conviction of the *existence* and *intensity* of the moral idea in the *Gāthā* itself, and, while this needs little corroboration, yet that little is always welcome in such a vital matter; secondly, it also affords us, by implication, in combination with the above, some gauge as to the *width and depth of the foundations* upon which the *Gāthic* system was built, for that system could not have arisen in a day; but thirdly, and most incisively, it gives us an all-important glimpse at the historic fact of its firm *continuance*, a view which fills up the greatest of all such needs, in the matter of the immense practical issues once involved in the *Gāthic* life.

[I should have here interposed, after my second point, some particulars which recall a decisive and deeply interesting proof of the relatively earlier age of the *Ahuna* as expressing this animus of the *Gāthas*, so the more fully vindicating, if need be, my right to place it as evidence of the effectiveness of the *Gāthic* propaganda. The *Ahunaver* must have been composed at least two centuries earlier than those pieces which use it—the *Ahunaver*—metaphorically, or poetically, as *hyper-sacro-sanct*. There is nothing really trivial in the use of it as the “Sword of the Spirit”, see this in the *Srōs Yast*, as in the mythical temptation-scene of *Zarathuštra*: see it also used in the same spirit in *Yasna XIX*: yet this metaphorical use of it itself proves that the *Ahunaver* was

ancient at the time of the composition of this Lore, for it—the *Ahunaver*—could not possibly have been so—metaphorically—used unless it had been held in great reverence for a considerable period of time, and it was therefore a relic of antiquity at the date of the still vigorous Yaŕsts, as of the other passages alluded to: so much for a valuable differentiation in regard to the *Ahuna's* post-Gāthic age.]

To resume, we have here, then, in the spirit of this formula approximate evidence also as to the date of the *continuance* of the *Gāthic* animus in its practical efficiency.

XV. The *Gāthas* must have been sung for at the very least (see above) a century before this little piece was put together from among their contents, doubtless among very many similar bits now long since lost and forgotten, see, as specimens, the *Aŕem Vohu*, the *Airyamān išyō*, and *Yenhe* (*Yuhya Hātām*):—and here, in the *Ahuna*, we have what shows us that after from one to three centuries the *Gāthic* moral “appeal”, so to speak of it, had by no means *fallen flat*, as some have asserted of the later strenuous moral effort of Socrates, that it “fell flat upon Greece”;—the *Gāthic* animus had therefore not fallen flat, as seems certain, for it survived, at least in this afterpiece.

XVI. And from this *Ahuna*, therefore, we can in so far measure the *duration of this spiritual life*, for after they, the *Gāthas*, with their lost companions, had been used in ritual before the altars for the period indicated, this *Gāthic* animus was embodied in *such pieces* as this *Ahunaver*, that is to say, at the time of that first composition of this *Ahuna* there existed the *intellectual tendency*, the *fashion*, so to speak, among the superior Priests of *Iran*, in some dominant centres, to gather up the Apex of the *Gāthic* creed in little deeply significant pieces like this *Ahunaver*, with their moral point supremely prominent and aggressive. This would be the third of our items, certifying to us the historical

fact, which, as I freely conjecture, no serious person anywhere, who understands it and what it involves, will underrate, denying its very grave—if past—significance, that is to say, if the past destiny of large numbers of our fellow-men is of any importance.

XVII. It not only proves that the *Gāthic* animus and point had consequent, persistent, instinctive life through the intervening period from its origin, at least till the date of the *Ahuna* (see above), and that the *Gāthas* neither fell flat at their first chanting, nor did they expend their spiritual energy until that time of the *Ahuna* (see above); but it likewise proves inclusively, and as a corollary, that their spirit must have animated *an extensive literature*, of which these few words are but splintered chips, so to express oneself; for, while the *Gāthas* were in their inception doubtless but fractions of a literature many times more voluminous than they appear to us to be at present, so also as, we must never forget, the later Avesta is likewise, in its turn, but a fragment, though it is, indeed, of itself by no means excessively limited in extent;—and, as we have reason to believe, we have surviving to us of all the Avesta but two of some twenty-one, now, with exceptions, extinct, but once influential books or collections of treatises:—and this concept of the “right and wrong” must have made itself felt everywhere and through all. This idea of *equity* on which the chief value of all policy depends (see above) seems, then, to have afforded the very keynote to the animus of the entire *Zarathuštrian* doctrine, not only to that of the *Gāthas*, at about from one to three centuries after the death of *Zarathuštra*, at which date we might place the *Ahunaver*;—so, as already implied, it must have survived through the remaining pre-Christian periods, even reaching some foreign, external, or even distant influence, as the Greeks report of it proves (see it in the indications of Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plutarch);—it speaks out in an emphatic manner in the supervening

traditional literature of exegesis,—and it is professedly alive to-day.

XVIII. Portions of the Semitic Scriptures also contain its expression: and, since the era of Christianity, they have had an enormously wide *field for influence*; but the Avesta moral system pre-dated Christianity, and is supposed to express conspicuously the “equitable idea” in a form which surpasses that, at least, of all *Aryan* Literature, while, in one vital particular, it takes the lead of all moral theologies. *Semitic* or *Aryan*, of equal age with it. I refer, again, to its emphatic doctrine of *subjective recompense*:—then, if this can be made out, and it can hardly be denied, while it is seldom questioned—in the *Gāthas* and their now lost companion literature, as in their descendants whether lost or surviving, we have, indeed *The Documents of the universal moral idea* in its development, and this effect in the control of vast portions of our race in mid-Asia through successive generations¹—a past result with which little else of a regulative and stimulating character can compare—stimulation and regulation in this direction being almost supreme factors in the question of the value of our civilizations.

XIX. Even as a *mere theory* all this cannot fail to have had a very serious effect in the course of the life of the greatly extended populations: for, in the extreme position of an exceptionally privileged class, we gather that there prevailed in Persia the otherwise unwritten law that “the poor should be nurtured”, and we may well hold that, next to Israel, this feeling was more firmly fixed there, in Iran, than in any other country, while as to the one great particular² (see above) the force of the moral idea surpassed even that form of it which prevailed in the Holy Land.

XX. Of course the uses of the terms *Aša*, *Vohumanah*,

¹ See above in the Introduction. p. 58.

² Subjective recompense “as to thought, word, and deed”.

$\chi\acute{\sigma}\alpha\theta\rho\alpha$, etc., in their latter exterior and sometimes half-trivial application, as above indicated, also continued on throughout the subsequent periods, side by side with this never-failing use of them to express their original and literal meaning as to the "moral" thought: and it rather heightens than lowers our interest to notice that such a term as $A\acute{\sigma}\alpha$, which, at later times, was often apparently used even for the "fire", from the sanctity of the sacrificial flame, maintained its original interior energy even where it became known in *non-Iranian* lands: for there is no trace of such a recognized use for it, in that physical sense, in the "invaluable" passage in Plutarch: nor does $\chi\acute{\sigma}\alpha\theta\rho\alpha$ there mean "bronze" or any other metal, in Plutarch, $A\acute{\sigma}\alpha$ being distinctly, if noticeably, rendered as the God, or Demiurge, of "truth" $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ without a hint looking toward the endeared quasi-sacramental element: while *Vohumanah* was the God of "good mind", $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$, with no suggestion at all of either "orthodox mankind", or of the other "good" "living creatures, flocks and herds"; so, as we have seen, $\chi\acute{\sigma}\alpha\theta\rho\alpha$ is simply and alone the God of "good order", $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma$, while *Āramaiti* was the God of "wisdom", $\sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, near enough as a translation; *Haurvatāt* was the God, or Demiurge, of "riches", $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ quite expressive of "Universal Weal", nothing about "water": with which it became later so closely associated, *Amere-tatāt* being the God of "pleasure in things beautiful" somewhat free, yet with no word of "plants". Notice the order of sequence in the enumeration which accords with Zoroastrian usage. And these facts, these expressions of abstract ideas at that time and place—Greece during the lifetime of Theopompus, for Plutarch quotes Theopompus—of course positively illustrate, and all the more, the once extant exceptionally vital moral vigour of the theological tone at that later time and among those widely extended circles. And if myth—to recall the less impressive features of the case—or mythic use, did not develop side

by side with the moral force, then this latter would have had an easier task before it to maintain itself; but it survived nevertheless, and notwithstanding these somewhat degenerate applications to "fire, flocks, metals, the earth, water, and plants". I need hardly repeat what I first hinted at above, viz. that the presence of the moral idea, as so proved to exist in Iran so long after the *Gāthic* period, is all the more also thus proved to have been a very vital element among the wider forces which were guiding the destinies of multitudes in the ancient centuries over the vast regions indicated; and this, surviving from the intensified *animus* of the *Gāthic* decades—and the fact is as solemn as it is astonishing. If it were, indeed, the truth that a large percentage among the millions who succeeded each other in the generations of Old Medo-Persia (see above) were at all, to any degree, the subjects of the moral convictions, and devoted to Right, Benevolence, and Order, Spiritual Energy—i.e. effective piety, "as to thought, word, and deed"—*incalculable restrictions of crime* must have resulted, with much positive incitement to industry and the domestic virtues among the ancestors of multitudes of Asiatics. It may, indeed, well be that the moral idea as to right and wrong had never prevailed over such extended territories, or with such wide practical influence before upon the earth, as regards time and population, i.e. before the existence of this Lore:—and has it since?

XVII

KANAURI VOCABULARY IN TWO PARTS: ENGLISH-KANAURI AND KANAURI-ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

KĀNAURĪ is one of the complex pronominalized languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. It is spoken in the Sātlāj Valley in the Pānjāb, from a point about 20 miles up the river from Rāmpūr to near the Tibetan border. Bāshāhr State, of which Kānaur is the eastern part, begins 50 miles east of Simla; it has an area of 3800 square miles, and a population of 84,000.

Kānaurī is spoken over the whole of Kānaur except in the extreme east, where a dialect of Tibetan is current. It has four dialects: (1) Lower Kānaurī, in the west of Kānaur, north of the Sātlāj: its area is about 12 miles from east to west, and 6 miles from north to south. (2) Standard Kānaurī, the language of the following vocabularies. (3) Chītkhūli, spoken only in two villages in the Bōspā Valley, viz. Chītkhūl and Rākshām. (4) Thēbōrskad', spoken in the east of the State, in the villages of Lippā, Āsrān, Labrān, Kāṇām, Shūnnām, and Shāsō, i.e. between the Lippā River and the Tibetan-speaking area of Kānaur. It should be noticed that while speakers of Lower Kānaurī and Standard Kānaurī readily understand one another, Chītkhūli is totally unintelligible to them, and Thēbōrskad' is only half understood even by villagers living within 10 miles of the Lippā stream. The entire number of speakers of the four dialects is just over 19,000.

The following gives as nearly as possible the geographical position of Kānaur and the dialects of Kānaurī:—

Kānaur, long. $77^{\circ} 47'$ to $78^{\circ} 54'$; lat. $31^{\circ} 11'$ to $32^{\circ} 4'$.

Lower Kānaurī, from 78° extending 12 miles west, from the Sātālāj 6 miles north.

Standard Kānaurī, long. $77^{\circ} 50'$ to $78^{\circ} 40'$; lat. $31^{\circ} 23'$ to $31^{\circ} 40'$.

Chītkhūli in two villages, Chītkhūl $78^{\circ} 30'$, $31^{\circ} 21'$; Rākshām $78^{\circ} 26'$, $31^{\circ} 23'$.

Thēbōrskad', long. $78^{\circ} 17'$ to $78^{\circ} 40'$. lat. $31^{\circ} 37'$ to $31^{\circ} 53'$.

Kānaurīs call their country Kānōrin (altered by Aryan speakers to Kānaur), and their language Kānōrin Skad', Kānaurī language, or Kānōrēanū Skad', the language of the Kānaurīs. For convenience sake in this introduction the spelling Kānaur is employed. So far as I know the form Kānāwār is due to Europeans. I have never heard a native pronounce the word in that way. The Pāhārī dialects spoken to the west of Kānaur are called by the one general name Kōcī.

In the following pages I have endeavoured above all to be accurate in the representation of sounds. The pronunciation of Kānaurī is extremely difficult, much more difficult than that of Hīndī and Ūrdū; its numerous fine vowel distinctions and its half-consonants require the closest attention. The proper way of writing the half-consonant is a matter of dispute. I have used sonant letters, occasionally giving alternative forms. A few inconsistencies may be noticed in the writing of some sounds. It seemed to me better to attempt, even at the risk of being inconsistent, to represent exactly the sound of a word, than to assimilate arbitrarily all similar sounds to one regular form. It is possible that in an unexplained diversity of sound there may sometimes lie valuable phonological truth. Each word I have tried to write as

the speaker pronounced it, not as I might have thought from analogy that he should have pronounced it. I have gone into the question of pronunciation more fully in the Grammar referred to below.

I have to express special thanks to Pāṇḍit Ṭikā Rām Jōshī, formerly rājgūrū to the Rāja of Bāshāhr. He very kindly sent me some of the proofs of his Vocabulary. I found them very useful and suggestive. Nearly a hundred words in the following vocabulary have been taken from Pāṇḍit Ṭikā Rām's proofs. They are indicated by the letters T. R. All these words, however, I have independently investigated: in a few cases a different meaning has been assigned, and in nearly every case a different spelling has been employed. To the proofs, also, of a brief grammar, written by the same Pāṇḍit, a debt is owed for words suggested.

Literature.—I may be permitted to refer to my own Kānaurī Grammar appearing (probably early in 1910) in the Zeitschrift für den Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft. Pāṇḍit Ṭikā Rām's Grammar and Vocabulary will ultimately be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For the philological side of the language students should consult a valuable contribution by Dr. Sten Konow, of Christiania, in the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 430–41. All these works are in English. The Rev. H. Bruske, formerly missionary in Kānaur, has translated the Gospel of St. Mark into Kānaurī. It has been published in the Nāgrī character by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The following is the system of romanizing employed.

Consonants as usual in Royal Asiatic Society publications, with the following additions:—

Half consonants represented by *·* placed after them.

The very lightly pronounced *ṇ* is written above the line, as in *ruṇ*, horse; cf. *raṇṇ*, mountain; *ṇaṇ*, gold.

Occasionally *l* and *n* are very liquid, but generally they are as in Hindī. Kānaurī has a strong leaning towards half-long vowels. The very short vowels *ǣ* and *ǿ* are very often found in words taken directly from Aryan sources.

Vowels :—

ǣ as *u* in hut.

a and *ā*, the short and long of *a* in father.

ě like *e* in pet. Sometimes this is much narrower, like a shortened French *é*.

e and *ē*, the short and long of French *é*.

ĩ like *i* in hit.

i and *ī*, the short and long of Italian *i*.

ō above the line like *o* in hot, the corresponding long sound *ō* being almost like *awe*.

o and *ō*, the short and long of French *ó*.

õ on the line, between *ō* and *o*.

ö like German *ö*, but *always* short.

õ, the same sound long.

ũ like *u* in put. There is also a *u* between *ũ* and *ü*. See *zgyũl*, *yũdd* in the vocabulary.

u and *ū*, short and long, like Italian *u*.

ü like German *ü*.

ai, more or less like English *i* in high.

au, used only in Hīndī, Ūrdū, and Pānjābī words, more or less like the *ō* of Kānaurī words.

Frequently a final vowel is stopped short almost with a jerk. To show this ' is printed after the vowel, e.g. *toke'*.

One example of an aspirated sonant consonant will be observed in *bhörörënnig'*. This is probably an unconscious temporary assimilation to an Indo-Aryan sound.

Kānaurī has a habit of aspirating (though not always) a final surd consonant, a final vowel and a final *l*. This is represented by (*h*). This *h* is not an integral part of the word, and falls away before an inflection or before another word.

In some words *y* is faintly pronounced, sometimes being omitted, sometimes plainly enunciated. This is written (*y*).

The letters in brackets immediately after a verb show its present participle. A knowledge of this is necessary for forming the present and imperfect tenses. Thus *rěnniḡ* (-do) shows that the present tense is *redo dūḡ*.

A few instances will be noticed of the uncertainty common in Tibeto-Burman languages of initial *s* or *z* followed by a consonant, e.g. *tīl* and *stīl*, *gūī* and *zgūī*.

In the English-Kānaurī vocabulary most trees and plants are entered under the heading 'plant'. The botanical names are taken from a list of *Bāshūhr* plants, very kindly lent by Mr. A. J. Gibson, Deputy Conservator of Forests.

After some words I have indicated a Hindī, Ūrdū, or Pānjābī equivalent. This has been done only when the Aryan origin of the word does not seem at first sight obvious. As will be seen, a considerable portion of the Kānaurī vocabulary is of Aryan origin. (Th.) denotes Thēbōrskad words. To get the literal meaning of compound words the Kānaurī-English vocabulary should be consulted. The infinitive endings *-nniḡ* and *-nniḡ* are interchangeable.

ENGLISH-KĀNAURĪ VOCABULARY.

able (be), <i>sōkěnniḡ</i> , <i>hanniḡ</i> , <i>gorěnniḡ</i> .	name of oak, e.g. <i>brē shō</i> , — of <i>Quercus ilex</i> .
abolish, <i>bund lanmiḡ</i> .	adept, <i>lāik</i> . See good.
absolutely, <i>kūatī</i> , <i>mulī</i> .	admit, v. (acknowledge), <i>shkonniḡ</i> (-do).
absurd, <i>wāmthām</i> .	adultery, commit, v., <i>tsāk-</i> <i>shimḡ</i> , <i>goshimḡ</i> : —,
abuse, n., <i>gālīn</i> ; v., <i>gālīn</i> <i>shěnniḡ</i> .	with man, <i>gōnniḡ</i> , v. tr., with acc.
accusation, n., <i>ōldō</i> .	advisable (be), <i>gyāmḡ</i> , <i>gyāts</i> (impers.).
accuse, v., <i>ōldō phīmiḡ</i> or <i>lanmiḡ</i> ; (complain of), <i>ūshīterēāmḡ</i> .	adze, n., <i>bāsīn</i> .
acorn, <i>shō</i> (= berry) with	

affection. n., *pyār*. *See* love.

afoot, adv., *yānō*, *pāō*. *See* foot.

afraid (be), v., *byānīg*.
See fear.

afternoon, n., *nyūndāi*.

again, adv., *hē*.

age, *see* year.

agree (with), *rukshīnīg* : —
(to) *mōñḥāmīg*, *shkonnīg*.

ah ! *see* oh ! alas !

air, *lān* (wind).

airs (give oneself), *khyān-
mīg* (-bo), *maṣhḥāmīg*
or *maṣhḥāmīg* (Th.),
especially of poor man.

alas ! *ayō*, *āchōchā*.

alive, adj., *shōñ*.

all, adj., *tseī*.

alms, n., *sonyām*.

alone, adj., *ṣṭshī*.

altogether, adv., *kāufī*, *mulī*.

always, adv., *sōda*, *hāmēsh*.

See daily.

among, pr., *majōā*, *majōñō*.

See between.

amulet, n., *ṣṭāñmā*, *chōshṭāñ*,
gāō.

amuse, v., *wan shēnnīg*.

amusing, *konnīg*, *konñīgā*.

and, conj., *ae*.

angry, adj., *rōshōā*, *dākhōñ*.

animal, n., *zānwār*.

ankle, n., *pakāṭh*.

anna, n., *annē* : two —, *pōlī*
(or *nakits*, a secret word);

three —, *baṭlōs pōlī* : four
—, *dēlī*; twelve —, *baṭlōs
rupēā*.

annoy (tease), *rōlēāmīg*, *gots
rōlēāmīg* (give trouble to),
kāñiñām shēnnīg.

ant, n., *kōkāñē*.

anxiety, n., *zorī*.

anxious, adj., *zorī*, (*s*)*tos*
(*s*)*tos* ; — (be), v., *zorī
hacīmīg* ; (for absent
person) (*s*)*tosmīg*, (*s*)*tos
nīmīg*.

ape, n., *gōñōs*.

appear, v. (seem), *kolḥāmīg*.

applause, *shabāsh*.

apple, n., *palḥ* ; — -tree,
palḥ bōṭhōñ.

appoint, v., *tāmīg* ; — a day,
pētō tonnīg (used of con-
sulting oracle), *ṭuyāmīg*.

arm, n., *gādd* ; arms, *thām*,
e.g. in one's arms, *thāmo* ;
forearm (cubit), *rin* ; arm-
pit, *kēs*.

around (all round), adv., *pō
kāñāre*.

arrive, v., *pōnnīg*, *pōts-
hēnnīg* : —, cause to,
pōpō shēnnīg.

arrow, n., *mōh*, *ronu mōh*.

artery, n., *sīrōñ*. *See* vein.

ascend, v., *ṭāñmīg*.

ascent, n., *ṭāñ* ; gentle —,
khyēr khyēr.

ashamed (be), v., *sōrmēā-
shīmīg*. *See* shame.

- ashes, n., *m̃pyāts* (lit fire-bird).
- ask, v., *īmīg*.
- ass, n., *phōto*: male, *gyāboñ*: female, *bonmō*.
- assemble, v. intr., *dummīg* (-mo).
- assembly, n., *dum*.
- astray, adj., *dal dal*: —, go, v., *dalmīg*.
- astrologer, n., *loto khyāzea*: astrologer's book, n., *loto*.
- attack, v., *koziā lannīg*.
- attempt, v., *kōshēsh lannīg*.
- attention, n., *m̃ñöñ*: —. pay, v., *m̃ñöñ shēnnīg*.
- aunt, n. (father's sister or mother's sister - in - law), *nāne, aṇe*: (mother's sister), *ama, chimā* (Th.): (father's sister - in - law), *amāts*.
- autumn, n., *tsharmī*.
- avarice, n., *lālōts*.
- avaricious, adj., *lālē*.
- awake, adj., *yanyan, yanshēs*.
- axe, n., *lasta*.
- back, n., *pishfīn*.
- bad, adj., *mār, kōtsōñ, mashkāts*: badly made or put on, uncomfortable, *adēmo*.
- bag, n., *phad*.
- balcony, n., *toññōñ*.
- bald, adj., (s)*pīthā*.
- ball, n., *gindū, p̃ññks*.
- bank (of river), n., *khaḍḍlōñ*.
- barber, n., *nāēs*; fem., *nāñnikhē* (g).
- bark, v. (of dog), *tshālmīg*: n. (of tree), *khōlāp*: (of *shyag*), *pad*.
- barley, *tag*: (a barley drink), *yādd*.
- barren, adj. (land), *āshāñ*: (woman), *bañdie*.
- basket, n., *cēñēr*: (a 'kilṭa'), *koṭi, kōḍlī, sonññ*: — -maker, *canālōs*: fem., *canālē*.
- bastard, adj. (z)*bī*.
- bat, n. (animal), *tōrpēāts* (lit. darkness-bird).
- be, v. (I am), *toḡ, dāḡ*: (I was), *tokeḡ, dueḡ*.
- beak, n., *tākās*.
- beam, n. (wood), *sāthīrā*: (in ceiling), *dārōñ*.
- bear, n., *hom*; v. (lift), *sar-mīg*: (— child), *chañ tāmīg*.
- beard, n., *darī*.
- beat, v., *loñmīg, cīlēāmīg, kālīmīg, thismīg*.
- beautiful, adj., *demo, shyarō*: fem., *shyarē*. *bañthōs*: fem., *bañthē, bañthīñ*: — (in word and appearance), *rēmīg*.
- become, v., *nīmīg, hacīmīg*.
- bed, n. (for sleeping), *māzō, p̃ññng*.
- bee, n., *yāñ, yāñth, wasyāñ*,

- wasyāñth*; beehive, *kāshin*,
mōkhār, *dorōñ*.
 before, pr. adv. (in front of),
oskō.
 beg, v., *unnig*, *āncimig*.
 beggar, *raula*.
 begin, v., *zānmig* (— go).
 behalf (on behalf of), prep.,
kacōñs, *tēñs*.
 behind, adv., *nyums*, *nyūskō*.
 believe, v., *m^ñnēāmig*, *pō-
 tēnnig*; (cause to), *m^ñnā-
 yamig*, *p^ñrjyāmig*.
 bell, n., *gantōñ*; string of
 bells on horse, *argā*.
 beloved, adj., *pyār*.
 belt, n. (leather), *bajōñ*;
 (servant's), *gachōñ*.
 bend, v. tr., *khoñmig*, *kuṭā
 lanmig*; be bent, *khoñsh-
 mig*, *kuṭā hacimig*; bent,
 adj., *khoñshēs*, *kuṭā*. See
 crooked.
 beneath, prep., *yuthōñ*.
 bent, see bend.
 berry, *shō*.
 best, adj., *zō dām*, *zō dēbāsh*,
 etc., *thōtsi dām*, etc. See
 good.
 between, prep., adv., *majōñ*,
majōñō.
 bier, n., *lōtōñ shiñ*.
 big, adj., *teg*.
 bind, v., *tshānmig*.
 bird, n., *pyā*, *pyats*. The
 following are some names
 of different small birds:
- sparrow, *kim pyats* or
kotōñ pyats, or *kōthōñ pyā*
 (i.e. house bird); wood-
 pecker, *shiñ thōñ*; others,
shalī, *līshōñt*, *kakcūt(h)*,
konžā, *hieñ pyā*, *rītōts*:
 a red bird, *lama pyā*: a
 bird as big as crow, *lan
 pyā*, *lī pyā*. See blackbird,
 eagle, crow.
 bit, n. (piece), *tūkrāts*.
 bite, v., *ciñmig*. See sting.
 bitter, adj., *kay*.
 black, adj., *rōkh*.
 blackbird, *cūt(h)*.
 blacksmith, n., *domōñ*; fem.,
domāñdkh(g); *bērū*; fem.,
bērūñg.
 bladder, n., *bampī*.
 blanket, n., *kumbāl(h)*, *tsādār*,
dōrī.
 blast, v., *sārāñgōs pashmig*
 (lit. break with tunnel).
 bleat, v., *bashēnmig*.
 blemish, n., *ph^ñrāk* (lit.
 difference).
 bless, v., *b^ñrkat lanmig*:
phāñda lanmig.
 blessing, n., *b^ñrkat*, *phāñda*.
 blind, adj., *kāñō*, *kāñā* (in Hindi
kāñā means one-eyed).
 blink, v., *mig stēnmig*.
 blister, n., *tipōl(h)*.
 blood, n., *p^ñlāts*.
 blow, v. (of breath), *phūkrē-
 āmig*; (of wind), *bōnnig*
 (lit. come).

- blue, adj., *rāg*.
 blunder, n., *gʹlti*. See mis-
 take.
 blunt, adj., *ma rask*.
 board, n., *rō*. See plank.
 body, n. (human), *ḍēōñ* ;
 (upper half of front of
 body), *mākhōñ*.
 boil, n., *pyūtō* ; v. intr.,
khōrimigʹ, *bucimigʹ* ; v. tr.,
khocim shēnnigʹ, *bucim*
shēnnigʹ ; — (food), *pan-*
nigʹ (-do) ; be boiled (food),
bunnigʹ (-do).
 bolt, n. (wooden), *hurōñ*,
bitshū.
 bone, n., *hārōñ*.
 book, n., *kāṭāb*.
 boot, n., see shoe.
 borax, n., *tshalē* ; — mer-
 chant, *tshalē pā*.
 born (be), v., *zōrmēnnigʹ*.
 bough, n., *bradʹ*. See branch.
 bow, n. (for arrows), *gām* ;
 v. (join hands), *ḍalōñmigʹ* ;
 (to *lama*, forehead on
 ground), *chāg rannigʹ* ;
 — oneself, *khōñshimigʹ*.
 box, n. (wooden), *kōṭh*, *sōndāk* ;
 (wooden, for grain), *urts* ;
 (leather), *dhōm*. See trunk.
 boy, n., *ḍēkhrā*, *ḍēkhrāts*,
sharā, *laṭā*.
 bracelet, n., *daklō*.
 branch, n., *bradʹ*.
 brass, n., *pītāl*.
 bray, v. (ass), *bashēnnigʹ*.
 bread, n., *rōṭh* ; (plur. *rōṭeʹ*),
 of barley or *hōḍ* : (oiled),
policōkts ; (cooked in oil),
pōlē.
 break, v. tr., *tōñmigʹ*, (-go),
pholmigʹ : (stones), *pash-*
migʹ ; (thread), *sōrmigʹ* ;
 be broken, *zhōñmigʹ* (-go),
 See crush.
 breast, n., *shṭāy* ; (one of the
 two breasts), *nāñ*.
 breath, n., *ḍēm*, *riñsā*, *sāsōñ*.
 breathe, *sāsōñkunmigʹ*, *sāsōñ*
būnnmigʹ.
 bribe, n., *būriñ* ; v. tr., *būriñ*
ranmigʹ ; (take bribe),
būriñ zāmigʹ (lit. eat).
 bridge, n., *tshamm*.
 brier, n., *tsōh*.
 brim, n. (of hat or vessel),
binin.
 bring, v., *kanmigʹ*.
 broad, adj., *kāñkh*.
 brooch, n. (clasp), *pitsuʹ*, *ūṭh*.
 brook, n., *nālōñ*, *gārōñ*. See
 stream.
 broom, n. (for sweeping),
kucōñ.
 brother, n. (elder), *ate* ;
 (younger), *bayā*, *baī*, *baits* ;
 full brother, *nāz bāz* ;
 plur., *nāza bāza* ; brother-
 in-law (wife's brother),
shakpō ; man's sister's
 husband, *shakpō* ; woman's
 sister's husband, *bṛṣa* ;
 husband's brother, *bṛṣa*.

- brow, n. (forehead), *phiyā*.
 brown, adj., *pūrkh*.
 brush, v. (with hand or brush), *bōrmig*, *yūnmig* (-go).
 bubble, n., *shub*.
 bud, n., *jitrils ā*. See flower.
 buffalo, n., *mēsh*.
 bug, n., *suff(h)*; plur., *sufē*.
 build, v., *paūmig*; (bridge), *tshamm lanmig*.
 bull, n., *dāmās*.
 bullet, n., *gālām*.
 bundle, n., *gōtots*.
 burn, v. tr., *connig* (-do), *poūmig*; (wood), *parmig*; v. intr., *boūmig*; (wood), *barmig*.
 burning place, n. (for bodies), *mōrthlīn*.
 burst, v. tr., *pharmig*; v. intr. (cloth), *barmig*; (anything hard), *bashmig*.
 bury, v., *afēmig*.
 bush, n., *gāto bōthōn*.
 butcher, n., *zēd shūbtsea*. See slaughter. —, v., *shūmmig* (-bo).
 butter, n., *tsoprōn*.
 butterfly, n., *shupyaṭh*.
 butter-milk, n., *rātī, bōt(h)*; (what remains after drawing off butter-milk), *jyā*.
 button, n., *bōtōn*.
 buy, v., *zōūmig*, *zōkshimig*.
 cabbage, n., *gobī*.
 cage, n., *pīnjōr*.
 calf, n., *rats*; (of leg), *pīlīnts*.
 call, v., *kānnig* (-do. fut. *kūtōg*), *ārēūmig*.
 camel, n., *āt*.
 can, v., see able.
 cap, n. (small Kanauri), *pōrēnā tēpōn*.
 captive, *kēlī, bāndūā*.
 card, v. (cotton), *tshītkyamig*, *tshirkyamig*.
 carding instrument, n., *tshītkī*.
 carpenter, n., *ōrōs*; fem., *ōrēnikhē (g)*; *bērū*: fem., *bērūnig*.
 carpet, n., *sutrānjī, dōrī*.
 cast, v., *shōthēāmig*.
 caste, man of higher caste, *donōs (n almost = u)*; man of lower caste, *bināpōs*.
 cat, n., *pīshi*; wild cat, *sētārts*.
 cataract, n., *chodōn* (waterfall).
 catch, v., *tsūmmig*. See embrace. Be caught (of disease), *tūmmig* (-bo), *tūpcimig*.
 caterpillar, n., *hoū*.
 cause, n., *bāsh*. See reason. v., generally *shēnmig* with verbal noun, especially of trans. verbs. For intr. verbs often separate word.

- cave, n., *agʹ, dabriñ*.
 caw, v., *bashēnnigʹ*.
 censer, n., *dūkhriñ*.
 centipede, n., *zacos*.
 certainly, adv., *garmēdʹ, agrē*.
 chain, n., *shañlñ*.
 chair, n., *khārsī*.
 change, v., *spalñigʹ, skolñigʹ, bʹdālññigʹ*.
 chap, v. (hands and feet), *bolñigʹ*.
 chapping, n., *bʹlbʹl*.
 charcoal, n., *thō(h)*.
 charm, n. (incantation), *ḍub ḍub*: (mutter —), *ḍub ḍub lāññigʹ*.
 chat, v., *see* converse.
 chattels, n., *cīz bāst*.
 cheap, adj., *sʹsta, bao dēbash*.
 cheat, v., *nōrññ lāññigʹ*: n., *nōrññseu*; — (out of money), v., *dōkhēññigʹ, thāgāyamñigʹ*.
 cheek, n., *piñ*.
 cheer, v., *nyoklēññigʹ, nyoklēññigʹ*.
 chicken, n., *kukhrī chañts*.
 chide, v., *dopkēññigʹ. See* threaten.
 child, n., *chañ*; small child, *chañts, thiklāpts* (bigger than *ayāñññ*, *see* infant): from childhood, *dzigitsots*.
 chin, n., *chētkñ*.
 chisel, n., *tshēmñ*.
 choke, v. tr., *gōlññ tsūññigʹ, gōlññ tsūññ tsūññ sūññigʹ*: v. intr., *gōlññ jñññigʹ (-ññ)*.
 choose, v. (select), *bñññññigʹ*.
 Christian, n., *Krīshṭāñ*.
 churn, n., *gōr*; v., *gōr lāññigʹ*: churning cylinder, *dññññ*.
 cinder, n., *thō(h)*.
 city, n., *shēr, bāzār*.
 clap, v., *hastlññ bāzñññigʹ. See* palm.
 claw, n., *cñ*.
 clay, n., *shkam*.
 clean, adj., *dēbash*, etc. *See* good.
 clerk, n. (Persian writer), *ḍumñigʹ*: (Hindi writer), *kañts, f. kañtāññ*: also *cētsa, māñshī, f. māñshīññ*.
 clever, adj., *shʹrdār*.
 climb, v. (tree), *bññigʹ. See* ascend.
 clod, n., *ḍēlu*.
 close, adj. (get close to), *cññigʹ*; v., *hāññññigʹ. See* shut.
 cloth, n., *gasā*; clothes (Kanauri), trousers, *suthññ*. long-coat (wool), *chubā*: (cotton), *tsalū*: pieces in coat-tail, *palō*: breast-piece of coat, *pitññts*: shirt, *kāñññ*; hat, *tēpññ*: girdle, *guchññ*; shawl, etc., *tsāñññ, challī, yaññññts*: women's special skirt, *dñññ*; jacket, *tsoli*.

- clothe, v. tr., *gasā phoinmīg* (-go) : clothe oneself. *gasā phokshimīg*.
 cloud, n., *jū*. See mist.
 coarse, adj. (inferior), *bogrös* ; (cloth with holes), *jalböle* ; (flour), *bogrös* ; (coarsely ground), *phrēskē*.
 cock, n., *kukhrös*.
 cold, n., *liss, š'dkh* ; — and cough, *chamba*. See cough.
 collar, n. (iron for dog), *g'lpāt(h)*.
 collect, v., *eke lanmīg, š'ma lanmīg* ; — cows' urine, *jāmīg*.
 collection, n. (small number of men, animals, stars. etc.), *pōñ*.
 colour, n., *rāṅ*.
 colt, n., *bāts'hērū*.
 comb, n., *kōthōñ* ; v., *shkūmīg*.
 come, v., *bōnnīg, būnnīg* ; — out, *dōnmīg*. See go, emerge. — down, *jam-mīg*. See descend.
 comic, see amusing.
 command, n., *hākm* ; v., *hākm rānmīg*.
 conceal, v. tr., *mañmīg* ; — oneself, *mañshimīg*.
 conceit, n., *shēkhī*.
 conceited, adj., *mātekpā*. See proud.
 concubine, n. (of raja), *khavās* ; (ordinary), *bērīñs goñē* ; *zār*. See mistress.
 cone, n. (of fir-tree), *pātōl.tōto* : (of *Pinus Gerardiana*), *prūss, sprūss*.
 confound, see shame.
 conquer, conqueror, see win.
 consider, v., *tsalmīg*.
 consolation, v., *sūkōñ*.
 console, v., *sūkōñ ranmīg*.
 consult, v., *sālū imīg*.
 contagious, adj., *tāpceida* : — (be), v. *tāpceimīg*.
 content, adj., *rāzī*.
 contract, n. (price), *dramōñ*.
 contumacy, n., *māzori* (= obstinate disobedience).
 conversation, n., *batōñ, batōñ cāḡ*.
 converse, v., *batōñ lanmīg, batēushimīg*.
 cook, v. tr., *lanmīg* ; n., *boṭia* : be cooked, *sītēnmīg*. See boil.
 coolie, n., *bārös*.
 copper, n., *trāmōñ*.
 cord, n. (twine), *riat* : (rope), *thakpā, bōsh*.
 corn, n. (growing), *zōd*. See grain, flour. —, n. (on foot), *tsōcōñ*.
 corner, n., *zīr*.
 corpse, n., *lōtōñ, māṛla, māro*.
 corrode, see rust.
 cotton, n., *rāī* : — wool, *rāī*.
 cough, n., *tsū, chamba* (with cold) ; v., *tsūmīg*.
 count, v., *narmīg*.
 counting, n. (up to 100), *āṅgi*.

counterfeit, adj. (coin), *khoťös*.
country, *mälök*.

couple, n., *nyotön*. See pair.

cover, v., *labžämig*, *khom-
mig* (-bo), *khämig* (-bo):
n., *labnā*, *khob*.

covet, v., *lalöts lanmig*.

covetous, adj., *lulei*.

covetousness, n., *lalöts*.

cow, n., *lan*.

coward, n., *byaütsea*.

cowherd, n., *gwälös*.

crack, v. intr. (*dāmrits*),
bölmig.

crawl, v., *dupshimig*.

crazy, adj., *bölī*. See mad.

cream, n., *doyöñ*.

crease, n., *zuprī*.

create, v., *pēlā lanmig*; be
created, *pēlā hacimig*.

crooked, adj., *khēr*; — (be),
v., *khērmig*; — (be very),
khoñshimig.

crop, n. (harvest), *sāl*. See
harvest. — (of birds,
sheep), *cipār*.

cross, v., *torēnmig*, *bāñēnmig*;
adj. (roads, etc.), *brā*,
brājē (with *om*, road, etc.),
bralām.

cross-legged, adj., *pözērkit*.

crow, v. (of cock), *bashēnmig*;
n., *kag*.

crown, n. (of head, where
Hindu lock of hair is),
talgoñ.

crumb, n., *gragru*.

crumble, v. tr., *grā lanmig*;
— v. intr., *grā bōnmig*.

crush, v., *cekhyāmig*, *cañ-
mig*.

cry, v., *krammig* (-bo). See
weep. — together, *krap-
shimig*, *skrapshimig*.

cubit, n., *rin*.

cucumber, n., *kukhrin*.

cut (chew), v., *rāmeimig*.

culpable, adj., *kōshārsea*.

cunning, adj., *cālāk(h)*.

cup, n., *kargyöl(h)*, *zōñbāl*;
v. (bleed), *tsānmig*, *rād*
tsānmig.

curds, n., *doyöñ*; dried —,
chārā.

custom, n., *pañhōñ*.

cut, v., *mölmig*, *gōnmig*.

cymbal, n., *bāgyjēl(h)*.

dagger, n. (*Gurkha*), *khāñ-
khrī*.

daily, adv., *dārō*. See
always.

dance, v., *c(y)ānmig*, *c(y)āsh-
mig*.

danger, n., *byānmig*-*bash*.

dark, n., adj., *tārō*, *tār*,
anyārōñ, *anyārös*, *tham-
sīñ*.

daughter, n., *cimēd*; — in-
law. — *stēm*, *tēm*.

dawn, v., *rāshīñ* *bānmig*
(*rāshīñ* = long shadow
or ray): *ratīñ sanmig*
(= night end).

- day, n., *lai*, *lē*; (by day),
adv., *lai*, *lē*. See daily.
As measurement of time,
dār, *dyāsōn*, *barōn*.
day - after - to-morrow (i.e.
third day), *rōmī*; fourth
day, *pāē*; fifth day *ēē*, *ē*;
sixth day, *cēī*, *cē*; seventh
day, *kāroī*.
day - before - yesterday, *rī*;
fourth day back, *rītsōmyā*.
dead, perform rites for, *atīn*
lanmīg. See corpse.
deaf, adj., *ṭonō*.
dear, adj. (loved), *pyār*;
(costly), see price.
death, *grē*, *mōt*.
debt, n., *rīn*, *bulon*.
debtor, n., *rīniā*, *rinseā*,
bulonseā.
deceit, n., *nōrōn*.
deceitful, adj., *khōṭos*.
deceive, v., see cheat.
decide, v., *pantsī lanmīg*,
phaisāla lanmīg.
decision, n., *pantsī*, *phaisāla*.
decompose, v. intr., *cismīg*.
deed, n., *kāmōn*.
deep, adj., *ḍābōs*.
deer, n., *phō*: different kinds:
skin (called in Kōcī *āskin*);
war(h) (Kochi, *bōrd*);
(musk-deer), *rōts*: (bāra-
singha), *sānīh rād* *seā*;
(others), *gord*, *sar(h)*,
ēmō.
defeat, v. tr., *phammīg*. See
win. Be defeated, *ham-
mīg*. See lose.
delay, n., *dērī*; v., *khārāmīg*,
dērī lanmīg.
delight, n., *khāsi*.
demon, n., *raksos*.
den, n., *dabrīn*, *ag*, *wā*.
See cave.
deny, v., *hārshimīg*.
descent, n., *chūr*: very
gentle, *khyēr khyēr*. See
ascent.
desire, v., *gyāmīg*.
destitute, adj., *rapēār*.
destroy, v., *sho shēnmīg*;
be destroyed, *sho bīmīg*.
dew, n., *ōshōn*.
die, n. (bone), *pāshīn*;
(brass), *cholo*; play at
dice, *pāshīn yōcimīg*,
cholo yōcimīg, *cholmīg*,
dice-player, *pāshīn yō-
cizeā*, *chōlbā*.
die, v., *shīmīg*; die off
(whole family), *khōjīmīg*
(-go) *nā kui hacīmīg*, *na
kui bīmīg*.
difference, n., *phērāk*.
difficult, adj., *ṭalk*, *olḷō*,
kotsōn, *māshkīl*.
dig, v., *kōṭēāmīg*; (for saw-
ing), *gīlmīg*.
direction (towards), *kō*.
kacōn; in this direction,
jekō, *lokō*; in that direc-
tion, *nēkō*, *noskō*, *nēskō*;
in my, his, direction, *an*

- kō*, *dōkō*. etc.: in which direction, *hatekō*.
dirt, n., *krī*. See dust.
dirty, adj., *krīsea*.
disappear, v., *mañshimig*.
disciple, n., *tsēla*.
disease, n., *tōl*.
dismiss, v., *totō shēnumig*, *tānumig*.
disobey, v., *ma mññēāmig*.
disperse, v. intr., *(z)břrmig*, *(z)břrshimig*; v. tr., *břrim shēnumig*.
displease, v., *rōshōñ tañom shēnumig*, *rōshōñ lañumig*: be displeased, v., *rōshōñ tañumig*, *nārāz hacimig*.
distribute, v., *kañumig* (-go).
divide, v. tr., *kañumig* (-go).
divorce, v. tr., *shih tōñumig* (lit. break the stick); *tshar-žānumig*.
dizziness, n., *janōro*.
dizzy (be), v., *janōrohacimig*, *janōro lanshimig*.
do, v., *lānumig*, *lañumig*.
doctor, n., *habā*, *amjī*.
dog, n., *kāñ* (plur., *kōē*): large Tibetan, *cakūñ*.
doll, n., *yōcimig chain*.
dome, n., *anlō*.
door, n., *pītōñ*, *dwārōñ*.
double, adj., *nish dāgnā*.
doubt, n., *břrām*; see suspicion: v., *břrām lañumig*.
dove, n., *rapēñ*, *gāptī*.
down, adv., *shōñ*, *yāñ*, *yāg*, *yōškō*.
doze, v., *ḍālcimig*, *ḍālcim* or *nizroñ bōnnig*; — n., *nizroñ*.
draw, v., *ḍamimig*. See pull.
dream, v., *mañimig*; n., *mañ*.
dress, v. (oneself), *phokshimig*, *likshimig*: — (another), *phonimig*; as a special honour, *liñimig* (-go) with obj. of thing put on, e.g. *shoes*, *flowers*, *clothes*.
drink, v., *tānumig* (intoxicants), *kyōsmig*: give to drink, *tāñ rānumig*.
drip, v., *coñimig* (-go).
drop, v. tr., *dada shēnumig*; v. intr., *dada bñimig*. See fall.
drown, v., *tō bñi shimig*.
drum, n. (in order of size), *bām*, *ḍōl*, *nāgārū*, *ḍolkhī*, *ḍāmākh*, *ḍakhrū*.
drunk, adj., *kyōskyōs*.
dry, v. tr. and intr., *tshar-ñimig*: — up, of tree (inside crumble away), *sūsmig*; — adj., *tshars*.
duck, n., *břtōk*.
dumb, adj., *jyārō*, *lata*.
dung, n. (human), *phurō*; (dog), *khō*; (bird), *khō*; (horse, etc.), *lid(h)*; (sheep, goats), *ḍāl(h)*; (cattle),

- mōlōn*; (cattle, dried), *kōṭ*,
kōrkhtū.
 dust, n., *pāreūtīn*: dirt and
 dust, *bōṇa*.
 dwarf, n., *shāpānūts*, *bōn-*
mūts.
 eagle, n., *khyānpyā*.
 ear, n., *kāṇōṇ*.
 earring, n., *sedū*, *kāntai*,
kāntalī, *sokōṇ*.
 earth, n. (soil), *bōspā*, *maṭīn*;
 (world), *dūnyā*.
 earthquake, n., *zāṅgū*, *bān-*
cālīn.
 ease, n., *sūkōṇ*.
 easy, adj., *sūkōṇ*.
 eat, v., *zāmīg*; give to eat,
zāmā ranmīg.
 echo, v., *ronēnmīg* (nom.
 hill, etc.).
 eclipse, n., *gronōṇ*.
 eddy, v., *shūrēnmīg*.
 edge, n., *toks*, *kānāre*.
 effort, n., *kōshṭōṇ*.
 egg, n., *līt(h)*.
 eight, adj., *rai*.
 eighth, adj., *rēṇ*, *raiṇ*; 800,
rairā: 800th, *rairāṇ*.
 eighty, *pōṇizā* or *pōṇizā*;
 — -one, *pōṇizā id*; —
 -two, — *nish*; — -three,
 — *shūm*; — -four, —
pō; — -five, — *nā*; —
 -six, — *tūy*; — -seven,
stish; — -eight, — *rai*;
 — -nine, — *zgāṭ*. For
- ordinals add *-ā* to last
 word in each case; *nizā*
 changes *-ā* to *-ā*.
 either . . . or, *koē* . . . *koē*.
 elbow, n., *karākt(h)*.
 eldest, adj., *jēshmōṇ*.
 eleven, adj., *sijid*; eleventh,
sijidṇ.
 elope, v. (of married woman),
har bīmīg: eloping wo-
 man, *harulē*: man with
 or to whom she goes,
harulea.
 embrace, v., *tsāmshimīg*.
 employ, v., *tāmīg*: with
 word for servant (q.v.), as
yokpō, etc.
 empty, adj., *shāgī*.
 endure, v., *āsyaṇmīg*.
 enemy, n., *amī*, *mā kyūshid*
mī, *zid* sea. See meet.
 enmity, *zid*.
 entangle, v., *phāsāyamīg*;
 be entangled, *phāsēnmīg*,
jūnmīg.
 enter, v., *dishimīg*.
 entrails, n., *gīma*.
 entrap, v., *phāsāyamīg*.
 entreat, v., *ʾrē lanmīg*, *nish*
gād ipōṇ lanmīg (i.e.
 make two hands one).
 equal, adj., *bārābār*.
 error, n., *kāshūr*, *kōshūr*.
 escape, v., *barēāshimīg*,
bācēnmīg.
 evening, n., *shāpā*.
 ever, adv., *tērōṇ*.

- excommunicate, v., *ṭitsik mitsik shēnmig* or *lanmig*.
- execute, v. (finish), *shān-mig*: (hang), *phansī shēnmig*.
- exile, v., *tōtū shēnmig*, *bērīn lanmig*.
- expel, v., *shelēnmig*, *shēlēlēa shēnmig*.
- expense, n., *chata*.
- explain, v., *sāmāyamig*.
- extinguish, v., *spīnmig* (-go); be extinguished, v., *bīn-mig* (-go).
- extravagance, n., *yar khērts*.
- extravagant, adj., *ḍarālia*, *khyampō*.
- eye, n., *mig*.
- eyebrows, eyelashes, n., *migspū*, *migtsām*.
- face, n., (s)tō.
- fall, v., *gōrmig*, *brīn bīmig*: (of house), *blāsmig*: (drunk), *bralmig*. See knock.
- false, adj., *alkōlōn*. See lie.
- fan, n., *pakhōn*; (*pankhu*) *pānkhōn*; v., *pakhōn rūlēāmig*, *lūn kannig*.
- far, adv., adj., *dor*, *wark*.
- farewell, say farewell to, *brōlmig*.
- farmer, n., *zimūlār*.
- fast, n., *bōrt(h)*; v., *bōrt(h) lanmig*; adv., *hōzō*, *kāsāl*.
- fat, adj., *moṭōs*, *bakhos*: n., *tshōs*.
- fate, n., *kīsmāt*: evil fate, *doshā*.
- father, n., *apa*, *bon*, *ban*, *bōba*; — - in - law, *rū*: man's — -in-law's family, *dūrōs*, *dūrōspōn*.
- fault, n., *doshōn*. See error.
- fear, v., *byānmig*, *ḍēk koñ-mig* (-go).
- feather, n., *pōl(h)*, *pakhōn*.
- feel, v. (touch), *thanmig*.
- fellow-villager, n., *dēshia*: — -countryman, *mālō-khia*.
- female, adj., *mōnth* (with noun).
- fence, n., *tsūr*.
- fern, n., *see* plant.
- festival, n. (*mela*) *kuyōn*: special melas, *lōsār* in January, *bīsh* in April, *ākhyāñ* in September.
- fetter, n., *ron*.
- fever, n., *zāryōn*, *kriñ ṭōḍ*.
- few, adj., *gaṭō*. See minority.
- field, n., *rīm*: small —, *shārōn*.
- fifteen, *sōnū*; fifteenth, *sōnūḥ*: fifty, *nishnizō sai*; fiftieth, — *saiḥ*; fifty-one, *nishnizō sigid*; — -two, — *sōnish*: — -three, — *sōrām*; — -four, — *supō*; — -five, — *sōnū*; — -six, — *sōrāg*; — -seven, — *sōstish*; — -eight, — *sōrai*; — nine,

- *sōzgyāi*. For ordinals add *ō* to the last word.
- fight, v., *dāshimig'*: —, cause to, *dāshim shēnnig'*: —, n., *dāsho*.
- file, n., *sēgālār*.
- fill, v., *pōñmig'*: — tight, *cañmig'* (-go): be filled, *boñmig'*.
- fine, adj. (cloth), *pīthōs*, *nakits*: (small), *nakits*; (be — weather), v., *bizēnmig'*, *bijēnmig'*: —, n., *ḍaṇḍōñ*; small — not in law-courts, collected by village headman, *ātpaā*, *chodpā*; —, v., *ḍaṇḍōñ lunmig'*.
- finger, n., *prats*.
- finger-nail, n., *cīn*.
- finish, v., *shāñmig'*; be finished (of assembly, disperse), *dañmig'*.
- fire, n., *mē*; v. (with gun), *bāyāmig'*.
- fire-fly, n., *mēhoñ*, *mēhoñts*.
- fire-place, n. (native earthen), *melīñ*.
- firewood, n., (*parmig'*) *shīñ*.
- first, adj., *idō*, *dārē*; — place, *dārōñ*: —, at, adv., *omē*, *om*.
- fish, n., *matshī*: v., *matshī tsāmmig'*.
- fisher, n., *matshī tsāmzeā*.
- fist, n., *māṭṭhu*.
- five, *nā*; fifth, *nāō*: 500, *nārē*; 500th, *nārēō*.
- flag, n., *durchōd*: —, prayer, *durchōd*.
- flame, n., *lāb'*.
- flea, n., *shpōg*.
- flee, v., *bōmig'*. See run.
- fleece, n. (sheep), *tsamun*: (goat), *rōmōñ*.
- flint, n. (for light), *mērē*.
- float, v., *tīā ḍēñ tōshimig'*, or *bīmig'*.
- flock, n. (sheep, goats), *shālīñ*, *dāyōñ*; (belonging to raja or wazir), *pēr*; (of birds), *gōññ*.
- flog, v., *tsāmāk cīlēāmig'* (*tsāmāk* = whip).
- flood, n., *hōldō*.
- floor, n. (wooden, of upper story), *panthōñ*: (earthen, of lower story), *khārōñ*.
- flour, n., *cēsōñ*: —, wheat, *kōṇekhyōñ*.
- flow, v., *bīmig'*, *tsālēnmig'*.
- flower, n., *ā*.
- flute, n., *sānāl*, *bāshōñ*, *ḍutārī*.
- fly, n., *yāñ*, *yāñth*, *kim yāñ*, *kim yāñth*; v., *yammig'*: —, cause to, *yam shēnnig'*.
- foal, n., *bātsērā*.
- foam, n., *shāb'*.
- fodder, n., *cī(h)*.
- fold, n. (sheep), *thach*; (as in fourfold), *dāgna* (e.g. fivefold = *nā ḍāgna*): v. tr., *thōñmig'*, *chammig'*.
- food, n., *cās*, *khaā*.

- foot, n., *baṇ* : (paw), *bañ* : from, prep., *dōk'ts*, —*ts* (as
(of bed), *bañ*.
 footprint, n., *mōlt*.
 forbid, v., *ma shēnmig'*.
 forefathers, n., *apa tētē*.
 forenoon, n., *om lai*.
 forest, n., *bōyin*. *zangāl*,
dzangāl.
 forget, v., *bōshimig'*.
 forgive, v., *māp lunmig'*.
 forked, adj., *brājē*, *brā*.
 formerly, adv., *om*, *omī*, *pēlē*.
 fortune, *bāy*.
 forty, *nish* *nizā* ; — -one,
nish *nizā id'* : — -two, —
nish : — -three, — *shām* :
— -four, — *pō* : — -five,
— *ūā* : — -six, — *tūg'* : —
-seven, — *stish* ; — -eight,
— *rai* : — -nine, — *zāṭ*.
 For ordinals add *ō* to last
word. *Nizā* changes *ā* to *ō*.
 foundation, n., *gñō*.
 four, *pō*, fourth, *pōō* ; 400,
pō rā ; 400th, *pō rāō*.
 fourteen, *supō* ; fourteenth,
supōō.
 fox, n., *shyāl*.
 free, v. tr., *tshutējāmig'*.
 freeze, v. (water), *shāñēnmig'*.
 Friday, n., *shukārōñ*.
 friend, n., *sōñyā*, *kōñōs*,
zokhyā, *zakhyā* ; —
woman's female, *ōmžd'*.
 friendship, n., *zokhyā*, *zakhyā*.
 frighten, v., *(s)pyāñmig'*.
 frog, n., *tiplōkth*.
 from, prep., *dōk'ts*, —*ts* (as
suffix).
 front (in), *oms* : in front of.
oskō.
 frost, n. (hoar), *pāglōñ*.
 froth, n., *shūb'*.
 frown, v., *rōshōñ taimig'*.
 fruit, n., *phlāñ*. Names
of particular fruits are
generally (not always)
the same as the name of
the tree.
 fuel, n., *see* firewood ; —, bad,
ashin.
 full, adj., *bōnshēs*, etc. *See* fill.
 fun, n., *tōmāsho*.
 furrow, n., *sitōñ*.
 garden, n., *shārōñ*.
 gardener, n., *mālī*.
 garlic, n., *lōstōñ*.
 gather, v., *zōma lunmig'*. *See*
collect.
 generous, adj., *bālōs*.
 ghi, n. (clarified butter), *mār*.
 gift, n., *nām*, *(s)tēñ* (= re-
membrance-gift) : — -bag
(in which gift is given).
phad', *phats*.
 ginger, n., *adāro*, *adargōñ* ;
(dried), *sūth*, *cāsgā*.
 girl, n., *tshētshāts*, *dēkhār*,
lūtī.
 give, v. (to me, us, thee,
you), *kēmig'* : (to others),
ranmig'. The distinction
is not always observed.

- glass, n., *sīso*, *tsīso*.
 glove, n., *gu sabr* (for *gud*, hand).
 glutton, n., *tyon zāzed*.
 gnash, v., *gŕr cilmig*.
 go, v., *bīmig*, *pāmig*, *yān-mig*; see walk; start together on journey, *donmig* (-go); — out, *donmig*: — away, *dōmig*: — away from country, *byonmig* (-no): — together (many), *zōmshimig*.
 goad, n., *jāl*.
 goat, n. (male), *azh*; (female), *bakhör*: (breeding male), *pŕrūtös*: sheep and goats, *zēd*.
 God, n., *Pärmēsürös*, *Bāgwān*, *Nārān*, *Rām*.
 god, n., *shu*, *darga*; house-god, *kim-shū*.
 goddess, *dēwī*.
 gold, n., *zau*.
 goldsmith, *sōnārös*, f. *sōnā-riē*.
 good, adj., *dām*, *dāmbu'sh*, *dēbash*, *bīnös*, *bönēts*, *jikpo*, *dāmkh*.
 governor, n., *hākōm*.
 graft, v., *nish bōthön idd lanmig*.
 grain, n. (all kinds), *chūā*, *añōñ*; *brüss* (inferior), *kōdā* (very small), *ōlgō* (good), *đankhör* (inferior to *ōlgō* and superior to) *tiūtū* (slightly superior to barley).
 granddaughter, *mōnth spāts*.
 grandfather, n. (paternal or maternal), *tētē*: in Upper Kanaur (paternal), *mēmē*.
 grandmother, n. (paternal), *tēgo*, *apī*: (maternal), *tēgo*: *ai* (Upper Kanaur): *ayō* is either grandmother or great-grandmother.
 grandson, n., *skyō spāts*.
 grape, n. (tree and fruit), *dakhōñ*.
 grass, n., *cŭ(h)*.
 grasshopper, n., (*z*)*bēn*.
 graze, v. tr., *rohmig* (-go): v. intr., *rokshimig*.
 grease, n., *ciksis*: v., *ciksis shēlmig*.
 green, adj., *rāg*.
 grieve, v. tr., *bishārēñ shēn-mig*: v. intr., *bishārēñ-nig*.
 grieved, adj., *dākhōñ*.
 grind, v. (knife, etc.), *rasmig*: (corn), *yānnig* (-do): (with hand, foot, etc.), *rammig* (-bo).
 grindstone, n., *rasmik* *pān*, *darzō*.
 groan, v., *topēsmig*.
 groom, n., *rai pālōs*, *khaslār*, *tsoruedār*.
 grope, v., *gūdōs topēnnig*, or *topēūmig*.
 grow, v., *bōlmig*: (spring up,

- of plants), *sāmīg*. See increase.
- growl, v., *grāññmīg*.
- guard, v. (watch), *rāññmīg*; n., *rāññet*.
- guest, n., *pāññokōs*.
- gum, n., *chī*: (in mouth), (*stīl(h)*).
- gun, n., *tābhākh*: — powder, *dārā*.
- hailstone, n., *shōrā*.
- hair, n., *krā*; (—, fine on body, —, etc., on clothes), *spā*: (long and loose), *sholkrā*.
- hairy, adj., *krāseu*.
- half, *khaññ, adhōñ*; —, more than, *sādhē, sādhlē nā*; ½ (Hindi, *sāphē*: Panjabi, *sādhē*).
- halo, n. (round sun or moon), *dunērōñ*.
- halter, n., *kaktsā bōsh*.
- hammer, n., *gōrāñ*.
- hand, n., *gūd(h)*: handful (single), *i gūd*; (double), *lubñ*; (two hands in position of holding), *lub*; closed single hand, *stub bñ*; without hands, *thāllu*, *tñdāñ*.
- handle, n., *māth*: of whip, *tshū*.
- hang, v., *shishē tāmīg*; (execute), *phansīshēnmīg*.
- happiness, n., *khāsī*.
- happy, adj., *sākhzāñg*. be happy; *dīl līmīg*. See well off.
- hard, adj., *talh*.
- harlot, n., *pātra*.
- harness, n., *rāññ sata*.
- harvest, n., *sāl*.
- have, v. (possess), verb subst., be, *toḡ, dūḡ*, with *dōr*: to have to, infin. of verb with *nīmīg*, become, or with verb subst., be, *toḡ, dūḡ*.
- hay, n., *tshars cī*.
- he, pron., *jā, dō, nā*. See self.
- head, n., *bāl(h)*: of bed, *kum*.
- headman, n. (of village), *mākhā, lāmbārdār, cāros*.
- heal, v. intr., *parōñ hacīmīg* or *kanmīg* (with word for scar).
- heap, n., *rāshññ*.
- hear, v., *rōcīmīg, thasmīg*.
- heart, n., *dīl, zāññ*.
- heat, n., *zhāñ*.
- heaven, n., *sārgōñ*.
- heavy, adj., *līk*.
- heel, n., *thōññol*.
- heir, n., *hākdār*.
- help, n., *pāch*: v., *pāch lāmīg*.
- helpless, adj., *bitsārikōs*.
- hen, n., *kukhrī*.
- hence, adv., *jōñts, hojōñts, jōkts*.
- herd, n. (cattle), *gōshññ*.

- here, adv., *jōñ*, *hojōñ*, *jāñ*.
See direction.
- hide, n. (complete), *pouññ* ;
 (incomplete, cut), *talōñ*.
- high, adj., *rañg*, *lamōs*, *rēgēñ*.
- hill, n., *rāñ*, *ḍāñī*, *ḍōkhōñ*,
thōl(h) ; (several hills),
ḍokhañ.
- hinder, v., *rōkēñmīg* ; be
 hindered, *rōkēñshīmīg*.
- hinge, n., *kōbḅā*.
- hire, n. (price of labour), *thāñ*.
- hive, n. (bee), *ḍorōñ*, *mōkhār*,
kāshīñ.
- hold, v., *tsūmmīg*.
- hole, n., *ḍoyōñ* ; (in ground),
ḍubos ; (smoke - hole in
 roof), *tñññ* ; —, make,
kāmmīg (-bo), *phāmmīg*,
 with noun.
- honey, n., *wās* ; honeycomb,
kāshīñ.
- hoof, n., *khocōb* (when hoof is
 divided, as with pig, each
 half is *khocōb*).
- hook, n., *tsūts(h)*.
- hope, n., *āshā*.
- horn, n. (of animal), *rādñ*.
See trumpet.
- hornet, n., *raññōl*.
- horse, n., *rañ*.
- hot, adj., *bōkh*.
- house, n., *kīm*, *kōthī* ; (in
 fields), *shēññōñ* ; (lodging),
tsāt, *see* lodge ; (thatched
 temporary hut in fields),
tshaññ.
- how, adv., *halñ*, *hala*.
 however, *halñāñā*.
- hump, n. (of bull), *tsālīñ*.
- hundred, *rā* ; hundredth, *rāñ*.
- hunger, n., *ōñ*.
- hungry, adj., *optōs*.
- hunt, v., *ērīñ lanmīg*, *ērīñ*
bīmīg ; animal hunted,
shyāñ.
- hunter, n., *ērōs*, *nagrōs*, *ērīñ*
lanzeñā, *ērīñ bītseñā*.
- hurt, v. tr., *nām shēññmīg* ;
 — (be), *nāmīg*.
- husband, n., *ḍāts*.
- hush ! intr., *cām tōshīñ*.
- hyena, n., *thar*.
- I, pron., *gō*. *See* self.
- ice, n., *thāññōñ*, *stīl(h)*.
- idol, n., *rōthōñ*.
- ill (be), v., *tonmīg*.
- illness, n., *toḍñ*.
- image, n., *kāñḍā* : —, make,
tonmīg, with noun.
- immediately, adv., *zōrōp*,
zōṭpṭ.
- incense, n., *guglōñ*, *dupōñ* ;
 —, burn, *dupōñ ranmīg* ;
 —, one who burns, *nēṛpa*.
- incise, v. (surgery), *phaññmīg*.
- incite, v., *hāññmīg*.
- income, n., *āgōth*.
- incorrect, adj., *gñtī*.
- increase, v. intr., *bñḍēñmīg*.
- indeed, adv. (inferential), *ta*,
agrē.
- infant, n., *jīti*, *jītits*, *chanñ*,

- chants, ayānoñ* (Panjabi *anyāñ ? an-jāñ* ?).
 inferior, adj., *boḡros*.
 injury, n., *chata*. See loss.
 ink, n., *siaṭ*.
 inkstand, n., *māshāzom*.
 insect, n. (large stinging, brown), *guzōr*.
 insert, v. (as pole in ground), *tsūñmīg*.
 inside, prep., *kōmo*.
 instead, prep., *bañthā*. with gen. as *añ chānu bañtha*, instead of my son.
 insult, v., *bēz-zāṭī lanmīg*.
 intercede, v., *kacōñs batōñ dām lanmīg*.
 intercourse, n. (connexion), *wasta*.
 interest, n. (usury), *bīāz* : —, summer, *shōl bīāz* : —, winter, *gūn bīāz*.
 intoxicated, adj., *kyōskyōs*.
 invite, v. (one another to food), *dono kāshimīg zakhya kāshimīg*.
 iron, n., *ron* : for flint, *rānkō*. See tinder.
 irritable, adj., *lamgids zāṭa seu* (lit. Hindi *halke jī wāla*).
 itch, n., *khaṣī* ; —, cattle, *phāshōñ* ; v. intr., *khaṣī hōrmīg*.
 jackal, n., *kōkor, kōkōrts*.
 jaw, n., *kyanōl*.
 jest, n., *thate* : —, in (not true), *tsōnti*.
 jewel, n., *mopin* (o almost ū).
 jewellery, n., *ṭanā*.
 joint, n. (of bones), *tsij*.
 joy, *khāst, khāshī*.
 juice, n., *tī*.
 jump, v., *lāñ tsharēdmīg* : n., *lāñ* : — about (horse). *gor hurēnnīg*.
 jungle, n., *boññ, dzanīgāl, zāñgāl* : —, grass, without trees, in Tibet, *paññ*.
 Kanaur, n. (country), *kāñōriñ*.
 Kanauri man, *kāñōrōs*, pl. *kāñōrēa* : — woman, *kāñōrē* (pl. *kāñōriē*).
kāñōriñ chēsmī : —, adj., *kāñōriñ* : — language. *kāñōriñ skad, kāñōrēnu skad* : as spoken between *Kāñām* and *Shāsō, the-bōrskarṭ*. Kanauris say that Koci-speaking people call Kanauri *minchāñ*, or *minchāññ*.
 keep, v. (— safe), *tsōkosōs tāmiḡ, tsōkōs lanmīg* : preserve, *arpyāmīg*.
 kernel, n. (of fruit-stone), *rēmō* : of walnut and *Pinus Gerardianna, gē*.
 key, n., *tāliñts*.
 kick, v. (horse), *shpag cīlāmīg, or kēmīg* : —

- (man), *lathon* or *laton* *cilēāmīg'*.
 kid, n. (male), *baktāts* ;
 (female), *māts*.
 kidney, n., *pētraps*.
 kill, n. (murder), *sannīg'* ;
 (slaughter animal), *shām-
 mīg'*.
 kindred, n., *pērā'*, *pērōnā'*.
 king, n., *gyalbō*, *rāza*.
 kiss, n., *papu* ; v., *papu
 rānnīg'*.
 kite, n. (bird), *dlīnshārōs*.
 kitten, n., *pishī chānts*.
 knead, v., *stēmīg'*.
 knee, n., *pōshpōn*.
 kneel, v., *pōshpōn tsānmīg'*
 (-go).
 knife, n., *khār(h)*, *khārts*.
 knock, v., *ṭūktōkyāmīg'* ;
 — down, *phralmīg'* ; —
 down house, *phlāsmīg'* ;
 — down man, *brin
 shēnnīg'*.
 knot, n., *ganṭhōn* ; v., *ganṭhōn
 tsānmīg'* ; —, untie, *thō-
 mīg'*, *thōrmīg'*.
 know, v., *nēmīg'*.
 knuckle, n., *pratsā tsīg'*.
 labour, n. (forced, unpaid),
 one month in year, *tharā* ;
 one week in year, *bāṭrāolī* ;
 — (forced, paid), *gāchōs*,
bīgār.
 labourer (forced, unpaid),
khānōn ; — (forced. paid),
bārōs, kālī ; — (day wages),
m'zārī.
 ladder, n., *sāngā*.
 lag (behind), v., *chanmīg'*
 (-do).
 laggard, n., *chatsea*, *chutpō* ;
 fem., *chatsē*, *chatmēts*.
 lake, n., *kāldōn*.
 lama, n., *lamā* : —, head
 (celibate), *tūarg lama*,
kushog' ; (non - celibate),
gyēlon (inferior to *tūarg
 lama*) : *gētshāl* (inferior
 to *gyēlon*).
 lamb, n. (male), *karts* ;
 (female), *khāts*.
 lame, adj., *khorō*.
 lamp, n. (native), *khori* ;
 lighted (including wick,
 oil, etc.), *duin*.
 language, n., *shad*.
 lash, n., *tsumāk*.
 last, adj., *bāgē*.
 latch, n., *hurōn*.
 late, adj., *gōrsa*, *gōrgōr*, *khṛā
 khṛā* : — (be), *gōrsa
 shēnnīg'*, *khṛā khṛā haci-
 mīg'* : —, it is, *gōrsa hacc*.
 laugh, v., *honmīg'* (-do),
wānnīg'.
 law, go to (with another), v.,
tsāmshēmīg'.
 lazy, adj., *dlōs*, *sāst*, *dēlmīg'*,
dēlua.
 leaf, n., *patrōn*.
 leak, n., *doiñ*, *doyōn* ; v.,
coñmīg' (-go).

- learn, v., *hushimig'*.
 leather, n., *talōn*.
 leave, v., *tsharēāmig'*, *tshō-rēāmig'*, *tshwarmig'*.
 leech, n., *gafo tishūm*.
 left, adj. (not right), *khojōn* ;
 —, to the, *khojon kō*.
 leg, n., *but* : legs straight
 out in sitting, *sholban* ;
 sit in this way, *sholban*
shēnnig'.
 lentils, n., different kinds,
pethōn, *māsōr*, *cīshētēn*,
nyar, *māsh*, *ts'ne* (= *gram*),
māgoñ (= *māngī*).
chob.
 leopard, n., *tharr*.
 leper, n., *būsea*.
 leprosy, n., *bā*.
 letter, n., *kaglī* ; (of alpha-
 bet), *akhrōn* : Tibetan
 letter (epistle), *hige*.
 level, adj., *sprēd*, *sollös*.
 liar, n., *jablē*, *alkölös* ; fem.,
alkölē.
 licence, n. (written), *prāna*.
 lick, v., *lēmmig'* (-mo).
 lie, n., *alkölōñ* ; v. (tell a lie),
alkölōñ lanmig' ; — down,
 resting on elbow, *lāmōs*
thīshimig', *dīshimig'*.
 lift, v. (load, etc.), *kyāmmig'*
 (-bo).
 light, adj., *langids* ; n.,
tsadk(h) ; v. tr. *conmig'*
 (-do) : — lamp, *duñ*
conmig', *tshāmig'*.
 lightning, n., *bizēl* : lighten,
 v., *bizēl bōnnig'*.
 like, adj. (similar), *dēs*, *bāsh*
 (with gen. or nom.) : v.
 (food, person), *zānmig'*
 (-do) : — one another,
zashimig'.
 lime, n. (for building), *tsuno*.
 line, n. (straight, etc.), *rēk(h)*,
rekōñ : in cloth, *cēd* :
 across front of fingers for
 counting, *cēl'*.
 lip, n., *tunōñ*.
 liquor, n. from *gūp*, grapes,
rakt(h) ; from cereals,
phāsūr ; others, *shutōñ*,
 (*wasu*) *qīkhri* : intoxicants
 smoked, *ōtar* (= *blang*)
bākhlē (made from *bhang*),
phīm (= opium).
 listen, v., *thasmig'*.
 little, adj., *gūtō*, *dzigits*,
tshērēp, *tshōp*, *tshobo*. See
 small.
 live, v., *shōnmig'* ; inhabit,
b'sēnnig' ; (causative),
b'sēāmig'.
 liver, n., *shin*.
 living, adj., *shōñ*.
 lizard, n., *tshēmār* : —, very
 small, *rañsīl'*.
 load, n., *barōñ*.
 lock, n. (for door), *shāñōñ* ;
 v., *shāñōñ shēnnig'* : n. (of
 hair, long), *ozrā* ; Hindu
 pig-tail, *molīñ*.
 locust, n., *sholū*.

- log, n., *goniñ* ; short —, one man's load, *tūrññ*, *h'riñ*.
- long, adj., *lāmōs* ; for how long time, *te stōñ* ; — ago, *phañē*.
- long for. be anxious for (child), (*s*)*tos* (*s*)*tos nīmīg'*.
- look, v., *khyāmīg'*, *tañmīg'*, *khīmīg'*.
- loose, *kōlōs*.
- lose, v., *shō shēñmīg'* ; be lost, *shō bīmīg'*, be defeated, *banmīg'*, *harēñmīg'*.
- loss, n., *dōkha*, *nāksāñ* ; (enemy's loss causing joy), *hakōtā*.
- lot, n., *poglōñ* ; draw lots, *poglōñ shēñmīg'*.
- love, v., *gyāmīg'*.
- loving, adj., *bēñnōñ*, *nīchōl*.
- low, adj., *yōcā* ; — country, i.e. Rampur, etc., *gyaltsha*.
- lower, v. tr., *tonnīg* (H. *ātārnā*).
- luggage, n., *cēz bñst*, *āsbāh*.
- mad, adj. (dog), *bōlī kññ*.
- madden, v. (through charm), *bōlēāmīg'*.
- magnet, n. (stone), *tsom ketseu rag'* ; (iron), *tsom ketseu ron*.
- maize, n., *tsalīa*.
- majority, n., *tē ca* (for *teg ca*).
- make, v., *lanmīg'*.
- male, n., *skyō*, *kyō* (preceding noun).
- man, n., *mī*, (as opposed to woman) *choñmī*, *morchañ* ; — of certain place, add *-pū* (fem., *mēts*) to name of place, which is sometimes contracted, e.g., *Roppā*, — from *Rogē* ; *Tūkpōkpā*, — from *Tūkpa* ; *Rupā*, — from *Rarōñ*.
- mare, n., *gōñma*.
- marriage, n., *janetōñ* : (of lower caste), *gaññr*.
- marrow, n., *tsil(h)*.
- mask, n., *bag'*.
- mason, n., *ōrōs* ; fem., *ōrēñik'*. See carpenter.
- massage, v., *nōmīg'* (*ō* between *ō* and *au*), *toñmīg'*.
- master, n., *dukpō*.
- masticate, v., *blañmīg'*.
- matter, n. (affair), *batōñ* ; (Th.), *kamcik*.
- mattress, n., *lēph*, *ra:āñ*.
- measles, n., *klētorñ*.
- measures, n. (generally wooden, for corn, approximately as follows): *solo'*, half ser : *khañ*, three-quarters ser ; *nīslo brē*, one ser ; *tēy brē*, one and a half sers ; *ṭamāñh*, two to eight sers.
- meat, n., *shyō*.
- mediate, v., *galōm shēñmīg'*.
- mediator, n., *galōm shetseu*.
- medicine, n., *shēl*.
- meet, v., *chūkshimīg'*, *kyū-*

shimig: go to meet superior on road, *doshimig*.
 memory, n., *yad*.
 mend, n., *sāārēāmig*.
 mercury, n., *mūl chā*.
 message, n., *pral*: — (bear).
pral phīmig.
 messenger, v., *pral phitsea*.
 mew, v. (cat), *bashēmig*,
krammig (-bo).
 mica, n., *tsadkh ray*, *mērā*:
tsha ray (*tsa?* for *tsadkh*).
 midday, *bārābār lai*, *dobār*.
 middle (in middle of), *majōn*,
majōno: adj., *majōn*.
 midwife, n., *apī*.
 mile, n., *mēl*.
 milk, n., *khērōn*: v., *tsurmig*
 (object either 'cow' or
 'milk'): give — to
 (mother to infant), *stūn-*
mig.
 mill, n. (house), *gothōn kīm*:
 — hand-, *has gothōn*:
 — -stone, *gothōn*.
 mine, n., *khānīn*.
 minority, n., *gaṭō ca*.
 mire, n., *tsikār*.
 mirror, n., *sīsō*, *tsīsō*, *ashuts*.
 miser, n., *banārōs* (fem.,
banāvē), *kathōs*, *ṭalk(h)*.
hidōks, *cānt(h)*.
 mist, n., *dubōn*.
 mistake, n., *g'ltī*.
 mistaken, adj., *wāmōn*.
 mistress, n. (bad sense),
zār.

mix, v., *skōnnig*, (*z*)*blōmig*,
brōmig.
 mock, v., *thātē lanmig*.
 mole, n. (spot on body),
rōkshyā.
 Monday, n., *sāārōn*.
 monkey, n., *bandārōs*: fem.,
bandrānig.
 month, n., *gōl*: names as fol-
 lows: April–May, *beshāgoñ*:
 May–June, *jeshṭōn*: June–
 July, *ashārōn*: July–
 August, *shōrōn*: August–
 September, *bādron*: Sep-
 tember–October, *indrō-*
mōn: October–November,
kātīn: November–Decem-
 ber, *mōkshīrōn*: Decem-
 ber–January, *pōshōn*:
 January–February, *nān*:
 February–March, *phūn-*
nōn: March–April, *cētron*.
 moon, n., *gōlsoñ*.
 more, adj., adv., *hēd* (other):
ṭyōn (see majority): no —,
dē ma.
 morning, n., *sōm*, *wāśmī*.
 mortar, n. (for pounding).
kāpīn.
 mosquito, n., *gūzōr*.
 most, adv. (superlative), *cō*,
ṭhotsī.
 mother, n., *amā*, *mān*:
 —-in-law, *yume*: mother's
 house and family, *mapōn*.
 mould, n. (resulting from
 damp), *nām nām*.

mourn, v., *krammīg* (-bo);
— together (*s*)*krapshī-*
mīg.

mouse, n., *piā(h)*.

moustache, n., *mutshē*.

mouth, n., *khakoñ*; *bodī*
khakoñ *sea*, great talker.

much, adj., adv., *kyālōkhā*,
gēzāb, *gob* *tsoros*, *khawār*,
bodī; how —, many, *tetrā*;
how many, *tē*: however
—, many, *tetrāna*.

mud, n., *tsikār*, *lāss*: white
—, *tshitsho*.

mule, n., *khō tsor*.

murder, n., *khūnī*; v., *sannīg*.

mushroom, n., *limmō*; —,
red, *khōtākt*.

music, n., *bazgī*: *bukhrin* is
the name of a brass or
coppermusical instrument.

musician, n. (caste), *zāmvrēa*;
fem., *zāmvrōnik*.

musk-deer, n., *rōts*.

musk-rat, n., *nyōlits*.

my, adj., *añ*, *añu*.

nail, n., *prēy*.

naked, adj., *salgī*.

name, n., *nāmōñ*.

narrow, adj., *gatōs*, *gatō*.

navel, n., *nāīts*.

near, adj., adv., *nērōn*.

necessary, adj., *zārūrī*; —
(be), v., *gyāmīg* (impers.).

neck, n. (back part), *kak*'*ts*.

necklace, n., *raīno*'; — of

god (silver in eighteen
rings), *mākhōñ*.

needle, n., *keb*'; pine —,
lanñ: dry pine-needles,
pōsh.

needy, *see* poor, helpless.

neigh, v., *bashēnnīg*.

neighbourhood, n., *ādēshōs*
pādēshōs.

nephew, n., brother's son,
chan; sister's son, *banzā*.
banzāts.

nest, n., *wā*.

nettle, n., *tsōya*.

never, adv., *tērōñ ma*, *tsōñē*
ma.

new, adj., *nyūy*. *See* young.

news, n., *khōbār*, *kacya*.

niece, n., brother's daughter,
cimēd; sister's daughter,
bāñu, *bāñuts*.

night, n., *rātīñ*: —, last,
mēshpā.

nine, *zgāī*, *gāī*; ninth, *zgāī*,
gāī: nineteen, *sozgāī*;
nineteenth, *sozgāī*; ninety,
pō ñizō sai or *pō ñizō sai*;
— -one, *pō ñizō sigid*;
— -two, — *sōñish*: —
-three, — *sō rām*; — -four,
— *sapō*; — -five, — *sōñā*;
— -six, — *sōrāg*; —
-seven, — *sōstish*; —
-eight, — *sō rai*; — -nine,
— *sōzgāī*: 900, *gāī rā*;
900th, *gāī rā*. For ordi-
nals add *ō* to the last word.

nipple, n. (of breast), *nānīu*
bāṭts (= little head of
breast).

no, *ma*, with verb; — one,
hati ma.

nod. v. (*bāl*) *zukyāmīg*.

noise, n., *skad*. See voice,
language.

noon, n., *bārābhār lai*.

nose, n., *tākās*.

nose-ring, n., *khāṇḍī(-ts)*,
balā, gālāb.

not, *ma*; with imp., *tha*.

nothing, *thōtsī ma, thī ma*.

nourish, v., *yōnmīg*.

now, adv., *hān, hāṇā*; —
(up to —), *hānokstōn*.

nowhere, *hami ma*.

nurse, n., *tsām pālānts*.

oath, n., *rēn, kōsh*; —, take,
rēn lanmīg, kōsh tūnmīg;
—, administer, *rēn ran-*
mīg, kōsh tūnāmshēnmīg.

obey, v., *mōnēnmīg*.

obtain (be obtained), v., *pā-*
rēnmīg.

odour, see smell.

often, adv. (many times),
bodī bor(h) (or other word
for *many* instead of *bodī*).

oh! interj., *aya lai, āchōchā*.

oil, n., *tē loṇ, mar tī* (Th.)
(= *ghi* water): v. tr.,
tēlōn shēlmīg.

ointment, n., *mālām*; —,
apply, *mā lam shēlmīg*.

old, adj., *āshk, thālos*; only
of persons, *rāzā* (men
only): *yañzea*, fem.
yañzē; — age, *yañ*.

once, *i job*; — on a time,
one day, *īmya*.

one, adj., *id, ī*. — who does
or is connected with,
-sea, fem. *-sē*; *-zea*, fem.
-zē; *-tsea*, fem. *-tsē*; *-lea*,
fem. *-lē*.

onion, n., *pūz*.

only, adv., *ēkō*.

open, v., *toṇmīg*; adj.,
toṇshēs.

opium, n., *phīm*.

or, conj., *koē*, generally
omitted.

oracle, n. (man who gives),
grokts, mālī; —, speak in,
(*z*)*lōnmīg*.

orange, n., *narāṅgī*.

Orion's belt, n., *hanar pōn*.

orphan, n., *shokrōn*.

other, adj., *aīd, aī, hēd, yar*.

otherwise, adv., *ma ṇimā*
(lit. if it be not).

otter, n., *sākhō* (?). See porcu-
pine.

our, adj. (see we), *nīshu*,
kashōū, nīnānā, kishōū-
anā.

out, adj., *bērīn*: go, come
out, *dōnmīg*.

owl, n., *kuy* (*kukh*).

own, adj. (Hindi, *āpnā*),
ānu: plur., masc., *apēg-*

- ānñ ; fem., *auñwānñ mō*
 (—, my own, like āpnā).
- pain, n., *rāshōñ, akhā* : —,
 feel, *shēlēācīmīgʼ*.
- pair, n., *nyotōñ*.
- palace, n., *bēr*.
- palate, n., *talgōñ*.
- pale, adj. (face), *pīgʼ*.
- palm, n. (of hand), *hastlōñ*.
- palsy, n., *zā*.
- paper, n., *kaglī*.
- paralyse, v. tr., *pātē lanmīgʼ*.
- paralysed, adj., *pātē* : —
 (be), v., *pātē hacīmīgʼ*.
- paramour, n., *zār, yarbaho*
 (male or female).
- parents, n., *mānn bōnn* :
 woman's parents' house,
mēññ.
- parrot, n., *tōtā*.
- part, n., *kagʼ, baglī, bāñthō*.
- partridge, n., *tīgʼ*.
- patch, n., *ṭalōñ* : v., *ṭalōñ*
shēnmīgʼ.
- path, n., *om*.
- paw, n., *bañ*.
- pay, n., *tñkkhā, tōṭb*.
- pea, n., *ceshten*.
- peacemaker, n., *galōm shet-*
sea.
- peacock, n., *mōrōs* ; f., *mōrī*.
- peak, n., *bāl*.
- pearl, n., *māññ*.
- peck, v. (peck at), *ṭōkṭōk-*
yāmīgʼ ; pick up (bird),
thōmīgʼ.
- peel, n., *boṭ* : v. tr., *boṭ*
piñmīgʼ : — wand, tree,
 etc., *boṭ khōmīgʼ*.
- pen, n., *kōṭm*.
- penis, n., polite word, *līñ*,
likpā : less polite, *kutlī*,
lēsh.
- pepper, n. (red), *pīpli* :
 (black), *mōrts*.
- perfume, *see* smell.
- perhaps, adv., *zayī* [lit.
 (who) knows ?]. a Kōcī
 word.
- permit, v., *shēnmīgʼ*.
- perspiration, n., *dāstī*.
- perspire, v., *dāstī dōnmīgʼ*.
- persuade, v., *pōry(y)āmīgʼ*,
mōñāyamīgʼ.
- pestle, n., *mōslīñ*.
- petition, v., *ōryyāmīgʼ*.
- pheasant, n., *pantīgʼ, dañ*.
- picture, n., *naksā* : —, draw.
naksā tonmīgʼ.
- pierce, v. tr., *kammīgʼ (-bo)* ;
 pierced (be), intr., *gammīgʼ*
(-bo).
- pig, n., *sūñrōs* ; —, wild,
bōñññ sūñrōs.
- piles, n. (ailment), *māmēsī*.
- pilgrimage, n., *tithōñ* ; with
 measuring length on
 ground, *zayñchāg* ; —,
 perform, *zayñchāg lan-*
mīgʼ.
- pillar, n., wooden, *thāmgon*.
- pinch, v., *cññōs rāñmīgʼ*.
- pipe (*huqqa*), n., *tsilīm*.

pitch. n., *nizār*.

place. v., *tāniḡ*; n., *zāga*.

The syllable *tsō* is often added, apparently without meaning, to words indicating place or location, as *kim*, house: *shēnnōn*, hut in fields: *bōḡin*, jungle: *rān*, mountain.

plain. n., *druu*, *khonā*: adj., *kotsūn*.

plait. n., of hair, *katsrī*, *bēshlor*, *monon*, *tshēshītā* (Th.): v. tr. (hair), *katsrī kermiḡ*: (ropes), *thakpa boshmiḡ*.

plank. *rō*, *rōts*.

plant. n., *ḡālon*.

plants. names of—

amonon, wild pear. i.q. *bēsrōs*.

āson ā, wild geranium, columbine.

aṭhal, Panjabi *rēḡlā*, used as soap. See *nakapūḡi*.

bālbāl shō, wild strawberry.

bālmōth, small plant with sweet-smelling root.

ban, oak, *Quercus incana*.

bēnōn, *Cotoneaster baccillaris*.

bēsrōs, wild pear. i.q. *amonon*.

bijā, kernel of apricot stone.

bōr, banyan, *Ficus indica*.

brass, *Rhododendron arboreum*.

brē, oak, *Quercus ilex*.

brēḡālīn, thorny shrub, *Prinsepia utilis*.

bācō, medicinal plant, used also for dyeing.

ceshten, pea.

cinnu, *Morus serrata*.

cāl(h), wild apricot, *Prunus armeniaca*.

dakhōn, vine, grape: *bōn dakhōn*, wild vine, wild grape.

dalmon, pomegranate.

dan, asparagus.

daturō, thorn-apple.

dō, kind of fern.

drōmon, kind of grass.

ēkur, a medicinal plant.

ēnci, *Viburnum stellulatum*.

ḡālāb, rose.

hārkān, yew, *Taxus baccata*. i.q. *nyamāl*.

hōlāshōn, *Rhus Panjabensis*.

horkū, *Rhus Wallichii*.

kā, walnut, *Juglans regia*.

kakshoz, *Lonicera hypoleuca*.

kalishon, *Salix elegans*.

kash, plant used in washing.

kastiā, *Indigofera Gerardiana*.

katā, peach.

katsbāl, *Pyrus baccata*.

khānnā, *Ephedra vulgaris*.

khutēbs, like wild fig,

Viburnum cotinifolium,

i.q. *tūstās*.

khlog, spruce fir. *Abies*

Webbiana or *pindrau*.

khāl ā, a thorny shrub.

kog, wild fig.

krumāl, poplar, *Populus*
ciliata.

krān, bird cherry, *Prunus*
padus.

kā, *Celtis australis*.

kushl, *kushlīts*, *Spiraea*
bella.

kyalmōn, cedar, *Cedrus*
Libani deodara.

lā patroñ, ivy, *Hedera*
Helix.

ladrōn, *Picris ovatifolia*.

līm, blue pine, *Pinus*
excelsa.

līn kat(h), an edible fern.

līts, medlar, *Pyrus com-*
munis, i.q. *shēyāl(h)*.

māl, poplar, *Populus alba*.

marpōl, *Pyrus lanata*.

meshīn, *Lonicera obovata*.

mō, mushroom, toadstool.

mōdnā, willow.

mōldōn, elm, *Ulmus Walli-*
chiana.

morgōn, oak, *Quercus*
dilatata.

mös, *Desmodium flori-*
bundum.

nakapani, black stone of
athal, q.v.

nyamlāl, yew. *Taxus*
baccata. i.q. *hārkhān*.

nyamtsō, *Caragana brevi-*
spina.

nyū, *Ulmus nepalensis* and
nitida.

pad, bark of *Betula utilis*,
for roofing.

palē, apple.

paprōn, *Buxus semper-*
virens.

phīlrū, *Deutzia corymbosa*.

pīpōlōn, peepul. *Ficus*
religiosa (H. *pīpāl*).

prind, *Buddleia panicu-*
lata.

pū, horse-chestnut, *Æscu-*
lus indica.

pyū ā bān (lit. bird's foot),
maidenhair.

rañ gyāl, *Rosa macro-*
phylla and *Webbiana*.

rañ reg, *Pyrus foliosa*,
also *Rhamnus dauricus*
and *purpureus* and
triqueter.

rapēu ci (lit. dove-grass),
anemone.

rapēu shō (lit. dove-berry),
Daphne oleoides, i.q. *zīko*.

ratsū kañōn (lit. calf's-
ear), a small plant.

reg, *Prunus persica*.

rī, edible pine, *Pinus*
Gerardiana.

ṛē, *Picea morinda*.

rol(h), a tree with edible berries.

saṣos cī (lit. snake-grass), a small plant.

saṣosū dakhoñ (lit. snake's grape), strawberry.

sēsörpāl, shrub whose leaves are burned in religious rites.

shējāl(h), medlar, *Pyrus communis*, i.q. *līts*.

shīshīrī, *shisham*.

shkū, *Cornus macrophylla*.

shītī, red pine, *Pinus longifolia*, i.q. *tsīl*.

shūr, *Juniperus excelsa*.

shyayī, *Betula utilis*.

sārō, thorny plant with cone and poisonous seed.

surt, *Hippophæ rhamnoides* and *salicifolia*.

tailū, *Juniperus communis* or *Pseudo sabina*.

thōsh būñ, *Desmodium floribundum* or *concinnum*, i.q. *mōs*.

thum, *Fraxinus xanthoxyloides*.

tsābreā, a kind of rhododendron.

tsañ, moss.

tsañ būñ ā, everlasting.

tsīl, red pine, *Pinus longifolia*.

tsō, thorn.

tsō bōthōñ, raspberry.

tsōshō (lit. thornberry). blackberry.

tsōtrūm, thorny plant, *Berberis aristata*.

tsōya, nettle.

tūbāl(h), kind of very tall grass.

tūstūs, like wild fig, *Viburnum catinifolium*, i.q. *khatēbs*.

vaṇḍā, climbing plant, with strongly scented flowers.

wasab, small plant.

yal, wild rose, *Rosa moschata*.

zāshē, *Lonicera angustifolia*.

zbyūr, camphor-scented plant.

zyyāl, mistletoe, *Viscum album*.

zhbañ, *Abelia triflora*.

zīko, *Daphne oleoides*, i.q. *rapēashō*.

zāl(h), lichen.

plaster, v. (wall), *chalmiḡ*, *mlēñmiḡ* : floor, roof with leaves and mud, *chāmiḡ*, *marshāmiḡ*, *lipēāmiḡ*.

play, v., *yōcimiḡ* : (music). *bājēāmiḡ*.

Pleiades, n., *guāñōs pōñ*.

plough, n., *hālōñ* ; v., *hālōñ līmiḡ*.

ploughshare, n., *phālōñ*.

pluck, v. (flowers, vegetables),

- tonmīg. tshēmīg, thōmīg.*
 pocket, n., *khīso*.
 point, n. (sharp), *tsōkōs, rāsk, rask*.
 poison, n., *bīshōn*.
 policeman, n., *pālōs*.
 pond, n., *kāyū*.
 pony, n., *taṭū*.
 poor, adj., *daljēs*. See helpless.
 porcupine, n., *shāphō*.
 post, n. (letters), *ḍāk*.
 postman, n., *ciṭhī kakṭsea, ciṭhī kago kēṭsea*.
 post-runner, n., *ḍākdār, hāl-kara*.
 potato, n., *halū*.
 potter, n., *hozā* : f., *hozēnik (g)*.
 pound, v. (in mortar), *kāl-mīg*.
 pour, v., *mēsān shōthēāmīg*.
 powder, n. (gun), *dārū* ; dust in rotten tree, *yañ darū*.
 pray, v., *Bāgwānā dā' ūrz lunmīg ; zōp(h) lunmīg* (especially of Hindus) ; *puzā lunmīg*.
 praying-wheel, n., *thākūr, ḍāmgūr* : hand-wheel, *manē*.
 preach, v., *kōtha shhēnmīg*.
 pregnant, adj., *pēṭīnā chān sē*.
 prepare, v., *tēār lunmīg*.
 preserve, see keep.
 press, v., *tēmīg*.
 press down, used of demon in nightmare, *spanmīg*.
 pretence, n., *amōlīn*.
 price, n., *mōlōn* : rate, *hao, bēcōn*.
 prime minister, n., *bishṭ* : f., *bishṭāṇī*.
 prisoner, n., *bāndḍā, kēlī*.
 proceed, v., in spite of difficulty, manage to get past or in, *tharmīg*. See walk, go.
 proclaim, v., *āū tshārēāmīg, hak shēnmīg*.
 property, n., *māya, māla*.
 pull, v., *ḍammīg (-bo)* ; against one another, *ḍapshimīg*.
 pulse, n. (in body), *sū* ; —, feel, *sū khyāmīg*.
 punish, v., *ḍāyēāmīg*.
 puppy, n., *kuchānts*.
 purchase, v., *zōnmīg, zōn-mīg*.
 purse, n., *bōtuā*.
 pus, n., *stāy*.
 push, v., *stānmīg*.
 put, v. (insert, H. *ḍālnā*), *shēnmīg* : put on. see dress.
 quadruple, adj., *pō ḍāgna*.
 quarrel, n., *zōṭhe, dashō* ; v., *dāshimīg*.
 quarter more than, *sawā* :

- sawā nish*. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ (Hindi. *sāwā*).
 queen, n., *gyalmo*.
 question, *sawāl*: —, ask. *īmīg*.
 quickly, adv., *hōzo. hāsāl. hāl, shūros*.
 quietly, adv., *tsātkōn*.
 rag, n., *cāthra*.
 rain, n., *tī. lājēttī, lājēts tī*: v., *lājēnnīg*; stop raining, *dakcīmīg*.
 rainbow, n., *brāmēts, tī lānmēts*: —, lunar. *dunērōn*.
 raise, v., *sarmīg*.
 ram, n., *kār(h)*: —, Tibetan, *hyañ kār(h)*: —, breeding, *kulōs*.
 ravish, v. (bad sense), *tsām tsām gōnnīg*.
 raw, adj., *katsā, katsō*.
 ray, n. (of light), *rāshin*.
 razor, n., *khārōnts*.
 read, v., *hushīmīg*.
 ready, adj., *tēār*.
 reap, v., *chāā lamnīg* or *gōnnīg*.
 rear, v. intr. (of horse, etc.), *baña den sarmīg*; tr., *yoñnīg*.
 reason, for this reason, *hodo tēñēs, hodei sābābōs*.
 recognize, v., *tsinñ. lanmīg, shīsmīg*.
 reconcile, v. tr., *sōrtsayāmīg, galom shēnmīg, galshom*
shēnmīg: be reconciled, *galnīg, galshīmīg*. See peace.
 red, adj., *shavikh (g)*.
 reel, v. (drunk), *bralmīg*.
 reflect, v., *tsalmīg, sāncēnnīg*.
 regrettable, adj., *banth*.
 rein, n., *gālām*.
 relative, n., *pērōn, ōnton*.
 remain, v., *tōshīmīg*: be incomplete, *dakcīmīg*.
 remaining fruit, after first gathering (walnut, *rī*, etc.), *dāñ*.
 remove, v., *phīmīg*.
 rent, n., *barō*.
 repair, v., *sāūrēāmīg*.
 repent, v., *rēñ lanmīg* (lit. take oath), *bishārēnmīg*. See grieve.
 reply, n., *zābāb*.
 request, v., *ōryyāmīg*.
 require, v., *gyāmīg*.
 resemble, v., *rākshīmīg, rukshīmīg*.
 resign, v., *ōrzī rānmīg*.
 resignation, n., *ōrzī*.
 rest, v., *nāshīmīg*.
 return, v., *pālēāmīg*. See turn.
 rib, n., *rib*.
 rice, n. (grains), *rāl(h)*: cooked, *bat*.
 rich, adj., *chūkpō*.
 ride, v., *shōkshīmīg*: —, cause to, *shōnmīg* (-go).

right, adj. (not left), *zakōn* ;
 —, to the, *zakōn kō*.
zakoñ kacoñ : (correct),
tob.

rind, n., *bōd*, *bod*.

ring, n., *kagōn*, *māndī*.

ripe, adj., *sho sho*, *lūm lūm*.

ripen, v. (grain), *lummig* ;
 (fruit), *shōmig*.

rise, v., *ancimig*, *sarshimig* ;
 (of sun), *zōrmig*.

river, n., *sōmādroñ*.

rock, n., *rag*.

roll up, v. (bedding), *loñmig*
 (-go), *thoñmig* (-go). See
 wrap.

roof, n., wood, stone, slate,
tshabrōñ, *tshaprōñ* : flat,
 mud, *mōnthōñ*, *mānthōñ*,
mōlthōñ ; of temple, *chap-*
rōñ.

room, n. (of house), *wāso* ;
 (space), *zāgo*.

root, n. (of tree), *jīloñ*.

rot, v., *cōsmig*.

rotten, adj., *cos cōs*, *cis cis*.

rough, adj. (not smooth).
phrēskē.

round, adj., spherical, *batlōs* ;
 circular, *bōrbōr* : make
 round, v., *batlēāmig*.

rub, v., *nōmig* (ō between
 ō and au).

rudeness, n., *kōzia*, *gūstākhī*.

run, v., *dañmig*, *dōrēñmig*.
 See flee.

rupee, n., *rupee*.

rust, n., *khoyōñ* ; v., *khoyōñ*
lūyēñmig or *tūpeimig*.

sack, n., *phad*.

sackcloth, n., *shōñ*.

sacrifice, v. (bread, etc., to
 evil spirit for recovery of
 sick child), *thamig* (-go).

saddle, n., *zhgā* : pad under
 saddle of beast of burden,
dāñ.

salt, n., *tshā*, *sāmbār tshā* ;
 — merchant, *tshā pā* ;
 — trough, *chā*, *tshārōñ*.

salutation, n., *sālām*, *rām*
rām ; to Brahman, *pā-*
lāñgī ; Brahman's reply.
sirī bācāñ ; lama's reply.
chāyśāl ; Kānet to man of
 lower caste, *sūkhī ran*.

sand, n., *bālīñ*.

sap, n., *tī*.

Saturday, n., *shōñ shiros*.

save, v., *bārēāmig*, *batsā-*
mig.

saw, n., *rētor*.

say, v., *lonmig* (-do), *riñmig*,
romig.

scabbard, n., *dāphātūālā shāb*.

scales, n. (balance), *porē*.
tūrākhālī.

scar, n., *parōñ*.

scissors, n., *kātū*.

scorpion, n., *sōkō*.

scour, v. (metal vessel).
māzēāmig : (wood, etc.).
cīmig.

scratch, v., *shōlmīḡ* : — one-self, *hōlshīmīḡ*, *hōlmīḡ*.

screw, n. (of watermill), *chakron*.

scrub, v., *see* scour.

second, adj., *nishō*.

secretly, adj., *nutulos*.

see, v. (*see* look): oneself in glass, *lācīmīḡ*.

seed, n., *bīon*.

seek, v., *pōcīmīḡ*.

self, myself, yourself, etc., emphasizing nom., *ānesī* : I myself, *go goi* : thou thyself, *ka kai* : he himself, *do apei* : they themselves, *dogo apegāsi* or *apegāi* : — (objective), *anī*, *an*.

sell, v. tr., *rēnnīḡ* (-do).

send, v., *shēnnīḡ*.

separate, adj., *khetsī* : v., *khetsī lannīḡ* : one who in anger has separated himself from his house, *baggyālos*.

servant, n., *yokpō*, *riḡrā*, *bāṇḡdō* : — female, *chānpūt* : —, state, of not high rank, *nēḡī* ; fem., *negāṇī* : store-keeper, i.e. watchman, *bādārī* ; fem., *bādārṇī*.

set, v. tr., *tāmīḡ* ; intr. (sum), *rēnnīḡ* (-do).

seven, *tish*, *stish* : seventh, *tishō*, *stishō* : seventeen, *sōstish* : seventeenth, *sōs-*

tishō : seventy, *shumniḡō* *sai* : seventieth, *shumniḡō* *saiō* : seventy-one, *shumniḡō* *sigid* : — -two. — *sōnish* : — -three, — *sō* *rām* : — -four. — *sepō* : — -five, — *sōnā* : — -six, — *sōrāḡ* : — -seven, — *sōstish* : — -eight. — *sōrai* : — -nine, — *sōzḡṛī* : 700, *tishrā* : 700th, *tishrāō*.

For ordinals add *ō* to the last word.

sew, v., *pōnnīḡ*, *tsēmīḡ*.

sexual intercourse (have), v., *goshīmīḡ*, *tsākshīmīḡ*.

shade, n., *chāyōn*, *sōnōn*.

shadow, n., *lāts*.

shake, v. tr., *rālēāmīḡ*, *zālēāmīḡ* ; v. intr., *zālēnnīḡ* : — head, *zukyāmīḡ*.

shame, n., *lēāz*, *sōrm* : v., put to shame, *sōrmēāmīḡ*.

share, n., *baglī*, *bānthō*.

sharp, adj., *tsōkōs*, *rask*.

shave, v., *krā tsoāmīḡ* (-go).

she, pron., *jā*, *do*, *nā*.

sheep, n., *khōss* : Tibetan, *byān khōss*.

shell, n. (small, used as coin), *duñchain*.

shepherd, n., *pālōs*.

shin, n., *shāḡyār*.

shoe, n., *shpōn* : —, raja's, *pēts* : European, *bāt(h)* : horse-shoe, *mīḡ pāt* : — horse

or put iron of horseshoe
shape on man's shoe, *mig'*
pā shēnmig'.

shoemaker, n., *cāmon* ; fem.,

cāmarig'.

shoot, v., *see* fire.

shop, n., *batī*.

shopkeeper, n., *baṇiā*.

shoulder, n., *bāt*.

show, v., *zānmig'*.

shriek, v., *skud' tōnmig'*.

shrine, n., Buddhist. *gōnpā*,
chof' kōn, *lubron*, *chostēn*.

sickle, n., *zēthron*.

sickness, n., *foḍ'*.

sieve, n., *cēllōn*.

sift, v. (in sieve), *cēlēūmig'*,
calēūmig'.

sight, v. (a gun), *zγīmig'*.

silent (be), v., *cām* or *cāmna*
tōshimig'; silently, *tsūtkōn*.

silk, n., *rēsām*, *jāngū*.

silver, n., *mōl(h)* (almost
māl(h)).

sin, n., *pāp*.

sing, v., *gīthōn lanmig'*.

sink, v. intr., *dubēnmig'*.

sister, n., *riñz*, *riñzē* ; full
—, *nānnāzig'* ; plur.,

nānnāzige ; — in-law,

husband's sister, *bōre* ;

wife's sister, *b'ēsa* ; man's

brother's wife, *b'ēsa* ;

woman's brother's wife,
bōre.

sit, v., *tōshimig'*.

six, *tāg'* ; sixth, *tugō* ; six-

teen, *s'rag'* ; sixteenth,

s'ragō ; sixty, *shūmnizā* :

— -one, *shūmnizō id'* :

— -two, — *nish* ; — -three,

— *shām* ; — -four, — *pō* :

— -five, — *nā* ; — -six,

— *tāg'* ; — -seven, —

stish ; — -eight, — *rai* :

— -nine, — *zγāi* ; 600,

tāgrā ; 600th, *tāgrā'*.

For ordinals add *ō* to last
syllable. *Nizā* changes,
ā to *ō*.

skin, n., of cattle, *talōn* ; of
sheep, goats, birds, *khāl(h)* :

of man, dogs, cats, *bōḍ'* :

v. tr., *khōmig'*, with word
for skin.

slant, v. intr., *khērmig'*.

slanting, adj., *khēr*.

slap, n., *thapēro* ; v., *thapēro*
cīlēūmig'.

slate, n., *sālēf*.

slaughter, v. (animals),
shūmmig' (-*bo*).

sleep, v., *yānmig'* ; put to,
skūmmig' (-*mo*).

sleeve, n., *lay'*, *mañ lay'*,
brass (Th.).

slip, v., *blēmig'*.

slowly, adv., *mēsaiñ*, *mēsānts*.

slug, n. (animal), *tishām*.

small, adj., *dāmrits*, *itrits*,
jūtits, *jitrīts*. See little.

smallpox, n., *tē piron*.

smart, adj. (bad sense), *dīnōs*,
dīnyāmōn.

- smell, n., *gəpóm* (generally sweet); —, bad, *mār gəpóm*; v., *stammig* (-mo).
- smoke, n., *dūbón*; v. (tobacco), *tūñmig*; (intoxicants), *kyōsmig*.
- smooth, adj., *mashfos*, *mash-tits*.
- snail, n., *gəfənrū*.
- snake, n., *səpos*.
- snatch, v., (*zōr'p*) *khañmig*.
- snow, n., *pōm*; —, perpetual, *stīl(h)*, *tshō*, *thāpón*; melting and falling into river, *rīsār*.
- snowy, adj., one of above words with -*seu*, fem. *sē*. See *one*.
- so, adv. (thus), *hólē*, *hoñē*.
- soap, n., *kāsh* (a root), *samón*, *athal* (= *rēthā*; see *plant*).
- sock, n., *zārāt*, *ban sab*.
- soft, adj., *kōlōs*.
- sole, n. (of foot), *pōtlōñ*.
- some, adj., *idē*; — . . . others, *idē* . . . *idē*.
- sometimes, adv., *tērōñ tērōñ*, *tēsterōñ*.
- somewhat, adv., *dēs*, added to adj. or adv.
- son, *chāñ*; — -in-law, *chad*.
- song, n., *githón*; one *Thē-bōrskad* song is named *acī lāmō*.
- soup, n., *shachob*.
- sour, adj., *surkh*.
- sow, v., *pōshmig*.
- spade, n. (inverted head), *mukón*.
- spark, n., *kyañth*.
- sparrow, see *bird*.
- speak, v., see *say*.
- spectacles, n., *mīg vā*.
- spend, v., *khēts lamig*.
- spider, n. (small), *butukts*, *dāl butukts*; (large), *botō*; spider's web, *butuktsā lāñin*.
- spin, v. tr. (turn round), *phororēñmig*; v. intr., *bōrorēñmig*, *bhororēñmig*; — thread, v. tr., *pañmig*, *kātēñmig*.
- spit, v., *thupón phikēñmig*.
- split, v. tr. (stones), *pashmig*; (wood), *phanmig* (-*go*); v. intr. (general), *bōlmig*.
- spoil, v. tr., *sāñmig*; get spoiled, *suāshimig*.
- spoon, n. (wood), *dōmōñ*; (metal), *thāmmō*, *kōrtshē*.
- spot, n., *parōñ*. See *scar*.
- sprained (be), v., *kālūp'shimig*.
- spread, v. (bedding, pine needles), *pōsh shēñmig*; — carpet, *sātrāñjī pōsh shēñmig*, — grain, *plāñmig*.
- spring, n. (season), *renām*; v. (of plant), *sūñmig*.
- squeeze out, v., *tūñmig*, with object of thing squeezed or of thing squeezed out from it.

- squint, v., *mīg khěrmīg* ;
 one who squints, *khěrmīg*
sea.
- stack, n. (of grass, wood),
koṭō ; thus *ci koṭō*, — of
 grass ; *shīn koṭō*, — of
 wood.
- stallion, n., *zēb*.
- stammerer, n., *tātlā, phapī*.
- stand, v., *ḍēn tōshimīg* ; —
 up, *ḍēn sarshimīg*.
- standing, adj., *ḍēn*.
- star, n. (*s*)*kar(h)*, (*s*)*karō* ;
 —, evening, *roēn skar* ;
 —, morning, *sai skar* ;
 v., Pleiades, Orion's Belt ;
 another constellation is
 called *sāmprōn*.
- start, v., together on journey,
doñmīg.
- steal, v., *cōrōs lanmīg*,
khānmīg.
- steep, adj. (ascent), *jikpo*
ṭaṇ ; (descent), *jikpo*
chur.
- stepfather, n., *bāṭpa* ; step-
 mother, n., *bāṇmat*.
- stick, n., *ḍēna* ; —, small,
ḍēnats ; — for oxen, *jyāl* ;
 — (long), for collecting
 walnuts, *berjā* ; v. intr.,
tāpcimīg ; v. tr., *tummīg*
 (-*bo*) ; with word for gum,
 glue, etc.
- sticky, *tāpcidea*, *tāpcitsea*.
- still, adv. (yet), *ā*.
- sting, v. (bee, etc.), *ciūmīg* ;
- (nettle), *poimīg* ; n.,
cānc(h).
- stink, *see* smell.
- stirrup, n., *yabečn*.
- stocking, n., *zārāb, bañ sab*.
- stomach, n., *pēṭṭiñ*.
- stone, n., *raṭ*, *kōlān* : very
 small, *shān* ; small, flat,
pānts ; large, flat for
 roofs, *pān* ; of fruit,
khārsa ; v. tr. (a house),
tokhyāmīg.
- stoop, v., *khoñshimīg*.
- story, n., of house, *bubiñ*.
- straight, adj., *sōllōs*.
- strange, adj., *bisharōn*.
- stranger, n., *pṛdēshī*.
- straw, n. (chopped), *tshutshī* ;
 finer, *bāsōn*.
- stream, n., *nālōn, gārōn*.
- strength, n., *zōr*.
- stretch, v. (extend), *tsonmīg*
 (-*no*), *nōmīg*, *ḍammīg*.
- strong, adj., *zōrsea*.
- stupid, adj., *sādōn*.
- sucking, n. (noise of), *chāb*.
- sugar, n., *mīsrī* ; (*gur*)
gārām ; — -cane, n.,
gārām shīn.
- summer, n., *shōl, zhān*. *See*
 heat.
- summit, n., *bāl*.
- sun, n., *yunēṭ*.
- Sunday, n., *ētwarōn*.
- surprised (be), *bishārēnmīg*.
- surround, v. tr. (*z*)*doñmīg*
 (-*go*).

swallow, v., *myāmiḡ*.

swear, v. (oath). *řen' lan-miḡ*.

sweep, v., *kucōn lanmiḡ*;
sweeper (*mihṭar*). *khālērī*;
(house-cleaner). *māthī*.

sweet, adj., *thiḡ* : sweetmeat,
n., *mīthāī* : — seller. n.,
hōlāī.

swell, v., *tāmiḡ* (*tā-o*).

swing, n., (for play) *wanṭon* :
— bridge (rope). *thakpo*
torōn, see rope : (wire),
ronā tārū torōn.

swing, v. intr. (play), *wan-
ṭon gōcimiḡ* : (ordinary),
zāñlēnmiḡ : v. tr., *zuñ-
lēnmiḡ*.

suddenly, adv., *zōrōp*. *zōpōf*.

table, n., *mēc(h)*.

tahsildar, n., *tosīlūr* : fem.,
tosīlūrū.

tail, n., *pontsēniñ* : —, bird's,
n., *pakhūñ*.

tailor, n., *swī*.

take, v., *ānmiḡ* : — away,
phīmiḡ : — out, *ton-
miḡ* : — down (bridge),
loñmiḡ (-go). *thoñmiḡ*
(-go) : — off (jewels on
death of husband), *lim-
miḡ* (-bo). See undress.
unload.

talkative, adj., *gžāb batīñ*
sea, *tsokos le sea*.

tank, n., *kāldōñ* : big, *sorōñ*.

taste, v., *jemēāmiḡ* : n.
(good), *ēm* : (bad), *me ēm*.

tea, n., *cā* : — -water apart
from leaves, *catlūñ*, *thāñ*
tī.

teach, v., *hānmiḡ* (-do).

tear, v., *tsērmīḡ*, *pharmīḡ*,
zērmīḡ.

tear, n. (from eye), *mītī* (i.e.
miḡ tī, eye-water).

teat, n., *pūd'* (cow's).

teetotum, n., *thēlluts*.

temple, n., *shā kōthī*. *dām-
gyūr(h)*, *lāgōñ*, *tañgyūr(h)*,
kañgyūr(h) *chatkōñ*.
dōrōñ.

ten, *sai* ; tenth. *saiō*.

tent, n., *tombuā*.

testicle, n., *kōṭōl*, *kōṭolā pōṭō* :
animal born without —,
rāñdōñ : man with one
large and one small,
shāñdō.

than, adv., *kar*. *nā*, *kēs*.
bāskyōñ.

that, pron., *nā, dō* ; those two,
nāsoñ, *dōsoñ* ; in that
direction, *nāpōt'*, *nēs*, *nēs-kō*,
nāpūā, *nāpūñ*, *nēkō* ;
in that way, *hāṃe*.

thaw, v., *lēāmiḡ*, *gōlēnmiḡ*.

then, adv. (inferential), *tañmā*,
dema : (at that time),
hōdērōñ ; (after that), *dōk'*,
nipē.

thence, adv., *dōnts*, *hōdōnts*,
nōnts, *hōñōnts*, *dōk'ts*

there, adv., *dōñ, hōdloñ, nōñ, hōñōñ, dūā, nūā*; thither, all above words, and *nēs-kō, nēs-nēsī*.

they, *jāgo, jāgoa, jāgoga, dogo, dogoa, dogoga, nāgo, nāgoa, nāgoga*: — two. see that.

thick, adj., *bakhlōs, mofoś*. See fat.

thief, n., *cōrōs*: fem., *cōrē*.

thigh, n., *lumm*.

thin, adj., *bagjts*.

think, v., *tsalmig, sāntsēn-nig, sāncēnnig*.

third, adj., *shām*.

thirst, n., *skar*; v., *skarmig*.

The desire to smoke is included in the meaning.

thirteen, *sērām*; thirteenth, *sērām*: thirty, *niz̄ sai*: — one, — *sigid*: — two, — *sōñish*: — three, — *sērām*: — four, — *sapō*: — five, — *sōñā*: — six, — *sērug*: — seven, — *sōstish*: — eight, — *sērai*: — nine, — *sōzguī*. For ordinals add *ō* to the latter word in each case.

this, pron., *ju*; these two, *jusōñ*; in this way, *hōdē*: on this side, near, *lō lokō, jēkō*. See direction.

thither, see there.

thorn, n., *tsō(h)*.

thou, pron., *ka*; respectful, *kē*.

thousand, adj., *hazār*: 100,000, *lākh*.

thread, n., *ridl*: cotton for weaving, *bāt(h)*.

threaten, v. tr., *ḍabrēamig, dopkēāmig*: v. intr., *dopkēāmig, bānth tannig* (-do).

three, adj., *shām*: 300, *shām ra*: 300th, *shām rā*.

threshing-floor, n., *kholoñ*.

threshold, n., *dēlā*.

throat, n., *gōloñ, shano*.

throw, v., *shothēāmig*.

thumb, n., *bōnprats*.

thunder, v., *gǃrmig*: n., *gǃrgǃr*.

Thursday, *braspat*.

thus, *hōdē, hōñē*.

thy, *kan*; respectful, *kin*.

Tibet, n., *nyam mulōk*:

Tibetan, n., *nyam*: fem., *nyamēd*: — character used in holy books, *thaig, bumig*: — holy books, *chōs pothī*; read —, *chōs tilmig, chōs pothī tilmig*: the reading of the books, — *choga*; names of holy books, —, (1) *dōñjē chōt—pae, dōr chōd*, (2) *dik chās*, (3) *do bāñs*, (4) *yām(h)*, (5) *khām cū nakpo*; Tibetan book of spells, *ñan chōs*: — letter (epistle), *hige*.

tie, v., *tshānnig*.

tight, adj., *gārpaith*, *talk*.

time, n., *b'gāt* : in the phrase
three times. etc., *yob* (*job*),
myā ; in the meantime, *do*
ma-jōno.

tinder, n., *batshā* : — with
flint and iron, *rānkō* :
all these with leather and
brass, *mētāpoñ*.

to, prep., *poñ*, *don*.

tobacco, n., *t'mākhū*.

to-day, adv., *torō*.

toe, n., *prats*.

to-morrow, adv., *nasām*.

tongs, n., *tsimtū*.

tongue, n., *lē*.

too, adv. (also), *lī*.

tooth, n., *gar* : man with
double teeth, one behind
other, *bāgarēa* : fem.,
bāgarē.

torch, n., *naśālō* (accent on
first and third): *sān*
māśālō.

tortoise, n., *rīhoñts*.

touch, v., *gud' shēnniḡ*,
gudōskhoyāniḡ, *thānniḡ*.

towards, prep., *kacōñ*, *kō*.
See direction.

town, n., *bāzār*.

trade, n., *tshōñ*, *bēpār*.

trader, n., *tshōñpā*, *bēparū* :
—, salt, *tshāpā* : —, borax,
tshalēpā.

transact, v., *ḡiñniḡ* (-*go*) :
be transacted. v., *ḡik-*
shiniḡ.

trap, n., for rats, *shim* : for
leopards, *khāronṭs*, *alth* ;
for bear, *jāshkhāñ*.

tree, n., *bōthōñ* : when about
man's height, *sōlts*. Sepa-
rate trees, *see* plant.

tree-frog, n., *tukasiñ*.

triple, adj., *shām dāgnā*.

trot, v., *tōktōkēnniḡ*.

trousers, n., *suthāñ*.

true, adj., *sōts*, *sōclī*.

trumpet, n., cnrved, *kornāl* ;
straight, *rānshūñ*.

trunk, n., of tree, *goñiñ*,
gōñiñ : leather - box,
ḡōm(h) : elephant's, *sānd*.

tub, n., *gūthū*.

Tuesday, n., *mōñlārōñ*.

turban, n., *pāḡ*.

turn, v. tr., *see* prayer-wheel :
v. intr., *sharēnniḡ*.

tusk, n., *gar*.

twelve, *sōñish* : twelfth,
sōñishō.

twenty, *nizō* : twentieth,
nizō : twenty-one, *nizō*
id' ; — -two, — *nish* ; —
-three, — *shām* ; — four,
pō ; — -five, — *nā* ; —
-six, — *tūḡ'* : — -seven,
— *stish* ; — -eight, —
rai : — -nine, — *zguī*.
For ordinals add *ō* to
latter word in each case.

twice, adv., *nish yob*, *nī*
yob.

twilight, n., *shupēlōñ*.

twin, n., *yōlīn* : two born same day in different families, *bōlk(h)*.

twist, v. (ropes), *thakpa boshmig*.

two, adj., *nish*, *nī*; see we, you, that, this, which; 200, *nīrā*; 200th, *nīrā*.

udder, n. (cow, sheep, goat), *ēnīn*.

ugly, adj., *ma shyarō* : fem., *shyarē*.

ulcer, n., *bamsutroñ*.

umbrella, n., *chätrolī*; —, of bark, *padu chätrolī*.

uncle, n., father's brother, *apats*, *bōbats*; father's sister's husband, *momā*; mother's brother, *momā*.

understand, v., *s̄mzēāmīg*; causative, *s̄mzayāmīg*.

undress, v., *gasu salmig*.

union, n., *bādd*.

unite, v., *ipōñ lunmig*.

unload, v., *bārōñ thoñmig*, *bārōñ līmīg* (-bo).

unloved, adj., *ma gyāshēs*, *ma gyāmīg*, *ma gyāshid*.

unlucky, adj. (bringing bad luck); — man, *gomphō*; — woman, *alagin*, *ḍae*.

unripe, adj., *katsa*, *katso*, *ma lunts*, *ma pakits*, *ma shōz*.

untie, v., *thōrmīg*, *thōmig*.

up, adv., *riñ*, *rīgyēñ*, *thūg*, *thōskō*, *thūd*, *riḡe*.

up to, prep., *tōñ*, *stōñ*.

upon, *dēñ*.

upper, adj., *thūcā*.

urinate, v., *skōlī* or *gōdrōñ shēnmīg*. See urine.

urine, n., of a man, horse, dog, bird, *skōlī*; of sheep, goats, cattle, *gōdrōñ*.

useful, adj., *phāñzea*; — (be), *phannīg* (-no).

useless, adj., *ma phānts*; — (be), *ma phanmig* (-no).

usury, v., *būz*. See interest.

uterus, v., *chan khāl*.

vaccinate, v., *thopēāmīg*.

vagina, n., *shikts*: together with surrounding parts, *phēts*.

vapour, n., *dūbōñ*.

varnish, n., *hōlu tēlōñ* : v., *hōlu tēlōñ shēlmīg*.

vegetable, n., *skan bazī*, *chob*.

vein, n., *sīrōñ*.

verandah, n. (lower), *bī*, *thūntī*.

very, adv., *gōzōb*, *bōdī*, *mulī*, *gor*.

vessel, n., *bañīn*; (*ghara*) *phōdgyār(h)*; —, large earthen, *kuñōñ*; —, earthen cooking, *khoñ*; lota, *lotrī*; —, earthen lota, *pātāts*; —, brass, *bāth*; — —, small, *bañits*; —,

- iron. *cakthāl*: —, large brass or iron. *dē bra*: house vessels. etc., brass, *dikts*, *dīg*, *lan thō*, *kunāl*, *nān*, *bazān*. *thūmbā*: —, iron, *cimtā* (tongs), *tōthū*, *hathū*, *lōzānōn*, *rōnpān*, *dukhrīn*, *gopāso*: —, earthen, *choto*: —, wooden, *zōā*, *zōm*, *domon* (spoon), *zochog*.
- village, n., *dēshon*: —, division of, *fōman*.
- vomit, v., *phasmiḡ*.
- vulture, n., *galthos*.
- waist, n., *khō*.
- wait, v., *toshimḡ*: — for, *laūmḡ*.
- waken, v. tr., *sarmḡ*; v. intr., *gamḡ*.
- walk, v., *gānmḡ*, *pāmḡ*.
- wall, n., *bitin*: retaining — in field, *dorin*: — — on road, *dīwāl*.
- wanderer, n., *rātāa*, fem., *rātīe*.
- warm, adj., v. tr., *armḡ*: — oneself (at fire or in sun), *arshimḡ* (object being 'fire' or 'sun'): *palshimḡ*.
- warp, n., *rīn*.
- wart, n., *tsōcōn*.
- wash, v., *sāmḡ*: — oneself, *sāshimḡ*: — clothes, *cīmḡ*: — with the feet, *phūmḡ*: — in wooden tub, called 'gāthū', *maḡ-dēamḡ*.
- wasp, n., *krāñol*.
- water, n., *tī*: — flowing very gently, *rōntī*: — flowing violently, *tshāl*.
- water-carrier (Hindu), *zāl-lōrā*.
- watercourse, wooden, *chū*.
- waterfall, *chodon*, *chozjōn*.
- wave, n., *stōkōl tī*.
- wax, n., for candles, *siton*: in ear, *kaḡon khō*: instrument for extracting wax from ear, *kankōsh*.
- way, n., *on*.
- we, he and I, *nishī*; thou and I, *kashon*; all of us except thee, *nīnā*: —, including thee, *kishōnā*, *nipōn*, *kishōnā pōn*.
- weak, *zōr mā tseu*, *ma zōr seu*, *nīntāt*.
- wean, v., *khēron shīamḡ*.
- wear out, v. intr., *jīmḡ*, *bōēmḡ*.
- weary, adj., *gal gal*: —, grow, v., *galḡ*.
- weave, v., *gas taūmḡ*.
- web, n., see warp. woof, spider.
- wedge, n., *koē*, *mā(h)*.
- Wednesday, n., *bādāron*.
- weigh, v., *tolāmḡ*.
- weight, n., *tol*: — for weighing, *bāt*.
- well, adv., *dām*, *dēbōsh*,

- bhōñēts* : adj., healthy, do. ;
 — (get), v., *brēñmīg* (-do) ;
 — -to-do (not very rich),
gōrētseu : become —, *gō-
 rēñmīg* (i.e. after having
 been poor).
 well, n., *khuā*.
 wet, adj., *thiss* ; of vegetation,
 green, not dry, *rag* ; v.,
tīō tūmīg.
 what ? pron., *the*, *thō* ; what-
 ever, *thedāna*, *thōdāna*.
 wheel, n., *gōthōñ*. *gadī*
gōthōñ.
 wheelbarrow, n., *gadī(h)*.
 when ? adv., *tērōñ* ; when,
 adv., *tēroñā*.
 where ? adv., *ham* ; whither,
halekō, *ham* : where,
hamāna.
 which ? pron., *hāt* ; — two ?
hātsōñ.
 whip, n., *tsāmūk(h)*.
 whirlwind, n., *phūsū lān*.
 whisker, n., *darī*.
 whisper, v., *mēsāñs lonmīg*
 (-do).
 whistle, v., *shāñ lonmīg* (-do).
 white, adj., *thōg* : — of egg,
kēsroñ.
 whitewash, v., *tshitsho shēñ-
 mīg*, *chalmīg* ; n., *chal tī*.
 whither, adv., *see* where.
 who ? pron., *hāt* ; who, who-
 ever, *hatāna* ; whoever
 wishes, *hāt gyāma lī*.
 why ? adv., *thū*.
 wick, n., *tsin drin*.
 wide, adj., *kāñkh*.
 widow, n., *rāñdōlē*.
 widower, *rāñdōlos*.
 wife, n., *gōñē*, *nār*, *bōre*.
 win, v., *gyalmīg*, *zītēnmīg*.
 wind, n., *lān*. *See* blow.
 window, n., *sīso seu dūrōñ* :
 opening in roof, *tīññ* ;
 in wall, *dūrōñ* : opening
 above door, *dūr somōñ* ;
 — in verandah, *bōñī*.
 wing, n., *pakhōñ*.
 winter, n., *gūñn*.
 wipe, v., *kūshēñmīg*.
 wire, n., *tūr*.
 wish, v., *gyāmīg*.
 with, prep., along with, *roñ*.
nōñ, *lōñ* : beside, *dā*, *dñā*.
 wither, v., *sāshīmīg*. *See*
 spoil.
 within, prep., adv., *komo*.
 witness, n., *gūñh*.
 woman, n., *tshēsmī*, *chēts*
 (*tshēts*) ; as suffix, -*mēts*.
See man.
 wonder, v., *bishārēñmīg*.
 wonderful, adj., *numōñā*,
bishārōñ.
 wood, n., *shīñ* ; firewood,
sāñ.
 woof, n., *pyād*.
 wool, n., *tsamm* ; woollen
 thread, *bil(h)*.
 work, n., *kāmōñ* ; v., *kāmōñ*
lanmīg.
 worm, n., *tñā sapos*.

worthy, adj., *luik*.
 wound, n., *tsōt(h)*.
 wrap, v., *mētēāmīg. sprīñ-
 mīg*.
 wreath, n., *māndēāl(h),
 dorma*.
 wrestle, v., *sprāshimīg*.
 wring out, v., *māññimīg*.
 wrinkle, n., *zuprī*: become
 wrinkled, *zuprī thōñmīg*.
 write, v., *cēmīg*.
 writer, n., *qumīg, cētset*,
See clerk.
 wrong, adj. (*see bad*), *wāmōñ*
 (lit. upside down).
 yak, n., *yaf*, f. *brimē*:
 —, hybrid *zō*, f. *zomo*.
 yawn, n., *hats̄h*: v., *hats̄h
 kamshimīg*.
 year, n., *bōshōñ*: —, this,

tōlin; —, last. *nōlin*: two
 years ago. *rōlin*: three
 —, *ōmlin*: next year, *hēd
 mēñ*: in two years, *dō hēd
 mēñ*.
 yellow, adj., *pīg*.
 yes, adv., *uñ, ō*.
 yesterday, n., *mē*.
 yoke, n., *shkōl(h)*.
 yolk, n. (of egg), *kēsroñ*.
 you, pron. (thou), *ka*: re-
 spectful, *kī*: — two,
kishī: plur., *kīñā, kīñā-
 pōñ*.
 young, adj., *nyāg*.
 youngest (son, etc.), *kōñsoñ*.
 your, adj. (*see you*), *kan*
 (thy): *kīñ* (thy, respect-
 ful): *kishū* (of you two):
kīñanñ, your.

(To be continued.)

XVIII

THE PARAMARTHASARA OF ABHINAVA-GUPTA

By L. D. BARNETT

I. SANSKRIT TEXT

IN my "Notes on the Śaiva Siddhāntam", published last year in *Le Muséon*, I called attention to the fact that the living faith of the majority of modern Tamils is in almost every respect, and certainly in all essentials, the same doctrine that was taught in Kashmir about the beginning of the eleventh century by Abhinava-gupta; and I endeavoured to indicate what, in my opinion, the links are which join the modern theology of the South to the ancient teachings of the North, and ultimately to the school which is represented by the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. In further illustration of this view I now present the Paramārthasāra of Abhinava-gupta.

The MSS. that I have used are as follows:—

- A. The codex Or. 6769 in the British Museum, written on paper in Śāradā character. It is of the nineteenth century, and belongs to a group of MSS. of which one (Or. 6769) is dated [Śaptarṣi] Samvat 13.
- B. The codex Wilson 531 E in the Bodleian Library, to the officers of which institution I offer my sincere thanks for their courtesy. The MS. is a Nagari one, containing the text with the commentary of Yoga Muni. It is fully described in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 238.

The relationship between these MSS. is fairly close. The former, in addition to the text of the Paramārthasāra, contains also glosses excerpted from the commentary included in B; hence they are both based upon the same

recension. In details, however, they often differ. On the whole, B presents the text in a purer form. Often, however, its text is corrupt, and the true reading has to be sought either in its commentary or in A. For example, in v. 88 B gives only the unmetrical *saṃvedanaṃ*; A shows that this is an intrusive gloss, for it gives the right word, *vedanaṃ*, with the explanation *saṃvedanaṃ* written as a scholion. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to decide on the merits of the variant readings given by the MSS., and in such cases I have preferred those of B.

As often happens in Śāradā MSS., A frequently wavers in the distinction between *c* and *b*, writing *vrahma* in vv. 43, 52, 70, *vrahmaṇi* in v. 51, *kamvuka* in vv. 56, 85, *cuddhi* in vv. 19, 20, *viruddhyeta* in v. 66, *śavdādan* in v. 20, *chardah* in v. 21.

Our Paramārthasāra must be distinguished from another little work of the same name, of which an edition was published in 1907 at Madras, with a Telugu paraphrase by Paṭṭisapu Veṅkaṭeśvaruḍu. The latter consists of seventy-nine *āryā* verses; a considerable number of these are borrowed directly from our Paramārthasāra, and with them have been incorporated others, the whole work being painted over with Vaiṣṇava colours. Needless to say, it is valueless for the criticism of our book.

PARAMĀRTHASĀRA

Om om namaḥ śivāya saśivāya sadāśivāya paramaśivāya¹ ||
 paraṃ parasthaṃ gahanād anādim
 ekaṃ niviṣṭaṃ bahudhā guhāsu |
 sarvālayaṃ sarvacarācarasthaṃ
 tvām eva śambhuṃ śaraṇaṃ prapadye || 1
 garbhādhivāsapūrvakamaraṇāntakaduḥkhacakra-
 vibhrāntaḥ |
 ādhāraṃ bhagavantaṃ śiṣyaḥ papraccha paramārtham || 2

¹ This prelude is given in A only.

ādhāarakārikābhis tam gnrur abhibhāṣati ¹ sma tatsāram |
 kathayaty abhinavaguptaḥ śivaśāsanadr̥ṣṭiyogena || 3
 nijaśaktivaibhavabharād aṇḍacatuṣṭayam idaṃ vibhāgena |
 śaktir māyā prakṛtiḥ pṛthvī ceti prabhāvitam ² pra-
 bhunā || 4
 tatrāntar viśvam idaṃ vicitratanukaraṇabhuvanasantānam ³
 bhoktā ca tatra dehī śiva eva gr̥hītapaśubhāvaḥ ⁴ || 5
 nānāvidhavarṇānām rūpaṃ dhatte yathāmalah sphāṭikah |
 suramānusapaśupādaparūpatvaṃ tadvad iśo 'pi || 6
 gacchati gacchati jala iva himakarabimbaṃ sthite sthitiṃ ⁵
 yāti |
 tanukaraṇabhuvanavarge tathāyam ātmā mahesānaḥ || 7
 rāhur adr̥śyo ⁶ 'pi yathā śaśibimbasthaḥ prakāśate tadvat |
 sarvagato 'py ayam ātmā viśayāśrayaṇena dhīmakure ⁷ || 8
 ādarśe malarahite yadvad vadanam vibhāti tadvad ayam |
 śivaśaktipātavimale dhītattve bhāti bhārūpaḥ || 9
 bhārūpaṃ paripūrṇam svātmāni viśrāntito mahānandam |
 icchāsaṃvitkaraṇair nirbharitam anantaśaktipari-
 pūrṇam || 10
 sarvavikalpavihinam śuddham śāntam vyayodayavilīnam ⁸ |
 yat paratattvaṃ tasmīn vibhāti satṭrimśadātmā jagat || 11
 darpaṇabimbe yadvan nagaragrāmādī citram ⁹ avibhāgi |
 bhāti vibhāgenaiva ca parasparaṃ darpaṇād api ca || 12
 vimalatamaparamabhairavabodhāt tadvad vibhāgaśūnyam
 api |
 anyonyam ca ¹⁰ tato 'pi ca vibhaktam ābhāti jagat ¹¹ etat || 13
 śivaśaktisadāśivatām īśvaravidyāmayiṃ ca tattvadaśām ¹² |

¹ So B ; *abhibhāṣate* A, perhaps rightly.

² So B and its commentary ; *vibhāritam* A, which may be a conjecture, and is unmetrical. This form of metre in the second half of the *ūryā* verse appears again in vv. 10, 16, 17, 21, 32, 35, 47, 49, 53, 57, 65, 73, 76, 77 (?), 79, 80, 90, and 99.

³ The MSS. usually write *vicitra*, *citra*.

⁴ *Gchitāp* B.

⁵ *Sthim* A.

⁶ So B ; *adr̥śo* A.

⁷ So A ; ⁷ *manthare* B and its commentary, corrected by a later hand to *makure*. The commentary explains by *darpaṇam*.

⁸ So B ; *layo* A, which may possibly be right.

⁹ Thus B ; ⁹ *grāmādikaṃ vicitraṃ* A.

¹⁰ So B ; *anyonyam api tato* A.

¹¹ *Jad* A.

¹² B perversely *daśām*.

śaktinām pañcānām vibhaktabhāvena bhāsayati || 14
paramam yat svātantryam durghaṭasampādanam mahe-
śasya |

devī māyā śaktiḥ svātmāvarāṇam śivasyaaitat || 15

māyāparigrahaśād bodho malinali pumān paśur bhavati |
ālakalāniyatibalād¹ rāgāvidyāvaśena sambandhaḥ || 16

adhunaiva kiṃcid evedam eva sarvātmanaiva jñāmi |
nāyāsahitam kañcukaṣaṭkam aṇor² antaraṅgam idam
uktam || 17

kambukam iva taṇḍulakaṇaviniviṣṭam bhinnam apy
abhidā³ |

bhajate tat tu viśuddhiṃ śivamārgaannukhyayogena || 18
sukhaduḥkhamohamātram niścayasāṅkalpanābhimānās⁴ ca |
prakṛtir athāntaḥkaraṇam buddhimanohañkṛtikramaśaḥ |
19

śrotram tvagakṣīrasanāghrāṇam buddhīndriyāṇi śabdādau |
vākpāṇipādapāyūpastham karmendriyāṇi⁵ punaḥ || 20
esām grāhyo viśayaḥ sūkṣmaḥ pravibhāgavarjito yaḥ syāt |
tanmātrapañcakaṃ tac chabdaḥ sparśo maho raso
gandhaḥ || 21

etatsaṃsargavaśāt sthūlo viśayas tu⁶ bhūtapañcakatām |
abhyeti nabhaḥ pavaṇas tejaḥ salilam ca prthivī ca || 22

tuṣa iva taṇḍulakaṇikām āvṛṇute prakṛtipūrvakaḥ sargaḥ |
prthviparyanto 'yam caitanyam dehabhāvena || 23

param āvarāṇam mala iha⁷ sūkṣmaṃ māyādikañcukaṃ
sthūlam |

bāhyam vighararūpaṃ kośatrayaveṣṭito hy ātmā || 24

ajñānatimirayogād ekam api svasvabhāvam⁸ ātmānam |
grāhyagrāhakanānāvaicitryeṇāvabudhyeta⁹ || 25

rasaphāṇitaśārkarikāgudākhaṇḍādyā yathekṣurasa eva |

¹ Thus A ; ² *raśād* B. A omits the second syllable of *rāgā*.

² *Aṇantar* A.

³ The metre is defective ; perhaps we should supply at the end of the line *yathā* from the commentary.

⁴ So A ; ⁵ *mānās* B.

⁵ So B ; *karmīndriyāṇi* A.

⁶ So B ; *viśayas* *ca* A. Either may be right.

⁷ So B ; *iva* *ha* A.

⁸ *Svasvā* A ; *svam* *sva* B.

⁹ A and B *budhyeta*. See Siddhānta-kaumudī, 54 f.

tadvad avasthābhedāḥ sarve paramātmanāḥ sambhoḥ || 26
vijñānāntaryāmaprāṇavirāḍdehajātipiṇḍāntāḥ ¹ |

vyavahāramātram etat paramārthena tu na santy eva | 27
rajjvām nāsti bhujaṅgas trāsaṁ kurute ca mṛtyuparyantam |
bhrānter mahatī śaktir na vivektuṁ śakyate nāma || 28
tadvad dharmādharmasvarṇirayotpattimaraṇasukhaduḥ-
kham |

varṇāśramādi cātmanyasaḍ api vibhramabalād bhavati | 29
etat tad andhakāraṁ yad bhāveṣu prakāśamānatayā |
ātmānatirikṭeṣv api bhavaty anātmābhimāno 'yam || 30,
timirād api timiram idaṁ gaṇḍasyopari mahān ayam
sphoṭaḥ |

yad anātmany api dehaprāṇādāv ātmamānitvam | 31
dehaprāṇavimarśanadhījñānanabhaḥprapañcayogena |

ātmānaṁ veṣṭayate ² citraṁ jālena jālakāra iva || 32
svajñānavibhavabhāsanayogenodveṣṭayen nijātmānam |

iti bandhamokṣacitrāṁ kriḍāṁ pratanoti paramaśivaḥ | 33
srṣṭisthitisaṁhārā jāgratsvapnaḥ suṣuptam iti tasmīn |

bhānti turye dhāmani tathāpi tair āvṛtaṁ ³ bhāti || 34
jāgrad viśvaṁ bhedāt svapnaḥ tejaḥ prakāśamāhātmyāt |

prājñāḥ svapnāvasthā ⁴ jñānaghanatvāt tataḥ paraṁ
turyam || 35

jāladharadhūmarajobhir ⁵ malinikriyate yathā na gaganata-
talam |

tadvan māyāvīkṛtibhir aparāmṛṣṭaḥ paraḥ puruṣaḥ || 36
ekasmin ghaṭagagane rajasā vyāpte bhavanti nānyāni |

malināni tadvad ete jivāḥ sukhaduḥkhabhedajusaḥ || 37
śānte śānta ivāyaṁ hrṣṭe hrṣṭo vimohavati mūḍhaḥ ⁶ |

tattvagane satī bhagavān na punaḥ paramārthataḥ sa
tathā || 38

yad anātmāni ⁶ tadrūpāvabhāsanāṁ tat purā nirākṛtya ⁷ |

¹ B ² *virāḍdehaj*; A ³ *virāḍātma*. ² So B; *veṣṭayante* A.

³ So B and its commentary, with scholion of A; *nīrṛta* A.

⁴ So B and its commentary; *suptārasthā* A, which seems the better reading, as it agrees more closely with the *suṣupta* to which the text refers.

⁵ B perversely *rajobhir*.

⁶ So A; *anātmāni* api B.

⁷ So B; *nikṛtya* A.

ātmany anātmārūpām bhrāntim¹ vidalayati paramātmā² || 39

itthaṃ vibhramayugalakasamūlavicchedane³ kṛtārthasya |
kartavyāntarakalanā jātu na⁴ parayogino bhavati || 40

prthivī prakṛtir māyā tritayam idaṃ vedyarūpatāpatitam |
advaitabhāvanabalād⁵ bhavati hi sanmātrapariśeṣam || 41
raśanākuṇḍalakāṭakam⁶ bhedatyāgena dṛśyate [yathā]⁷

hema |

tad vad bhedatyāge sanmātram sarvaṃ ābhāti || 42
tad brahma paraṃ śuddhaṃ śāntam abhedātmakaṃ samaṃ
sakalam |

amṛtaṃ satyaṃ śaktau viśrāmyati bhāsvarūpāyām || 43
iśyata iti vedyata iti sanpādyata iti ca bhāsvarūpeṇa |

aparāmṛtaṃ yad⁸ api tu nabhaḥprasūnatvam abhyeti || 44
śaktitriśūlapariṣamāyogena samastam apī parameśvare⁹ |

śivanāmani paramārthe viśrjyate devadevena || 45
punar api ca pañcaśaktiprasaraṇakrameṇa¹⁰ bahir api tat |

aṇḍatrayaṃ vicitraṃ sṛṣṭaṃ bahirātmalābhena || 46
iti śakticakrayantraṃ kṛdāyogena vāhayan devaḥ |

aham eva śuddharūpaḥ śaktimalhācakanāyakapadasthaḥ || 47

mayy eva bhāti viśvaṃ darpaṇa iva nirmale ghaṭādini |
mattaḥ prasarati viśvaṃ¹¹ svapnavicēitratvam iva suptāt¹² || 48

aham eva viśvarūpaḥ karacaranādīsvabhāva iva dehaḥ |
sarvasmiṇ aham eva sphurāmi bhāveṣu¹³ bhāsvarūpaṃ

iva || 49

¹ *Bhrānti* A. ² So B and its commentary; *paramaśivāḥ* A.

³ *B vibhramay*. ⁴ *Jātu na* B; *na jātu* A.

⁵ So B; *bhāvanabalād* A. ⁶ So B; *kuṇḍalakāṭakam* A.

⁷ *Yathā* A and B; but it spoils the metre, and is unnecessary.

⁸ So B; *sad* A.

⁹ *Parameśvare* is a conjecture necessitated by the metre, and supported by the commentary of B; *parameś* A, *paramam* text in B.

¹⁰ So A; *prasāraṇa* B. The line is unmetrical; perhaps we should read *pañcaśaktiprathāprasāraṇa*.

¹¹ So A and commentary of B; *sarvaṃ* text of B.

¹² So B and its commentary; *vicēitratvam iva suṣuptāt* A.

¹³ So B; *bhāveṣu* A.

draṣṭā śrotā ghrātā dehendriyavarjito 'py akartāpi¹ |
 siddhāntāgamatarkāṃś² citrān aham eva racayāmi³ || 50
 itthaṃ dvaitavikalpe galite pravilanghya mohinim⁴ māyām⁵
 salile salilaṃ kṣīre kṣīram iva brahmaṇi layi⁶ syāt || 51
 itthaṃ tattvasamūhe bhāvanayā śivamayatvam abhiyāte |
 kaḥ śokaḥ ko mohaḥ sarvaṃ brahmāvalokayataḥ || 52
 karmaphalaṃ śubham aśubhaṃ mithyājñānena saṅgamād
 eva |

viṣamo hi saṅgadoṣas taskarayogo 'py ataskarasyeva || 53
 lokavyavahārakṛtāṃ ya ihāvidyām⁷ upāsate mūḍhāḥ |
 te yānti janmamṛtyū dharmādharmaṅgalābaddhāḥ⁸ || 54
 ajñānakālanicitāṃ dharmādharmaṇātmakaṃ tu karmāpi⁹
 cirasañcitam iva tūlaṃ naśyati vijñānadīptivaśāt || 55
 jñānaprāptau kṛtām api na phalāya tato 'sya janma katham |
 gatajanmabandhayogo bhāti śivārkaḥ svadidhitiḥ¹⁰ || 56
 tuṣakambukakiṃśārुकamuktaṃ bījaṃ yathāṅkuraṃ ku-
 rute |

naiva tathā malamāyākarmavimukto bhavāṅkuraṃ hy
 ātmā || 57
 ātmajño na kutaścana bibheti sarvaṃ hi tasya nījarūpaṃ |
 naiva ca śocati¹¹ yasmāt paramārthe nāśitā nāsti || 58
 atigūḍhahṛdayagaṅjaprarūḍhaparamārtharatnasañcayataḥ |
 aham eveti maheśvarabhāve kā durgatiḥ kaśya || 59
 mokṣasya naiva kiṃcid dhāmāsti na cāpi gamanam anyatra |
 ajñānagranthibhidā svaśaktibhir vyaktatā mokṣaḥ || 60
 bhinnājñānagranthir gatasau dehaḥ parākṛtabhīrāntiḥ |
 prakṣīṇapūṇyapāpo viśvayoge 'py asau muktaḥ || 61
 agnyabhidaḥ gṛhaṃ bījaṃ yathā prarohāsamarthatām eti¹² |

¹ A and text of B 'pi kartāpi; commentary of B akartāpi.

² So B and its commentary, with scholion of A; *śiddhāntā* A.

³ So B and commentary; *mohinim* A.

⁴ Thus B and its commentary; *laye* A.

⁵ Thus B; *ihā vidyām* A.

⁶ B *āgalā*.

⁷ So A and commentary of B; *karmyāpi* text of B.

⁸ So B and commentary; *śiddhitiḥ* A. The preceding line is defective; perhaps we should read 'sya *śyāj*, as the commentary suggests.

⁹ So B and its commentary; *śocayati* A.

¹⁰ So A; *yathā na prarohāsam* B. against metre.

- jñānāgnidagdhām evaṃ karma na janmapradam bhavati || 62
 parimitabuddhitvena hi ¹ karmocitabhāvidehabhāvanayā |
 saṅkucitā citir etaddehadhvamse tathā bhāti ² || 63
 yadi punar amalāṃ bodhaṃ sarvasamuttīṇaboddhṛkartṛ-
 mayam ³ |
 vitatam anastamitoditabhārūpaṃ satyasaṅkalpam || 64
 dikkālākalanavikalam ⁴ dhruvam avyayam īśvaram supa-
 ripūrṇam ⁵ |
 bahutaraśaktivrātapralayodayavicaraṇaikaakartāram ⁶ || 65
 srṣṭyādividhisuvedasam ⁷ ātmānaṃ śivamayam vibudhyeta ⁸ |
 katham iva saṃsārī ⁹ syād vitatasya kutaḥ kva vā
 saraṇam || 66
 iti yuktibhir api siddham yat karma jñānino na tat ¹⁰
 saphalam |
 na mamedam api tu tasyeti dārḍhyato na hi phalam
 loke || 67
 itthaṃ sakalavikalpān pratibuddho bhāvanāsamīraṇataḥ |
 ātmajyotisi dipte juhvaj jyotirmayo bhavati || 68
 aśnan yad vā tad vā saṃvīto yena kenacie chāntaḥ |
 yatra kvacana nivāsī vimucyate sarvabhūtātma || 69
 hayamedhaśatasahasraṇy api kurute brahmaghātalakṣāṇi ¹¹ |
 paramārthavin na puṇyair na ca pāpaiḥ spṛśyate
 vimalaḥ || 70
 madaharsakopamannathaviṣādabhayaalobhamohaparivarjī |
 nisstotravaśatkāro jaḍa iva vicared avādamatiḥ || 71
 madaharsaprabhṛtir ayaṃ vargaḥ prabhavati vibheda-
 saṃmohāt |
 advaitātmavibodhas tena katham spṛśyatām nāma || 72

¹ *Hi* omitted in A.² So B and its commentary; *bhavati* A.³ So B; *sarvasamuttīṇab* A.⁴ B *dikkālākalanav*; A *dikkālākālār*, *dikkālādikalana*° scholion.⁵ Thus A and commentary of B; *sup*° text of B. ⁶ B *vicaranaikak*.⁷ So B and its commentary; ° *vidhiṣu vedasam* A.⁸ *Vibudhyeta* the MSS.; see note on v. 25.⁹ So B and commentary; *saṃsāre* A.¹⁰ *Tat*, given in A, is omitted in text of B (which reads *na saphalam* *iti*), but apparently recognized by its commentary.¹¹ A *ghātalakṣaṇāṇi*; B *ghātalakṣyaṇi*.

stutyam vā hotavyam nāsyā¹ vyatiriktam² asti kimcana
ca³ |

stotrādinā sa tusyed uktas tan nirnamaskṛtīvaśaṭkaḥ⁴ || 73
ṣaṭtriṃśattattvabhṛtaṃ vīgraharacanāgavākṣaparipūrṇam |
nījam anyad api⁵ śarīraṃ ghaṭādi vā tasya devagrhaṃ || 74
tatra ca paramātmamahābhairavaśivadevatām⁶ svaśakti-
yutām |

ātmāmarśanavimaladravyaḥ paripūjayann āste || 75
bahirantaraparikalpanabhedamahābījanīcayam arpayataḥ |
tasyātidīptasaṃvijjvalane⁷ yatnād vinā bhavati homaḥ || 76
dhyānam anastamitam punar eṣa hi bhagavān vicitrarūpāṇi |
sṛjati tad eva⁸ dhyānam saṅkalpanalikhitasatyarūpa-
tvam || 77

bhuvanāvaliṃ samastām tattvakramakalpanām athākṣa-
gaṇam |
antarbodhe parivartayati ca⁹ yat so 'sya japa uditaḥ || 78
sarvaṃ samayā¹⁰ dṛṣṭyā yat paśyati yac¹¹ ca saṃvidam
manute |

viśvaśmaśānaniratām vīgrahakhaṭvāṅgakalpanākālītām || 79

viśvarasāsavapūrṇam nijakaragaṃ vedyakhaṇḍakakapālam |
rasayati ca yat tad etad vratam asya¹² sudurlabham ca
sulabham ca || 80

iti janmanāśahīnam paramārthamaheśvarākhyam upa-
labhya |

upalabdhṛtāprakāśāt kṛtakṛtyas tiṣṭhati¹³ yatheṣṭam || 81

¹ So A ; *na tasya* B, against metre.

² A *vyatiktam*.

³ *Kiñcana* ca A ; B omits the first two syllables.

⁴ So A ; B *°ketirvaśaṭkaḥ*.

⁵ So A ; *atha* B.

⁶ *Paramātmā*⁷ B, for which read *paramātmā*², which is supported by its commentary ; A reads *paramārtha*², and inserts *ca* after the compound.

⁷ So B ; *°dīpti*² A.

⁸ So A ; *eva hi* B, against metre. The reading of the rest of the line given above is uncertain, both A and B reading *saṅkalpalikhita*². For the form *saṅkalpana* cf. v. 19 ; and on the metre of the line see note on v. 10.

⁹ Omitted in B.

¹⁰ So B ; *samāna* A, which may be right.

¹¹ So B ; *yaś* A.

¹² So B and its commentary ; *asti* A.

¹³ B spells the word here, and elsewhere often (e.g. v. 86), *tiṣṭati*.

vyāpinam ablihitam ittham sarvātmānam¹ vidhūta-
 nānātvam |
 nirupamaparamānandam² yo veti sa tanmayo bhavati | 82
 tīrthe śvapacagrhe vā naṣṭasmr̥tir api parītyajan deham |
 jñānasamakālanuktaḥ kaivalyam yāti hataśokaḥ || 83
 puṇyāya tīrthasevā nirayāya śvapacasadanānidhanagatiḥ |
 puṇyāpuṇyakalāṅkasparśābhāve tu kiṃ tena || 84
 tuṣakambukasupr̥thak kṛtatanḍulakanaṭuṣadalāntara-
 kṣepaḥ³ |
 tanḍulakanaṭuṣasya kurute na punas tadrūpatādātmyam || 85
 tadvat⁴ kaṇḍukaṇḍalipr̥thakkṛtā samvid atra samskārāt |
 tiṣṭhanty api muktātmā tatsparśavivarjitā bhavati || 86
 kuśalatamaśīlpikalpitavimalibhāvaḥ⁵ samudgakopādbhēḥ |
 malino 'pi maṇir upādher⁶ vicchede svacchapara-
 mārthaḥ || 87
 evaṃ sadguruśāsanavimalasthiti vedanam⁷ tanūpādbhēḥ |
 muktam upādhyantaraśūnyam api samābhāti⁸ śiva-
 rūpam || 88
 śāstrādiprāmaṇyād avicalitaśraddhayā hi tanmayatām |
 prāptas⁹ sa eva pūrvam svargam narakam manuṣya-
 tvam || 89
 antyaḥ kṣaṇas tu tasmīn puṇyam pāpam ca vā sthitiṃ¹⁰
 puṣyan |
 mūḍhānām saha-kāribhāvam gacchati gatau tu na sa
 hetuḥ || 90
 ye 'pi tadātmatvena viduḥ¹¹ paśupakṣisarīrpadayaḥ¹²
 svagatiṃ |

¹ *Sarvātmānam* A.² *Nirupap*² A.³ A 'pekṣaḥ instead of 'kṣepaḥ.⁴ So A; *tadrūpatā* B.⁵ A 'kalpika², the second k being era-ed.⁶ *Upādhe* A.⁷ So A; *samvedanam* B, with the commentary, against metre.⁸ Thus A; B reads *muktām upādhyantaraśūnyam irābhāti*, and its commentary gives *upādhyantaraśūnyam api* and *ābhāti*.⁹ *Prāptaḥ* A; both forms are good.¹⁰ So B (which also writes *tasmīn*), while its commentary gives *pāpamayam vā sthitiṃ*; A has *pāpam arasthitām*.¹¹ *Vidūḥ* B in text. The defective metre is perhaps to be corrected by omitting *tadā*.¹² A has 'pakṣa².

te 'pi purātanāsambodhasaṃskṛtās¹ tām gatiṃ yānti || 91
svargamayo² nirayamayā tad ayaṃ dehāntarālagah
puruṣaḥ |

tadbhaṅge svaucityād dehāntarāyogam abhyeti || 92
evaṃ jñānāvasare svātmā sakṛd asya yādṛg avabhātaḥ |
tādṛśa eva tadāsau na dehapāte 'nyathā bhavati || 93

karaṇagaṇasampramoṣaḥ smṛtināśaḥ śvāsakalilatā chedaḥ³ |
marmasu rujāviśeṣaḥ śarīrasaṃskārajo bhogaḥ || 94

sa katham vighrahayoge sati na bhavet tena mohayoge 'pi |
maraṇāvasare jñānī na cyavate svātmāparamārthāt | 95
paramārthamārgam enaṃ jhag iti yadā gurumukhāt
samabhyeti |

atitīvraśaktipātāt tadaiva nirvighnam eva śivaḥ || 96
sarvottirṇaṃ rūpaṃ sopānapadākramaṇa saṃśrayataḥ |

paratattvarūḍhilaḥ paryante śivamayibhāvaḥ || 97
tasya tu paramārthamayīm dhārām agatasya madhya-
viśrāntaḥ |

tatpadalābhotsukacetaso⁴ 'pi maraṇaṃ kadācit syāt || 98
yogabhraṣṭaḥ śāstre kathito 'sau citrabhogabhuvanapatiḥ |

viśrāntisthānavaśād bhūtvā janmāntare śivibhavati || 99
paramārthamārgam enaṃ hy abhyasyāprāpya⁵ yogam api
nāma |

suralokabhogabhāgī⁶ muditamanā modate suciram || 100
viśayesu sārvaśaṭṭhaṃ sarvajanaṃ pūjyate yathā rājā |

bhuvaneṣu sarvadevair yogabhraṣṭas tathā pūjyaḥ || 101
mahatā kālena punar mānuṣyaṃ prāpya yogam abhyasya |

prāpnoti divyaṃ amṛtaṃ yasmād āvartate na punaḥ || 102
tasmāt sanmārga 'smin nirato yaḥ kaścid eti sa śivatvam |

iti matvā paramārthe yathā tathāpi prayataniyam || 103
idaṃ abhinavaguptoditasamkṣepaṃ dhyāyataḥ paraṃ
brahma |

¹ So B; ² *saṃskṛtāṃ* A.

² So A; ³ *maye* text of B.

³ So A; ⁴ *śvāsak* B. Both A and B give *chedaḥ*.

⁴ So B; ⁵ *lābhot-suke* A.

⁵ So rightly A, supported by commentary of B; *paramārgam enaṃ hy anyasyāprāpya* text of B.

⁶ *Surloka* A.

acirād eva śivatvaṃ nijahrdayāveśam¹ abhyeti || 104
 āryāśatena tad idaṃ saṃkṣiptaṃ śāstrasāraṃ atigūḍham |
 abhinavaguptena mayā śivacaranaśmaranādīptena || 105
 iti śrīmanmāheśvarācāryavaryābhinavaguptaviracitaḥ para-
 mārthasārābhīdho granthaḥ samāptaḥ² ||

II. TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES PARAPHRASED FROM THE COMMENTARY OF YOGA MUNI

1. To Thee, Śambhu, the Supreme, who art exalted above the Abyss, without beginning, the One, in manifold wise dwelling in dark covert, the seat of all things, abiding in all that moves and all that moves not, to Thee I come for refuge.

Siva or Śambhu (the "Blest One") is the universal subject of thought, entirely composed of Thought (*cit*) and Bliss (*ānanda*), the divine Self in all modes of existence, supreme Joy, essential Being. He is "supreme", i.e. superior to his "Powers" (*śakti*), which are Thought (*cit*), Bliss (*ānanda*), Will (*icchā*), Knowledge (*jñāna*), and Action (*kriyā*); He is "exalted above the Abyss", i.e. higher in order of being than Māyā; and He exists in His absolute nature throughout the "Order of Śiva" (*Śivādhanu*), viz. from the transcendent sphere of the Śiva-tattva to that of Knowledge [namely, the five conditions styled Śiva or Nāḍu, the 36th element, Śakti, the 35th, Sadāśiva or Sādākhya, the 34th, Īśvara or 33rd, and Pure Knowledge, Śuddha-rīdyā, or 32nd]. He enters into diverse modes of existence; though Himself pure Thought, He conjures up the semblance of a world of animate and inanimate beings, in which He is disguised like an actor, and thus becomes a subject of finite Thought. He is at once the universal subject and object of all perception, the supreme Unity; His essential nature is the rapture of supreme egoity (*parāhaṇtā-camatkāra*, opposed to the factitious *ahaṃkāra* or egoism of physical personality). To this Supreme Being our author "comes for refuge", i.e. merges in Him his own Self.

2. Wandering lost through the round of sorrows that begins with the dwelling in the womb and ends with

¹ *Nihard* A.

² This colophon is given in A only. The latter MS. adds the following verse :—

abhinavarūpā śaktis tadgupto yo maheśvaro devaḥ |
 tadubhayayāmalarūpaṃ abhinavaguptaṃ śivaṃ vande ||

To scan this we must read *c rūpaṃ* as two long syllables, as sometimes occurs in Buddhist works.

death, a disciple prayed the Lord who is the Foundation to tell him the Supreme Verity.

The "Lord" is the holy Śeṣa, who, perceiving that the inquirer was inspired by an insight consisting in remembrance of his former births, taught him the knowledge of attaining Brahma according to the method of instruction of the Sāṃkhya school, drawing a distinction between Nature (*prakṛti*) and Individual Soul (*puruṣa*), whence our author rises to the conception of a supreme unity in Śiva.

3. The Master answered him with the "Foundation-Epitome"; the essence thereof Abhinava-gupta narrates, in mystic vision of Śiva's law.

When a person is seized with disgust for the flesh, smitten by the Supreme Lord's Power of Grace (*pārameśvara-anugraha-śakti*), and inspired with true knowledge, and then, finding a teacher who is the embodiment of the Lord on earth, desires of him the knowledge of the Supreme Unity, such a person is a fit vessel for the master's teaching.

4. These four Spheres in their severalty—to wit, Power (*śakti*), Māyā, Nature (*prakṛti*), and Earth—have been brought into being by the Lord in the wealth of effluence of His native Powers.

The Lord, i.e. Maheśvara, who is solely compact of Thought (*cit*) and Bliss (*ānanda*), evolves by means of His Powers of Will, etc. [see above, v. I], the primal universe as a real entity (*vastu-piṇḍa*), styled "sphere" (*uṇḍa*, literally "egg", because in it the universe is concealed). The first sphere, or "Sphere of Power", consists of His Power as Supreme Lord (*pārameśvarī-śakti*), which takes the form of non-intuition (*akhyāti*), i.e. negation of His own essential nature as the universal subject-object of Thought and the rapture of supreme egoity. This sphere extends down to the *tattra*s of Sadāśiva, Īśvara, and Knowledge [see above, v. I], and has for its ruling deities Sadāśiva and Īśvara. It potentially contains the next three spheres.¹

¹ Virañāchārya in the Śiva-jñāna-pradīpikā, Bhoja-deva in the Tattva-prakāśikā, and other Āgamik writers thus explain the cosmic process. The Supreme Śiva in His highest sphere of being exists as *Śiva-tattra* with his Śaktis or Powers in suspension, as in the periods of cosmic dissolution. Among these Powers is the *Bindu*, also called Great Māyā, Pure Māyā, Vāg-īśvarī, Para-vidyā, Kuṇḍalinī, Kutilā, Speech-element, (*śabda-tattra*), Speech-Brahma (*śabda-brahma*), etc. The Bindu (literally the nasal sign upon the mystic syllable Om) is the germinal source of cosmic differentiation: it is abstract inanimate matter (*suddha-jadātмикā*), mechanically associated with Śiva (*cāramāna-parigrahe*), whereas the Parā Śakti or combination of the Powers of Thought, Bliss, Will,

The second is the Sphere of *Māyā*,¹ the realm of illusion. It consists of the three Defilements [see below, v. 24], and fetters all subjects of thought by imposing upon them the conception of differentiation in being. It contains within itself the next two Spheres, and extends as far down as the "Male Element", *puṣa-tattva* [the 25th element, with the *pañca-kañcuka* or Body of Five Sheaths consisting of the Elements *Niyati*, Time, and *Kalā*, the 28th, 29th, and 30th respectively; see below, on v. 17]; its regent is Rudra, or Gahana, the "Abyss" [above, v. 1].

The third is the Sphere of Nature (*prakṛty-aṇḍa*), consisting of the three material modes (*guṇas*), sc. *saṭta*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. By its evolution as causes and effects it supplies objects of thought to the individualized subjects of thought and fetters them in conceptions of pleasure, sorrow, and delusion. Its regent is Viṣṇu.

Fourth is the Earth-Sphere, which constitutes each subject of thought, from man down to immovable beings [see below, vv. 8, 38], in its special gross form: its regent is Brahman.

5. Within these [spheres] lies this universe, with its series of diverse and wondrous bodies, organs, and worlds; and therein the apprehender is Śiva Himself, dwelling in the body and assuming the condition of the Herd.

Beings in the Sphere of *Māyā* possess instantaneous and omniscient cognition and corresponding power over nature. Souls in our sphere of Earth have normally only very limited finite knowledge and power;

Knowledge, and Action is essentially related to Him (*samavestā*). The other Powers of the Supreme Śiva stir the Bindu into the potentiality of cosmic existence, as the presence of the sun causes the lotus to open; this state of being constitutes the *śakti-tattva*. Next emanates from the Bindu the *Sadāśiva-tattva*, without any change in the equipoise of the Powers of Knowledge and Action in the Supreme; then follows the *Īśvara-tattva*, when the Power of Action predominates over that of Knowledge; then that of Pure Knowledge, in which the condition of the Powers is reversed. See below on v. 14. The Bindu is thus the material cause whence arise the six *adhṛans* or formless material beings, i.e. the *varṇādhṛan* or elemental syllables from अ to ऊ, the *padādhṛan* or eighty-one mystic words framed of them, the *mantrādhṛan* or spells, the *bhuvanas* or worlds, the *kalādhṛan*, and the *Tattvas* mentioned above. The first three *adhṛans* form the Vedas and Āgamas or scriptures. To the Hindus, as to the Greeks, spoken thought and intelligence are the same, *logos*; hence ideas and their names are identified, and ideas themselves are imagined to be centres of thought-activity; cf. v. 11. The five *kalās* are forces which by their presence cause the thirty-six *Tattvas* to assume their specific characters; cf. the *Kalā* of gross *Māyā* mentioned on v. 17.

¹ *Māyā* is matter in the true sense, distinct from the "Pure *Māyā*" or Bindu, from which it is derived.

Yogis, however, can extend their knowledge and power to distant objects, and penetrate the minds of others. Beasts have some higher physical powers than man. Thus, oxen can see their home from a very great distance; horses discern their road by night; vultures descry their prey from a distance of 100 *yojanas*; birds and winged insects fly; reptiles crawl on their bellies; camels perceive sounds by the power of sight, etc. The worlds are of various shapes, being round, square, triangular, and of the form of crescents and umbrellas.

Within the gross body dwells the individualized Thought (*dehi, paśu-pramāṇa*), which is the percipient of pleasure and grief (*bhoktr*). This is no other than Śiva, who conceals His real being and of His own free will enters the stage of bodily sense-perception like an actor, in order to cognize the joys and sorrows created by Himself to be His objects. Nothing is distinct from Him. In the Self (*svātmān*), or all subjects of thought He reveals Himself as the percipient (*anubhavit*).

6. As the limpid crystal assumes a semblance of divers colours, so likewise the Lord assumes the semblance of gods, men, cattle, and trees.

The transparent surface of the crystal becomes marked with figures, which are transferred to it from the surrounding media (*upādhis*). So too the Lord, though really one and composed of independent pure Thought, assumes in the clear mirror of the Self the forms of individual beings created by Himself, which are indistinguishable from the Self; but when the Self is conceived in its transcendent nature as absolute rapture of egoity, the distinctions of finitude disappear from it; it is now identical with Maheśvara, pure Thought.

7. As in moving water the moon's image moves, and in still water is still, so it is with the Self, the Great Lord, in the series of bodies, organs, and worlds.

The Self, which is the "Great Lord" (*maheśāna*), is the supreme, universal intuition of selfhood. While active as subject of finite perception in all intelligences, it still remains throughout all modes of experience self-identical, the one universal Consciousness (*sātvīd*).

8. As Rāhu, though invisible, becomes manifest when he comes upon the moon's orb, so likewise this Self, though present everywhere, is revealed in the mirror of the intelligence by lodging in the spheres of sense-perception.

Rāhu [the demon imagined to be the cause of eclipses] is visible only in times of eclipse, when he is seen upon the orb of the moon. So the universally present Self manifests its presence only when embodied

subjects of thought envisage in their intelligence an *object* of egoity in relation to concepts such as "I hear"; for then it reveals its presence in all of them as *subject*, even in such things as clods. For consciousness is in some degree present in all things: even clods, etc., possess it, though only to an imperceptible degree, owing to the predominance of the *Gūṇa* of *tanuś* in them. From the aggregate of modes (*bhāva-rāga*: see on v. 30), which are as it were the Lord's own person. He converts some corporeal morsels of the matter of thought into subjects of thought by infusing finite egoity into them by His Power of *Māyā*, making others into the objects of thought: thus He produces the conventional conception of a world of differentiated animate and inanimate beings.

§ 9. As a face is revealed in a mirror free of impurity, so it (the Self) shines in its radiance in the element of Intelligence purified by the visitation of Śiva's Power.

The "Supreme Lord's Power" (*pārameśvarī śaktiḥ*) in its operation is subject to no external limitation. A foul mirror presents a distorted reflection, a clean mirror a true image. When the mirror of the Intelligence is cleansed and illuminated by Śiva's Power of Grace (*anugraha-śakti*) falling upon it and dissipating the influences of the three Defilements, the Self is revealed in its radiance, as possessing omniscience, etc. Some who are thus illuminated become, as it were, already released from the life of the flesh (*mukta*), and enjoy miraculous powers. In others the intelligence is darkened by the three Defilements, because the Lord's "Obscurative Power" (*tirodhāna-śakti*) lies upon them; in them, therefore, the radiance of the Self, though present, is imperceptible, and they are bound to embodied life; they are called the "Herd" (*muśa*). Others, on whom these two Powers are operating together, are on the upward path (*ārambṣu*).

10, 11. In the Supreme Element, radiant, perfect, mightily blissful from its being merged in the Self, fully stored with will, consciousness, and organism, replete with endless Powers, void of all imagination, pure, still, without dissolution or origination, shines the Universe of the thirty-six Elements.

The universe, composed of the thirty-six Tattvas, from that of Śiva [the 36th] to that of Earth [the first], is really absorbed in the transcendental Śiva-element, and reveals itself as identical with Him. It is "mightily blissful" because it is merged in the Self, i.e. in the rapture of absolute egoity. It consists of the Powers of Will, Knowledge, and Action, yet it seems as though it were inanimate and void of them. It is "replete with endless Powers", i.e., with names and forms of

objects [ideas], potencies such as that called *Brāhmī*, which are offshoots of the Powers of Will, Knowledge, and Action, and arise from the aggregate of Speech.¹ This rapture of supreme egoity in the supreme subject of thought, though it is a Logos (*rūp-rūpa*, rational thought), is "void of all imagination", for imagination (*vikalpa*) consists in cognition of an object as characterized by differentiation from another (*anyāpoha*).

12. As in the orb of a mirror pictures such as those of a town or village shine which are inseparable from it, and yet are distinct from one another and from it.

13. So from the perfectly pure vision of the supreme Bhairava² this universe, though void of distinction, appears distinct part from part and distinct from that vision.

The images seen in a clear mirror are distinct from one another and from the mirror, for the latter has an independent existence of its own, and its essential character is not lost by variations of time and space. So it is with the universe. Like images in the mirror, it is in essence void of distinction, and is not distinct from the Light (*prakāśa*, power of envisaging the universe) in which it is revealed; nevertheless, it appears as a manifold of experience, an internally differentiated complex of subjects and objects. And it appears as though it issued from this power of cosmic "vision" (*bodha*), which seems to be something higher, as the mirror is higher than its reflections. Thus this Light, in which are reflected the modes of universal being, is higher than they, and reveals itself as the sole subject of perception of all being. As regards Parameśvara, the absolute Supreme in Himself, the aggregate of modes constituted of His person is not differentiated; but from the standpoint of the subject of thought who is in the realm of Māyā, they are differentiated in his apparent "vision" of the universe, which constitutes really an illusion, viz. a non-intuition (*akhyāti*) of the Supreme Being's absoluteness: and from this illusion arises the conception of imperfection and duality in Him, hence that of cosmic differentiation.

14. He reveals the states of Śiva, of the Power, and of Sadāśiva, and the elemental condition composed of Īśvara and Knowledge, by the several natures of the five Powers.

¹ Creative ideas and mystic forces of intellection, such as the *varnas*, *puṣas*, and *mantras*, arising from the Bindu or Śabda-tattva: see note on v. 4, above.

² See on v. 74.

"He" is Parama-śiva. His "five Powers" are the *śaktis* Thought, Bliss, Will, Knowledge, and Action, which are the sources of countless others. The "state of Śiva", or Śiva-tattva, consists in Thought (*caitanya*), bodied of a great Light, the rapture of absolute egoity within all sentient beings, which is the highest elemental phase. In it the five Powers are in equilibrium. When the Lord as Thought has the blissful inspiration to become the universe, and His consciousness (*saṃvid*) of the non-existence of the universe develops so as to be a site for the germination of all modes of being, this condition is that of "the Power" (*śakti-avasthā*). While this potential seat for the origination of the universe is utterly void, Maheśvara's rapture of supreme egoity, taking the form of a complete identification of subject with object, constitutes the "state of Sadāśiva"; here the Power of Knowledge is predominant, and Action is dissolved in egoity. The subjects of thought in it are the spirits called *mantra-maheśvaras*. When again there is complete identification of subject with object in the rapture of the Self, but the ideas of subjecthood and objecthood are in perfect equipoise, this is the "state of Īśvara", in which the subjects of thought are the *mantrēśvara* spirits. When the rapture takes the form of the conception that "I am I, and this is this", the idea of subjecthood being subordinated to that of objecthood, this is the state of Pure Knowledge in the Lord; in it the subjects of thought are spirits called *vidyēśvaras*. They, together with the *mantra-maheśvaras* and *mantrēśvaras*, are styled *vijñānakalas*, and are subject to only one kind of defilement, the *āṇava-mala*, the congenital error of finitude which causes the illusion of differentiation in being. [Compare this with note on v. 4, pp. 719-20.]

Thus it is a single omnipotent Creator that reveals Himself; His Light, i.e. the intuition of the identity of subject and object in the states of Sadāśiva and Īśvara, is the cause of the physical creation in all its evolutions, from the element of Māyā to that of Earth. Self and Maheśvara are one, the supreme subject of thought, in which are included creator, cause, and action.

15. Māyā, goddess - Power, is Maheśvara's supreme dominion, which compasses ends hard of attainment, and casts a veil over Śiva's self-consciousness.

Māyā is derived from *mā*, "to define," because it differentiates the physical universe into a complex of subjects and objects of thought, or is so called because it is a principle of universal illusion [from *mā*]. It is styled "goddess", *devī*, as belonging to the God, *deva*, i.e. "the one who sports" [from *div*], and is not an entity distinct from Him, as the Brahma-vādis assert. It "compasses ends hard of attainment" by bringing into being a universe of subjects and objects. It veils Śiva's real nature when He of His own free will enters into the condition of a finite soul (*paśu*), by imposing thereupon the three Defilements.

16. When the Vision becomes defiled by the assumption of *Māyā*, and so is fettered, it becomes a Soul. The union takes place by the power of Time, Determination, and Necessity, and under the influence of Passion and Ignorance.

By coming under the influence of *Māyā*, the universal "vision" (*bodha*) loses its omniscience and omnipotence, and becomes *anu*, i.e. it assumes the *āvara* defilement, viz. non-intuition of its own real nature (*akhyāti*); it becomes limited by being cut off from the infinite Thought, as the ether confined in a jar is limited by being cut off from the universal ether; and in this state it is styled the "Male" (*pumān*, *puṣa*). It thus becomes a finite soul, *pūṣa*, subject to the "fetter" (*pāśa*), viz. the three Defilements.

17. "Now this is something I know fully": this, united with *Māyā*, is the series of the Six Cloaks, which is called the inward organ of the finite soul.

When Vision (*bodha*) becomes a finite soul (*anu*), its former powers of omniscience and omnipotence are contracted respectively into finite knowledge (*rūpyā*) and finite determination (*kalā*) by the *āvara* defilement. The conception "Now I know" implies a present or future knowledge of something previously unknown, a present or future doing of something not yet done; this distinction in the apprehension (*kālayati*) of the modes of being constitutes Time (*kāla*) in the soul. By conceiving its object as "something", a certain thing, the soul distinguishes it from others; it can form the idea of only e.g. a jar, not of a piece of cloth. This limitation of its power constitutes Determination (*kalā*). The conception "this" [implying a necessary relation between subject and object] presupposes an unvarying result from an unvarying cause, as smoke from fire or enjoyment of paradise from performance of rites like the *asa-medha*; for the Self is restricted by the merit or demerit accruing to it from the works (*karma*) done in accordance with its own will. This restriction constitutes Necessity (*nigati*). The idea expressed in "fully" (*sarvātmanāiva*) implies a sense of incompleteness, a feeling that everything ought to be in the possession of the subject, and a desire for continued existence which constitute the principle of Passion (*rāga*). The conception expressed in "I know" is that of finite knowledge (*rūpyā*), i.e. intellection applied to a present object. These five principles, "united with *Māyā*," i.e. joined to the conception of differentiation in the universe, are the "Six Cloaks".¹

¹ It should be noted that Time, Determination, Necessity, Passion, and Knowledge, forming Nos. 30-26 of the Tattvas, are successively evolved from *Māyā* (see on v. 4). The Āgamik writers derive *kalā* from *kal* in the sense that it "sweeps away" in part the defilement attaching

18. As the bran that is fixed upon the rice-grain, seemingly inseparable yet really distinct from it, is cleansed away from it, so this is cleansed away by absorption in the fervent contemplation of Śiva's way.

The "Six Cloaks", which seem to be an integral part of the soul and conceal its real nature of absolute Consciousness (*pūrṇa-saṃvīd*), are stripped from it by the fervent intuition of the glory of Maheśvara in the Self, which is expressed in the conception "I am composed of the Thought and Bliss of the supreme Unity; mine is this universe, which is merely the evolution of the Powers of my Self". Parameśvara's Power of Grace cleanses the heart, and makes the soul realize that it is itself Parameśvara; with this intuition the "Six Cloaks" fall away from it.

19. Nature, consisting purely of Pleasure, Pain, and Delusion, [forms] the inner organ, consisting of resolution, will, and conceit, [which form] the elements respectively of Intelligence, Mind, and Egoism.

We now come to describe the physical universe that forms the object of the finite soul or *ānu*. Nature, or *Prakṛti*, the prime cause of it, is the next emanation from *Māyā*; it consists of the three *Guṇas*, viz. *Sattva* (the principle of pleasure), *Rajas* (that of pain), and *Tamas* (that of gloom or delusion). The "inner organ" (*antaḥkaraṇa*), evolved from Nature, consists of *Buddhi*, i.e. the faculty of discerning unlikeness between objects, *Manas* or faculty of will, and *Ahaṃkāra* or egoism, i.e. the illusion that objects belong to the subject [in opposition to the transcendental egoity or infinite subjecthood of the absolute Self].

20. The ears, skin, eyes, tongue, and nostrils are organs of intelligence in respect of sound and the other [materials of sense]; speech, hands, feet, podex, and genitals, on the other hand, are organs of action.

These ten senses are all products of *Ahaṃkāra*, for every conception such as "I hear" has an ego for its subject.¹

21. The material of sense cognized by these [organs], impalpable and incapable of subdivision, consists of the

to souls, and thus enables them to exercise their natural powers of knowledge and action so as to undergo finite experience and thus consume their *karma*. In this function Determination is the primary factor, and Time and Necessity subordinate to it. It lastly begets Knowledge, which reveals to the soul the materials of perception, *viśayas*.

¹ On this classification cf. the commentators on *Sāṃkhya-sūtra*, I, 67, and *Śaṅkara* on *Brahma-sūtra*, II, iv, 6; iii, 22.

five *Tanmātras*, which are sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell.

These are the subtle *vyayas*, and are likewise products of *Ahaṃkāra*.

22. From the commixture of these [*Tanmātras*] arises the gross material of sense, which forms the five physical elements, viz. ether, wind, light, water, and earth.

From the *Tanmātra* of sound arises ether, the vehicle of finite sounds ; from those of sound and touch, wind ; from the same two joined to that of colour, light ; from these three joined to that of taste, water ; from these four joined to that of smell, earth.

23. As the involucre covers the rice-grain, this physical series, beginning with Nature and ending at Earth, covers the Thought with embodied being.¹

Unembodied Thought (*caitanya*), already covered by the "Six Cloaks" of *Māyā* [v. 17], which may be compared to the awn on the rice-grain, is now likewise overlaid by material body, as by an involucre. Souls thus associated with matter are called *sakala* [and are influenced by *āvara*, *kārma*, and *māyīya* defilements]. Those which are not thus individualized and embodied [i.e. those associated only with the elements *Necessity*, *Time*, *Determination*, *Passion*, and *Knowledge*, which with *Māyā* form the "Six Cloaks"] are styled *pralayākala* [and are subject only to the *āvara* and *kārma* defilements]. The universe thus contains seven classes of subjects of thought, [viz. the five orders described in v. 14, the *pralayākalas*, and the *sakalas*].

24. Defilement here forms a highest covering, a subtle one—to wit, the cloak beginning with *Māyā*—and a gross outward one in the form of body ; for the Self is enwrapped in three sheaths.

The *āvara* defilement of Thought, consisting in non-intuition of its real nature, forms the highest of the influences obscuring it. Next is the subtle *māyīya* defilement, consisting of the "Six Cloaks" of *Māyā*, etc., which causes the conception of differentiation in the subject of thought and action. Last is the defilement of *Karma*, which takes the form of the gross material body, by which the soul suffers the fruits of its works of merit or demerit.

¹ According to this enumeration *Puruṣa* (the soul in the "Five Cloaks") is the 25th tattva ; Nature (*prakṛti*), 24th ; *Buddhi*, 23rd ; *Ahaṃkāra*, 22nd ; *Manas*, 21st ; the organs of intelligence, 20th-16th ; the organs of action, 15th-11th ; the *Tanmātras*, 10th-6th ; the gross elements from ether to earth, 5th-1st.

25. From its association with the darkness of ignorance, [the Self] conceives itself in manifold diversity as objects and subjects, whereas it is one and self-identical.

The soul falsely imagines that the world is separate from itself, and looks for separate fruits for its works; hence it goes through the cycle of birth in paradise, hell, etc., experiencing these fruits.

26. As syrup, molasses, jaggery, sugar-balls, candy, etc., are all alike juice of the sugar-cane, so the divers conditions are all of Śambhu, the Supreme Self.

The "conditions" of the finite soul are waking, dream-sleep, dreamless sleep, and the Fourth [see v. 34 f.]. In all these the Lord (Self or Thought-Maheśvara) appears, determined as subjects and objects: nothing is separate from Him, for consciousness is present throughout.

27. The definitions [of the Supreme Being] as "comprehension", "inward controller", "breath", "Virāj-body", "generic existence", and "individual" are merely conventional terms: in the higher sense they are not true.

The Vijñāna-vādis say that it is pure Thought (*bodhi*), absolute and unqualified, which through the force of everlastingly pre-existent influences from works (*vāsanās*) appears as a manifold of experience expressed in terms such as "blue", "pleasant". The Brahma-vādis, following the texts, *paraṃ vedaṃ sarvaṃ* (Rg-Veda, X, xc, 2, etc.), *nānu nānāsti kiṃcena* (Śat.-Brāhm., XIV, vii, 2, 21, etc.), hold that the "inward controller" of the universe is the transcendental Brahma, who by the influence of beginningless Ignorance appears as a manifold. The Prāṇa-brahma-vādis call it "the reasoning Word-Brahma", as the universe, like the breathing, expresses itself in holy words (*āgūrya matute*), for Brahma has no other form but breath. Others say that the true form of Brahma is Virāj, according to the text "homage to the World-Soul, of whom fire is the mouth, heaven the head, air the navel, earth the feet, the sun the eye, space the ears!" Others (the Vaiśeṣikas, etc.) say it is "generic existence" (*jāti*) of the most extensive kind, which is the site of all qualities. Others say that only individuals are real. All these various modes of definition are merely provisional, *saṃvṛti-satya*; in reality the Supreme Being or Light is one, the omnipotent Thought-Maheśvara.

28. Though there is no snake in the rope, it causes terror which may end in death: truly the mighty power of delusion cannot be pierced.

The sight of a long coiled rope makes a man think it a snake, and frightens him to death. "Delusion" is the conception of finitude in the universe.

29. Thus merit, demerit, paradise, hell, birth, death, joy, sorrow, caste-life and its stages, etc., which really do not exist, arise in the Self by the power of delusion.

As a rope, falsely imagined to be a snake, has the same deadly effect as a snake, so merit, etc., really figments of imagination, arise in the mind of those who confound the body with the Self under the illusive influence of *Māyā*, and lead them through endless sufferings in the cycle of bodily birth. "Merit" means acts such as the *āśra-madha* rite, "demerit" the murder of brahmins, etc.

30. It is a blindness when there arises the error that modes of being which from the presence of the Light in them ought not to be distinguished from the Self are not the Self.

"Modes of being" (*bhāvas*) are the subjects and objects forming the finite universe, which really are not in essence distinct from the Self or Thought-Mahēśvara, being embodied of its Light. In the manifestation of these modes it is the Self, the ego of essential Thought, that reveals itself in concepts such as "blue", "pleasant"; only the differentiation into subjects and objects in them is unreal.

31. It is a darkness from darkness, a great "pustule upon a boil", when that which is not the Self, such as body and breath, is imagined to be the Self.

It is a bad mistake to imagine that the modes of being which are constituted by the Self are other than the Self, and absolutely inanimate; but it is the worst of errors to single out from these an inanimate object, a mere fragment of the material of cognition, such as the body or the breath, and to regard it as the one and only Self, by forming conceptions such as "I am lean", "I am hungry", when in truth it is only the body that is lean or hungry, not the subject of the thought.

32. Strange it is, how [the finite soul] envelops the Self with the combination of the conceptions of body and breath, the cognition of intelligence, and the expanse of ether, as a spider covers itself with its web.

Children, women, and illiterate persons identify the Self with the body, forming conceptions such as "I am lean, stout", etc. Some, again, think it is the breath, as the ego conscious of hunger and thirst. Others say that it is the principle which apprehends pleasure and pain,

the *purī-astakā* [or subtle body passing from one incarnation to another].¹ Others identify it with the void, i.e. the absence of body, breath, and the concepts of finite intelligence, or the residue left after sublation of all data of experience; our author calls this "the expanse of ether".

33. Through envisagement of the revelation of the splendour of the knowledge of the Self He uncloaks His native Self; thus the Supreme Śiva carries on His sport, consisting in the miracles of bondage and release.

When one has made continuously efforts to realize that the universe lies in his own Self, and that this his Self is supreme, composed purely of Thought and Bliss, the Lord strips off from the Self the false conceptions usually attached to it—viz. the identification with body, breath, finite intelligence, or void—and reveals it as pure Thought, supreme egoity; and thus the fettered soul, the *puṣa*, which hitherto imagined itself to be inanimate, subject to Karma, defiled, and dependent, realizes that it is not so, and becomes one with the Supreme, the *pati*, the universe being its body and Thought its soul. The Supreme Śiva, who is solely composed of infinite Thought and Bliss, carries on this "sport", viz. concealing His own nature by converting it into divers subjects of finite thought, so as to imprison it, and again of His own free will releasing it. It is His nature that He cannot rest alone [Bṛhad-ār.-Upan., I, iv, 3]: hence He constantly passes from one condition to another, and without losing His self-identity manifests Himself everywhere as the subject of perception.

34. Creation, maintenance, and dissolution, waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep, appear in Him in the Fourth Abode; but He reveals Himself under their covering.

The above conditions are present as phenomena in the consciousness of the Lord in the "Fourth" stage [i.e. the state of *Sadāśiva*], in which He is pure Bliss, the state of infinite egoity, from which the phenomena of the three lower states of consciousness derive their character. Their presence does not suppress His real nature, for He reveals Himself everywhere as higher than they, as the universal subject of perception, under all conditions infinite in essence.

35. The waking state is the "Universe", because of differentiation; dreaming sleep is "Illumination", because of the greatness of the light; the state of dreamless

¹ This is defined as consisting of *Buddhi*, *Manas*, *Ahaṃkāra*, and the five *Tanmātras*; the *Tattva-prakāśikā* adds the five gross elements and the organs of intelligence and action (see *Parvateśa's* Kannada translation, v. 12).

slumber is that of "Understanding", for it is compact of knowledge; above these is the Fourth.

The three states, waking, etc., are described in Vedantic terms.¹ (1) The waking state is called *Īśāna*, "Universe," i.e. the Virāj-form of Brahma. "because of differentiation," that is, because in it the one Brahma appears as divers subjects and objects of perception. As Scripture [Kāthaka-saṃhitā, xviii, 2] says, *yo viśvadevān uta viśvato mukho*, etc. (2) Dreaming sleep is *tejaś*, "Illumination," i.e. the *taijasa* form of Brahma, "because of the greatness of the light," that is, because then the outer organs do not operate upon the materials of sense (*viśayas*), which thus cease to be really existent, and leave nothing in their place to be determined by the Buddhi. The universe then reveals itself (*prakāśate*) in dreams; the Lord, i.e. Brahma, assuming the condition of divers subjects of thought, and by His illuminative power presenting the Self in the form of manifold concepts such as towns, villages, etc., reveals to each dreamer a common universe. Thus the text says: "Dividing the self by the self, beholding different modes of being, the Subject, lord of all and composed of all, is revealed in dreaming." (3) Dreamless sleep is *prajñā*, "Understanding," i.e. the *prajñā* form of Brahma, that is to say, in it the universe as a complex of subjects and objects vanishes, and a great void reigns, a state of pure potentiality (*saṃskāra-bhūmi*) out of which there shall again emerge the vision of a universe qualified by conceptions such as "blue", "pleasant". It is "compact of knowledge", as is also the Fourth state; that is, it is essentially a state of Light (*prakāśa-mūrti*), but its brilliance is darkened by the potentialities remaining from the vanished universe, which is not the case with the Fourth, which consists of pure Thought. (4) The "Fourth" state is the highest. All the influences and potentialities of finite differentiation having vanished from the soul, it is now in a state of absolute bliss and knowledge, into which the three previous conditions are merged (*viśrūpa*).

36. As the expanse of the sky is not defiled by clouds or smoke or dust, so the Supreme Soul is unaffected by the changes of Māyā.

Whatever be the passing obscurations that appear on its surface, the sky maintains its character, and is recognized as the sky in every condition. So the Lord does not lose His self-identity in all the changes arising in finite souls as a result of their non-intuition of their and His nature (*akhyāti*), though they are all in Him.

¹ These three Vedantic conditions are equated with the Nos. 31-3 of the Śaiva Tattvas. The "waking state" corresponds to the condition of Impure Māyā (No. 31), "dreaming sleep" to that of "Pure Knowledge" (No. 32), "dreamless sleep" to that of *Īvara* (No. 33), and the Fourth to that of *Sadāśiva* (No. 34): see above, v. 14.

37. When the ether in one jar is full of dust, that in other jars is not thereby defiled. So it is with these souls that undergo differentiation in joy and sorrow.

Souls (*jīvas*, *puruṣas*) are really absolute Thought, which by Parameśvara's Power of *Māyā* is covered over by the three cloaks of *āvara*, *māyīya*, and *kārma* defilement, whereby it loses its character of transcendental Knowledge and Bliss and becomes differentiated into diverse souls, which undergo diverse experiences without affecting one another.

38. The Lord is, as it were, still when the various elements are still, glad when they are glad, gloomy when they are gloomy; but in verity He is not so.

The various conditions of finite souls do not really belong to the Supreme, but are metonymically ascribed to Him; they affect only the "Six Cloaks" surrounding the transcendental Thought which is the Lord. The "various elements" here mentioned are the bodily organism, which varies in its condition according to the predominance of the *Gunas* of Nature [see on v. 19].

39. Having first overthrown the semblance of Selfhood in what is not-Self, the Supreme Śiva shatters the delusion that sees not-Self in Self.

"The semblance of Selfhood in what is not-Self" means conceptions such as "*I am lean*", "*I am fat*", in which the subject of thought is falsely identified with the non-Self, body. After removing this delusion, the Supreme destroys the erroneous idea that the ego or Self is finite and differentiated.

40. When thus these two illusions have been cut out by the roots, the exalted Adept has fulfilled his end, and has in sooth no further duty to occupy him.

By "further duty" is meant pilgrimage, residence in a fixed spot, offices of initiation (*dikṣā*), prayer, meditation, giving or receiving lectures, etc.

41. For by the power of the conception of Unity the trinity of Earth, Nature, and *Māyā*, that revealed itself in objective semblance, becomes reduced to simple Being.

42. As a girdle, a ring, or a bracelet may be regarded merely as gold, without regard to their several differences, so the universe appears as simple Being without regard to differentiation.

43. This is Brahma, the supreme, pure, still, undifferentiated, equal, complete, deathless, real, that is merged in the Power of essential Light.

The universe is "Brahma", from *bṛhat*, "great": cf. the Upanishadic saying, *sad eva samyadān agra āsit* [Chānd. Up., VI. ii. 1]. It is "real" (*satya*), i.e. composed of pure Being (*satā*). It is "merged" (*visṛāmyati*) in the Supreme Power, *Parā Śakti* or condition of equilibrium of the Powers of Will, Knowledge, and Action, i.e. it becomes identical with the Supreme Power. It is now [in the mind of the Yogi envisaging it as simple Being] resolved back from the state of Sadāśiva into that of Śakti [v. 14].

44. On the other hand, what is untouched by the [Power] of essential Light expressed as Will, Knowledge, and Action passes into the condition of a sky-flower.

Everything that exists is merged into the "Vision" (*bodha*) consisting of the manifestation of this Supreme Power.

45. The whole of this is by the God of gods resolved, by means of the attainment of the trinity of Powers, into the Supreme Lord named Śiva, the Supreme Verity.

The sum of being now passes [in the mind of the Yogi envisaging it] from the condition of *Parā Śakti* into the absolute state called Śiva [the Śiva-tattva or Nāda, No. 36, the *Śāmbhara-pada*], composed of unqualified Thought and Bliss. The agent of this transformation is Supreme Śiva Himself, the "God of gods", i.e. the highest of all the divine manifestations in being, from Brahma to Śiva, and of the corporeal agencies.

46. Inversely, by the course of emanation of the Five Powers is externally created this wondrous triad of Spheres by the assumption of outward selfhood.

[See v. 14 above.]

47. Thus the God who by the force of His sport makes to revolve the mechanical wheel of the Powers is the *I*, pure of nature, present in the place of the leader of the great circle of Powers.

The use of the pronoun of the first person shows that Śiva is the essential ego or subject of thought in all forms of consciousness. He keeps in motion the cycle of creation, dissolution, etc., in which operate the countless Powers springing from His five principal Powers of Thought, etc. He is "God", *deva*, because He thus exercises His sport

[from the root *dir*]. The "place of the leader of the great circle of Powers" is the position bestowing upon these subordinate Powers—the deities of the physical organs—authority to form phenomenal conceptions; He is present there, for these Powers in order to be real must ultimately be merged into pure Thought or absolute Egoity.

48. It is in *Me* that the universe reveals itself, as jars and the like in a mirror; from *Me* emanates the universe, as the varied forms of dreams from slumber.

The universe is the subjective phenomenon of the absolute Ego of unqualified Thought and Bliss; it emerges thence without any external cause, its material being only the self-consciousness (*sva-saṃvid*) of the Ego.

49. It is *I* who take form as the universe, like a single body composed of hands, feet, etc. In the whole it is *I* who am revealed, as a radiant thing in its modes.

The one absolute Ego becomes a manifold of subjects and objects of Thought which compose the universe. In the latter the Ego reveals itself as the subject of all perception, as a luminous body casts its light on various dark objects.

50. Though without bodily organs, *I* see, hear, smell; though unworking, *I* fashion the manifold doctrines, traditional lore, and reasoning.

The absolute Thought or Supreme Being, present in the consciousness of all, is the subject of all phenomenal perception, and establishes all standards of knowledge.

51. When thus the imagination of duality has vanished, and he has surmounted the illusive *Māyā*, he is merged in Brahma, as water in water, as milk in milk.

The Yogi who has thus realized the universe as the phenomenon of his own self-consciousness becomes merged in absolute Thought and Bliss [the *Śiva-tattva*, No. 36], i.e. the Supreme Unity.

52. When thus through contemplation the group of elements has been resolved into the substance of *Śiva*, what grief, what delusion can befall him who surveys the universe as Brahma?

The "group of elements" consists of the physical objects and the organs of perception.

53. Fruit of works, whether fair or foul, comes from attachment to false ideas. For harmful is the defilement of association, like the union of a thief with one who is no thief.

Influences on man's destiny arise from meritorious works, such as the *śra-madha* rite, and wrongful works, such as murder of brahmins, both of which are due to false ideas such as "I am a bodily being", "I shall obtain happiness by means of this rite", in which things which are not the Self are imagined to be the Self, and vice versa. By association with such ideas the soul performs works and becomes liable to their consequences, thus suffering the miseries of the cycle of birth.

54. The besotted beings who worship here an Ignorance framed of worldly concepts pass on to birth and death, bound in the fetters of merit and demerit.

The foolish identify body with the Self, and desire carnal benefits: they devote themselves to "Ignorance", i.e. *Māyā*, the principle of differentiation, in the form of worldly conventions or standards of merit and demerit, which they follow in order to attain paradise, etc. Thus they are imprisoned in the cycle of birth and death.

55. But the works of merit and demerit accumulated during the time of ignorance vanish through the power of the flame of understanding, like down long gathered.

The Yogi's knowledge that he is the Supreme Brahma immediately destroys all the influence of the works previously done by him in the days of ignorance: he becomes no longer liable to pleasant or painful experiences of the body.

56. When knowledge is once gained, works performed thereafter can bear no fruit; how, then, can he be reborn? The union with the bond of birth has left him, and he is revealed in the lustre of the Self, a sun consisting of Śiva.

[See v. 60 toll.]

57. As the seed stripped of involucre, bran, and awn puts forth no sprout, so the Self stripped of [*āvara*] defilement, *Māyā*, and Karma puts forth no sprout of physical life.

The *āvara* defilement may be compared to the bran of the rice-grain, the *māyīya* defilement to its involucre, and the *kārma* defilement to its awn. The Self cleansed of these cannot pass into incarnation, but becomes again one with Maheśvara.

58. He that knows the Self fears naught, for the whole universe is his native form; nor does he grieve, for in the Supreme Verity there is no perishing.

59. When, by reason of the store of gems of the Supreme Verity arising in the treasure-house of the mystic heart, the state of Maheśvara is reached with the consciousness that "I am [all]", what misfortune can betide, and whom?

The "state of Maheśvara" is that in which the light of Self reigns supreme and all is merged into transcendental egoity [i.e. the Siva-tattva; see on v. 14]. The Yogi in this condition recognizes all objects as being phenomenal (*ābhāsana-sāra*) as such, and noumenally one with his Self; hence they cannot really change, and so he has nothing to fear from them.

60. For Redemption there is no fixed site nor passage elsewhere: Redemption is the revelation of the powers of Self when the bond of ignorance is burst.

Redemption or release (*mokṣa*, *kāraṇya*) consists in the rapture of absolute egoity. It is not limited to a particular place or time, nor does it consist in any particular passage from one place to another. The "bond of ignorance", i.e. the illusion that the real Self is not Self and that the body, etc., are Self, is destroyed by knowledge, and then the Self is revealed in its supreme native powers, as omnipresent, etc.; this revelation constitutes Redemption. No change is thereby introduced into the nature of Consciousness.

61. He that has burst the bond of ignorance, whose doubts have passed away, who has overcome delusion, from whom merit and guilt alike have vanished, is redeemed, though he be still united to the body.

This refers to the "redemption-in-life" (*jīvan-mukti*); the Yogi thus redeemed still lives on in the flesh, for the benefit of fellow-creatures, until his final redemption on death.

62. As the seed scorched by fire becomes incapable of sprouting, so works burned in the flame of knowledge are unable to cause rebirth.

The Yogi, being in this state of redemption, no longer conceives phenomena as desirable or undesirable; hence the exercise of physical functions causes no influence of Karma for him, so that he will never be born again.

63. Owing to the conception of a future body corresponding to [present] works, [a conception] arising from limitation of intelligence, the Thought becomes accordingly contracted on the dissolution of the present body.

Owing to "limitation of intelligence", i.e. improper desires, which arise from non-intuition of the real nature of the Self and are associated with mental dispositions (*vāsanās*) by which things such as the body are regarded as the Self, a man may do works, e.g. he may perform the *āśva-mēdha* rite in order to become happy in this and the next world, or to obtain the seat of Indra. He will therefore be reborn in a body suitable for the enjoyment of fruits corresponding to these works. Owing to his present imagination of such a future body, the absolute Thought within Him becomes stained by the *kārma* defilement based upon the *ānava* and *māyīya* defilement, and is qualified and conditioned by his conception of this future body, as the ether in a jar is spatially conditioned by the walls of the jar: and when the present body, in which he is experiencing the fruits of previous Karma now in progress, comes to dissolution, the Thought has become so conditioned by this conception of a future body that it evolves the latter, and in company with it undergoes the phenomena of paradise, hell, etc.

64-6. But if one should behold the Self as being of the substance of Śiva, undefiled Vision exalted in the highest, having the substance of percipient and agent, omnipresent, framed of radiance that neither sets nor rises, realizing its will void of conceptions of space and time, constant, unfailing, absolutely perfect, monarch, sole agent in the contemplation of the dissolution and rise of the multitudinous band of Powers, cunning creator of the laws of creation and other conditions, how should he be in the cycle of rebirth? since he is all-extensive, whence should he have to wander, and whither?

The Self is "of the substance of Śiva", i.e. composed solely of Thought and Bliss. Only the subtle body, *śūka-śarīra* [see v. 32], which is compounded of Thought and Non-Thought, is liable to wander through the cycle of birth, owing to its union with *kārma* defilement; but he who has become one with Śiva, i.e. pure Thought, has thereby cast off the investiture of the defilements, and is for ever freed from that doom. The "band of Powers" are the various potentialities of objects of thought arising from the aggregate of Speech [see above, v. 11].

67. Thus by reasonings likewise it is proved that the work done by the enlightened man bears no fruit; for

owing to the intense conviction that "this is not mine but his" no fruit accrues in the world.

Priests (*yājñakāḥ*) perform a sacrifice (*yajanti*, active voice) on behalf of one who gets them to perform it (*yajate yajamānaḥ*, middle voice), in order that he may thence derive a future benefit, e.g. paradise. The priest knows that he has no such future gain to expect; he is only hired with a present fee. The sacrifice is not *his*, i.e. it will not profit him in time to come; it is to the credit only of the celebrant, the *yajamāna*, though the latter does not actually perform it himself. From this knowledge the priest saves himself from sharing in the future fruits of the rite, which fall entirely to the *yajamāna*, who gets them by reason of his belief in their value. The present works of the enlightened Yogi, between the moment of his enlightenment and the time of his death, are like those of the priest; as he expects no fruit thence for himself, they bear him none.

68. Stirred up thus by the wind of conception, he sacrifices all imaginations in the kindled radiance of the Self, and becomes of the substance of Light.

The Yogi is inspired by the "conception" that he is one with the Thought-Maheśvara, in perfect and eternal self-revelation, as fire hidden under ashes is stirred up by the wind. He therefore renounces such "imaginations" (*vikalpāḥ*) as "I am a fettered soul, embodied and bound by Karma, these children and wife are mine, by this work I shall obtain paradise or hell". Being inspired by the absolute Consciousness, he casts such ideas away into the "radiance of the Self", i.e. surrenders them for the rapture of supreme egoity, and "becomes of the substance of Light", i.e. renders himself one with the transcendental subject of Thought, in which finite ideas vanish.

69. Feeding on whatso may come, wearing raiment of anything, still of spirit, dwelling wherever he chance to come, he finds redemption, being the self of all beings.

Living thus in utter indifference to external conditions, the Yogi finds his redemption in being one with the Supreme Śiva, because he thereby becomes the self of all beings and they become his Self, so that nothing can hinder him from realizing his Self.

70. Though he cause hundreds of thousands of *aśva-medhas* to be offered, or hundreds of thousands of brahmins to be slain, he that knows the Supreme Verity is not affected by merit or by guilt, but remains stainless.

Whatever works the Yogi may do, whether meritorious or the reverse, so long as he performs them without any idea of being personally

concerned in them as subject or beneficiary, and with the consciousness of being merely the instrument of the Supreme Being's will, they bear no fruit for him, they cause no subsequent incarnation; the three defilements, which are the causes of rebirth, have no power to affect him.

71. Removing from himself conceit, joy of gain, wrath, lust, misery of loss, dread, avarice, and delusion, without hymn of praise or hallelujah, he will walk like a senseless creature, without speech or perception.

72. Conceit, joy, and the rest of these passions arise from the illusion of differentiation: how should he be affected thereby who has the vision of the Self in unity?

Defilement implies a distinction between the thing defiling and the object defiled. With the Yogi there is no such distinction, for the emotions, realized as being aspects of Brahma, become homogeneous with the Yogi who has become Brahma, and views all things as neither desirable nor undesirable.

73. There is naught distinct from himself to which he should offer praise or oblation: will he rejoice in praise and the like who is said to have passed beyond worship and hallelujah?

Worship in liturgical forms (hymns and sacrifice) implies a distinction between the worshipper and the god worshipped, which for the Yogi does not exist. [See Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, English translation, p. 61 foll.]

74. His temple is his own body and that which is other, built of the thirty-six elements, and fully set with windows consisting of the bodily organism, or composed of jars, etc.

As a temple in which to worship the Self, the Yogi has his own body and any external structure as well. For the latter he knows to be formed of the same elements as his own body, and as its indwelling spirit is composed of Thought like his own, he is one with it. His own body, again, is a temple, i.e. the seat of Consciousness (*samvit*), the home of the divine Self. As a temple has windows, so the body has its organs of sense. The external materials of sense (*viśaya*)—e.g. the objects of sight, such as jars—are informed by consciousness through the agency of the appropriate organs—e.g. the eye—so that the whole phenomenal world is to the thinker a temple of His own indwelling Consciousness, of the absolute Self-Maheśvara in His sport, as is his own body.

75. Therein he sits, worshipping with the pure substances of reflection on the Self the blessed Deity who is the Supreme Reality, great Bhairava, in company with His native Powers.

In the temple of his body the Yogi offers the worship of the spirit to the Supreme Śiva, or Bhairava (from *bhr*, "to bear," and *ra*, "to destroy," because He makes to vanish all consciousness of sense-perception¹), and to Śiva's Powers, i.e. the "functional goddesses" (*karana-devyatā*) or deities presiding over the function of each bodily organ, who are evolved from the five main Powers of Śiva. The Yogi, no longer conscious of a distinction between desirable and undesirable things, meditates upon the data of phenomenal experience as they present themselves, and identifies them with his own Self. This may be compared to worship proper (*pūjā*), which is regularly followed by a fire-oblation (*homa*).

76. When in the blazing flame of Consciousness he offers the pile of the great seed which consists in the manifoldness of outward and inward figments of thought, this is his fire-oblation, done without labour.

By "outward and inward figments of thought" are meant respectively objective concepts (e.g. blue) and subjective concepts (e.g. pleasant) predicated by the ego of himself and other egos. The innumerable variety of these concepts forms a "pile of the great seed" from which arises the differentiation of the various subjects and objects of thought. The Yogi's "oblation" consists in effacing from his mind this distinction.

77. His meditation is without cessation; for the Lord creates diverse figures, and these are his meditation, wherein the forms of verity are depicted by the mind.

As in ritual the fire-oblation is followed by the meditation (*dhyāna*), so it is with the Yogi. He no longer thinks in positive terms of thought. But he is incessantly pondering upon the modes of "imagination" (*vikalpa*) which the Supreme causes to appear in the mirror of his intelligence (*buddhi*), i.e. the data of phenomenal experience. He realizes that all activity of the *manas* or *samkalpa* [v. 19] is evolved from the Supreme Power or Parā Śakti [v. 43], and that the universe is really absolute being identical with Parameśvara. This true conception is figured on his consciousness by the action of the *manas*, and he sees that the universe revealed to him in modes of "imagination"

¹ Properly the word is a derivative from *bhīru*, root *bhī*, "to fear." Śiva is styled *Bhairava* in His aspect as cause of dissolution of the universe.

as an operation of the *manas* is real and identical with the Light, for Consciousness is present in it throughout.

78. And as he revolves in inward vision the whole series of worlds, the conception of the order of elements, and the various organs, this is called his prayer.

There are 240 worlds existing in the thirty-six *tattvas*. The Yogi's "prayer" is the intuition of supreme egoity constantly applied to the whole universe. Prayer (*japa*) consists in the utterance of a spell denoting a deity, counted by turning the beads of a rosary that is pervaded by the Power of Breath, *prāṇa-śakti*. The Yogi's rosary is his consciousness, *saṃvit*, which is pervaded, as by a thread, by the Power of the "Central Breath" [i.e. the *prāṇa-śakti* or *kuṇḍali*, a mystic cosmic force which sleeps on the *kandā*, an imaginary knob over the pudendum at the bottom of the *suṣumnā*, the central artery connected with the trachea, through which the *kuṇḍali* when awakened passes up the body and emerges at the *brahma-randhra*, an imaginary suture in the skull between the brows through which the soul enters the body]. As the Yogi repeats the syllables of the *nāḍa-hīndu* [the sacred *om*, etc.], at each breath he conceives the universe as turning round in the series of creation and dissolution, like the buckets on a pulley. His "prayer" thus consists in being merged in absolute egoity. The universe is based upon the Power of Breath; and at each breath of the Yogi the Supreme Power, *parā śakti*, taking the form of physical breath, makes his meditation a true prayer.

79-80. His holy-day, right hard to find, yet easy, is when he views the totality of being in a vision of unity, and beholds his Consciousness wholly resting in the cemetery of the universe and marked by the token of the skeleton of the body, and he drinks from the skull, the morsel of finite cognition, that lies in his hand full of the draught of the universe's essence.

The Yogi's "holy-day", i.e. his enjoyment of his illumination, is "hard to find", for it is obtained only by Divine grace after ridding himself of his non-intuition of the Self, *akhyāti*; yet in itself it is "easy" to perform, for it needs no laborious offering of external goods, etc. The universe as a manifold of subjects and objects of cognition is as such inanimate, the Consciousness tenanting it is animate; so the former is compared to a cemetery, the latter to a votary haunting it in his mystic rites. The Yogi in the realization of his omnipresent and absolute spirituality sports like a mad devotee in the universe amidst the lifeless company of fettered souls and objects of finite thought. As the votary in the cemetery is marked by his *kaṭhāraṅga-mūlā*, [a mystic

posture in which the right hand is uplitted with its five fingers clasped together], so the Consciousness is seen by the Yogi as bearing the token-mark of his body, which he has reduced to a mere skeleton (*khaṭvāṅga*) by realizing the supremacy of his spiritual Self; i.e., he perceives that the Consciousness, in pursuance of the universal Will, assumes the phenomenal form of body, which as such is different from it. The votary drinks his magic draught from the fragment of a skull; the Yogi contemplates the noumenal reality underlying the phenomenal universe, which is a solid "morsel", i.e. a manifold divided into objects of knowledge and of action. As the cup lies in the hand (*kara*) of the votary, so the phenomenal universe presents itself as object in the rays (*kara*) of the Consciousness, i.e. through the functions of the divers bodily organs.

81. Thus conceiving the being that is without birth and dissolution, called the Supreme Reality and Maheśvara, he abides as he lists, his part fulfilled, because of the light of his estate as concipient.

As the potter's wheel continues to revolve for a short time after his hand has been withdrawn, so the Yogi for a while continues to live on in the flesh, in a state of absolute bliss, because he is conscious of being the subject of universal thought in all conditions.

82. He who knows the omnipresent Self of all beings, thus declared, from which manifoldness has been cast off, and which is of supreme Bliss beyond comparison, comes to be of its substance.

All classes of mortals, and even lower animals, may by recognition of the Self-Maheśvara become consubstantial with Him.

83. No matter whether he depart from the body in a holy place or in an outcast's hovel, even though his memory be gone, he passes into absolute being, overcoming sorrow, for he has been redeemed at the hour when he found knowledge.

It matters not for the future of the Yogi under what conditions he may die; his knowledge of the Self carries him immediately after his death into *kairālya*, the condition composed of Being, Thought, and Bliss which lies beyond the Fourth [see on v. 35 foll.]. As the word *api* in the text implies, he may retain the memory of his knowledge at the moment of death, and if so, he will proceed at once to *kairālya*. But even if he has lost it in the decay of his faculties, etc., the result is the same; for his passage into *kairālya* really took place previously, when he learned the great mystery, and his subsequent life in the flesh has

been merely mechanical. The vestment of the body arises only from the soul's association with the *āvara* and *māyīya* vestments which are created by ignorance; this ignorance is destroyed when the Yogi gets his enlightenment, and his progress towards *kaivalya* henceforth cannot be checked. Moreover, we have no direct evidence to show that his memory ever fails him at the moment of dissolution. As he has lived so long in the state of grace, the Supreme Lord present in his Self must inspire him at the last moment, although he may seem to be unconscious [cf. v. 89].

84. Visiting holy places makes for merit, meeting one's death in an outcast's hovel leads to hell: but what signifies this when there is no influence of either merit or demerit?

Some learned men labour under the illusion that such things as the body are the subject of thought: accordingly they set themselves to acquire merit by sacrifices and good works, and visit sanctuaries and die there, in order to be reborn in a happier condition. The rebirth of such men is determined by the spot in which they happen to die. But in any case they still remain in the cycle of birth and death. To the truly enlightened Yogi, however, it matters not where he dies. All Karma arising from *āvara* and *māyīya* defilements departed from him when he attained enlightenment, and so after his death his Self cannot sprout again into bodily life.

85. The insertion of a rice-grain which has been completely severed from its involucre and bran into another involucre does not make for the rice-grain permanence in that form afterwards.

86. In like manner the Consciousness which by purification has been severed here from surrounding vestures, though it last on for a while, is free from the influence thereof, and is in a state of release.

A grain and an involucre, if united in a merely mechanical manner, cannot organically co-operate so as to germinate. Similarly, the consciousness of the Yogi, being severed by the intuition of its native universality from the cloaks of *Māyā*, though it may for a time linger on in bodily form, is henceforth distinct for ever from the body and unaffected by its influences tending to produce rebirth, which arise from meritorious works or the reverse. The Yogi's knowledge raises him for the rest of his bodily life into the Fourth condition, and on death into the stage above the Fourth [see v. 43].

87. A gem which has been brought into a state of translucence by a very skilful jeweller may nevertheless

become darkened from the box which is the surrounding medium: but it regains its true limpidity when this medium is broken up.

88. Thus the Consciousness, lastingly purified by the instruction of the good teacher, reveals itself in the form of Śiva when it is released from the surrounding medium of the body, and is for ever freed from other surrounding media.

89. For through unwavering faith on the authority of books of instruction and the like previously, one becomes consubstantial [with the object of faith], and passes to heaven, hell, or human estate.

According as a man's mind is moulded by faith, by knowledge of the Self, by practice of meritorious works, etc., it develops corresponding "conformations" (*saṃskāras*) by which it is assimilated to the objects to which it is devoted. The state of imagination thus produced in the mind becomes most vivid at the moment of death [cf. v. 83], and thereby the nature of the ensuing life is predetermined [see v. 63]. Thus the new life is only a continuation and development of the mental state previous to death. The Yogi ever since his enlightenment has been in a state of unqualified spirituality; hence after death he cannot return to bodily birth.

90. But the last moment, which, serving to produce a condition of "merit" or "demerit", becomes for the besotted a cause,¹ is not in his case that which determines the course of destiny.

Disorders of the humours or violence of his malady may bring the Yogi at the moment of his death into a condition which persons around him judge to be "meritorious" or the reverse, i.e. capable of making more or less agreeable his lot in a future birth. But they err, for he cannot be reborn. Such a condition can determine the nature of the future birth only of "the besotted", viz. those who imagine the Self to be the body or like things, and are therefore bound in the cycle of birth.

91. They who at that hour realize their state to be that of Self, even though they be cattle, birds, creeping things, or the like, are nevertheless purified by the insight that they had in time past, and now go on that course.

¹ *Sahakāribhāraṃ kāraṇatām*, says the Comm. A "cause", *kāraṇa*, is that which necessarily precedes its effect (Tarka-saṃgraha, 38).

It sometimes happens that when beings who because of their desires or a curse upon them have become incarnated as beasts, etc., and degraded in intelligence, are about to die, the instincts aroused in them by knowledge of the Self obtained in former births now revive by a special grace, so that they realize their nature to be really Self, and by entering it find redemption. Thus the elephant which, as is narrated in the legend [Bhāgavata-purāṇa, VIII, i. 30-iv, 26], was rescued by Viṣṇu from the crocodile, was inspired to praise Him by an instinct arising from devotion in a former life, and hence was able to cast off the flesh and enter into his true essence.

92. Thus the fettered soul is enclosed within a body so as to be its own heaven and hell, and when this one is dissolved the soul enters into union with another body in accordance with its own fitness.

93. Thus also the Self is then with him in the same guise as when at the hour of enlightenment it once for all was revealed to him, and it changes not on the dissolution of the body.

Whatever be the physical condition in which the Yogi expires, the enlightenment in which he has lived is not thereby affected : he proceeds to eternal release from the flesh.

94. Utter palsy of the organs, failure of memory, disturbance of the breathing, breaking down of the joints, various sorts of malady, the sufferings arising from bodily conformation,

95. How shall this not befall, whilst the union with body lasts ? But although he is united with illusion, the Enlightened does not on that account fall away from the Supreme Verity of the Self at the hour of death.

The weaknesses and sufferings of the failing body befall everybody, the Sage not excepted : but they do not affect the Sage's state of enlightenment and his redemption from the flesh after death, despite his union with "illusion", i.e. the [apparent] temporary obscuration of his knowledge at the hour of death. Thus Vāsudeva, though in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa he was mortally wounded by a hunter's arrow, still retained the same essentially divine nature as before.

96. When one finds this Path of Supreme Verity from the Master's utterance, straightway the Power falls upon him with exceeding intensity, and without hindrance he becomes Śiva.

Some persons who in their last birth learn this doctrine from their teachers are at once visited by the free grace of the Lord, the *anugraha-śakti* [see v. 9], in such measure that they immediately become identical with Him.

✓ 97. Some become consubstantial with Śiva after rising at length to the height of the Supreme Principle, reaching the all-transcending Form by gradual ascent of the steps of the ladder.

On some the Power of Grace falls with a gradually increasing degree of intensity. They accordingly practise Yogic exercises, so that the mystic force within them gradually rises upwards from the *kanda* to the navel, the heart, etc. [see on v. 78]. Thus they progress towards perfect enlightenment, until at the hour of death they become consubstantial with Śiva. This is gradual redemption, *krama-mukti*.

✱ 98. But if one from the mid-course of his absorption comes not to the estate of Supreme Verity, and though his soul yearns to reach that condition, death one day befalls him—

✓ 99. He that thus lapses from his Yoga, as the books of instruction tell, becomes a lord in worlds of wondrous enjoyments, and by the influence of the place of his absorption he passes into a second birth, and there becomes Śiva.

Some persons, although they attain the state of grace and practise Yoga, are not sufficiently advanced to reach redemption on their death, or some obstacle comes in their way. They on dying pass at once into worlds of paradisiac enjoyments, e.g. women, food, drink, garlands, garments, unguents, and music, corresponding to the degree of absorption in the universal Spirit which they have attained previous to death. When their term of enjoyment there ends, they are reborn with a body suitable for the exercise of Yoga, by the power of the "conformations" (*samskāras*) now operating in them in consequence of their previous Yogic absorption in this or that part of their body, e.g. the *kanda* [see v. 78].¹ In this new body they readily obtain the spiritual fruits of the Yoga formerly practised by them; they thus arrive easily at the condition of Śiva before death, and after death pass at once into complete redemption, never again to be born.

✓ 100. He who, though labouring in this path of Supreme Verity, attains not to the Yoga, finds a share in the

¹ Cf. Yoga-sūtra, ii, 53; iii, 1; Deussen, *Allg. Geschichte d. Philosophie*, I, iii, p. 568.

delights of the gods' world, where he long rejoices in gladness of spirit.

This refers to the votaries who perform Yogic exercises with faith and devotion, but owing to their weakness of will fail to reach even a partial degree of spiritual absorption

✓ 101. As a world-emperor is adored by all the people in his domains, so he, though lapsed from the Yoga, is adored in the worlds by all the gods.

✓ 102. After long time he comes again into human estate, practises the Yoga, and comes to the divine deathless condition from which he returns nevermore.

After long enjoyment of paradisiac pleasures and the adoration of the gods, he is reborn as a man with a body fitted for Yoga, which he practises with ease and success; on his death he attains redemption for ever.

✓ 103. Therefore whosoever is devoted to this Good Way comes to the estate of Śiva; thinking upon this, one should by all means strive for the Supreme Verity.

By "whosoever" is meant that the elect are limited to no particular class. It is conceivable that anybody may attain supreme bliss in one birth.

104. The being of Śiva speedily comes to penetrate the very heart of him who meditates upon this Supreme Brahma, of which the sense has been briefly told by Abhinava-gupta.

✓ 105. This most profound essence of doctrine has been summed up in a hundred *āryā*-verses by me, Abhinava-gupta, who am inspired by remembrance of Śiva's feet.

XIX

THE SOURCE OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

By G. R. KAYE

I

MANY writers have enlarged upon the subject of our indebtedness to India in matters intellectual, and in particular have drawn attention to ancient Hindu mathematics, which they consider exhibit in a marked degree the intellectual superiority of the Hindus in early times. They not only inform us that a system of mathematics was developed in India in early times, but imply that in this direction the Hindus were the benefactors of the rest of mankind. The latest authoritative statement of this kind is as follows: "In the mathematical sciences the achievements of the Indians have been very considerable. As the inventors of the numerical figures with which the whole world reckons, and of the decimal system connected with the use of these figures, they naturally became the greatest calculators of antiquity, just as the Greeks were the greatest geometers . . . The later mathematicians made more progress in trigonometry, especially by the invention of the sine table. The greatness of the Indian mathematical writers who belong to the fifth century and later lies in their arithmetical and algebraical investigations . . . The raising of numbers to various powers and the extraction of the square or cube root were but elementary operations to these mathematicians. They also calculated arithmetical progressions, perhaps first suggested by the chess-board of sixty-four squares, which was known in India before the beginning of our era. They attained the greatest

eminence in algebra, which they developed to a degree beyond anything ever achieved by the Greeks.”¹

Such ideas have been so generally advertised by such renowned scholars² that it seems almost impertinent to cast any doubt upon them. Nevertheless, such is the object of the present essay, which, while briefly examining the available evidence in any way indicative of the source of the Hindu mathematical ideas, shows, at least, that the generally accepted view on the subject is quite erroneous. But fully to set forth the evidence and to state the arguments necessary for this purpose would occupy a bulky volume, and what here follows must be looked upon as an epitome of the case only.

In such an examination it would be well to formulate, if we could do so satisfactorily, some criteria for reference: and without hoping to reach a satisfactory ideal, we may tentatively postulate the following: (1) The evolution of mathematical ideas cannot proceed *per saltum*, but must proceed in an orderly manner. (2) While mathematical systems of independent growth will naturally have many points of similarity, yet differences are certain to occur: it is, indeed, impossible for two systems to grow up independently in exactly the same manner. (3) Priority of statement of a proposition does not necessarily imply its discovery.

With regard to orderly growth, we may simply state that the absence of such order in mathematical development is impossible to conceive. In particular, any complicated theorem connotes the existence of previous orderly processes of development. Of course, gaps in the evidence of such development do not prove the lack of

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, vol. ii, p. 265.

² Elphinstone, *History of India*, seventh edition, edited by Cowell, p. 141 f.; Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 286; R. C. Dutt, *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, vol. ii, p. 246; La Mazelière, *Essai sur l'évolution de la Civilisation indienne*, vol. i, p. 81; etc., etc.

orderly procedure: but illogical order of statement and inconsistencies of any kind are generally incompatible with any sound mathematical system. To illustrate the second criterion we may refer to the markedly different development of mathematical ideas in what may be termed the earlier Greek and Egyptian schools, which in later times became more or less amalgamated. Even in modern times, when intercommunication is so intimate, we find marked differences of detail in different mathematical schools. To illustrate the third postulate we have a very pertinent case. Elphinstone tells us¹ that the rule for expressing the area of a triangle in terms of its sides, given by Brahmagupta, "was unknown in Europe till published by Clavius in the sixteenth century," and implies that the rule was discovered by the Hindus. That the rule was known to Heron² (B.C. 120), and that Heron's work was translated (into French³) soon after Elphinstone wrote his history, emphasizes the danger of relying on such evidence.

How far the Hindu system of mathematics satisfies such criteria remains to be seen. Possibly in a matter like this any definite conclusion that may be formed will depend upon accumulative evidence. This is difficult to deal with rigorously, and we can formulate no criterion that will help us here; but we may point out that in this respect the opinions of experts are particularly valuable.

Before proceeding to our particular theme we may state that purely astronomical questions will not be referred to even though they would prove powerful supports to our arguments. The question of the source of Hindu astronomy has already been pretty fully dealt with, and the conclusions arrived at are by no means indefinite.

¹ *History of India*, p. 142.

² See the *Metrica*, viii, p. 18 f., and the *Dioptra*, xxx, p. 280 f., ed. Schöne.

³ By A. H. Vincent in *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Biblioth. Impér.*, 1858, p. 157 f.

II

Briefly stated the case for the indigenous development of Hindu mathematics depends upon the fact that certain very important propositions are either recorded earlier, or are supposed to be recorded earlier, in Hindu writings than in any other writings. The propositions are here summarized:—

1. The “theorem of Pythagoras” is said to occur in a general form in the Śulvasūtras.¹

2. At the period of the Śulvasūtras the Hindus, according to Bürk, were acquainted with the *irrational*.²

3. Āryabhata gives a value for the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of the circle more accurate than any value known to be recorded before his time.³

4. Āryabhata gives a table of so-called sines and a rule for the construction of this table.⁴

5. Āryabhata gives a method for obtaining integral solutions of indeterminate equations of the first degree.⁵

6. Brahmagupta gives a method for obtaining integral solutions of $Du^2 - 1 = t^2$, and this is considered the most important development of ancient Hindu mathematics.⁶ In the seventeenth century Fermat solved this equation, and thought it a matter of such considerable difficulty that he proposed it as a kind of defiance to Dr. Wallis, who, however, solved the problem: but it was left to Euler to make any further advance, and he employed practically the same method of solution as was given some centuries before by the Hindu mathematicians.⁷

¹ A. Bürk, “Das Āpastamba-Śulba-Sūtra”: Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1901, p. 543 f.; 1902, p. 327 f.

² Ibid.

³ L. Rodet, *Leçons de Calcul d'Āryabhata*, p. 22; Kaye, JASB., 1908, p. 122.

⁴ Ibid., p. 123.

⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

⁶ Colebrooke, *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanscrit*, p. 363 f.

⁷ See H. Konen's *Geschichte der Gleichung. $t^2 - Du^2 = 1$* .

7. Brahmagupta gives the area of the cyclic quadrilateral¹ as $\sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$, which is an extension of the well-known theorem of Heron for triangles.

8. The invention of our modern "place-value" system of arithmetical notation has been attributed to the Hindus.

We will consider the individual cases here enumerated.

1. It is by no means certain that the Śulvasūtras are of the period usually attributed to them,² and any arguments based upon a supposed date must be accepted with great caution. Secondly, the different recensions of the Śulvasūtras are not altogether in agreement, and while it is next to impossible to fix their date accurately, it is just as impossible to say what were their actual contents in detail at any period.³ But neither of these points affects the present argument; for an examination of the Sūtras themselves clearly shows that complete generality of the theorem of Pythagoras was not attained, and that it was not even striven after.⁴ The proposition in its practical form was known ages before the Śulvasūtra period to the Egyptians and the Babylonians.

2. Bürk's claim that the Hindus had discovered the irrational at this early period need not be taken very seriously. It depends upon the approximate value of $\sqrt{2}$ given in the Śulvasūtras; but to quote Heath⁵: "It is a far cry from this calculation of an approximate value to the discovery of the irrational."

¹ Colebrooke, p. 296.

² See Bühler's introduction to Āpastamba in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii.

³ e.g. compare the sets of rational right-angled triangles given by Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.

⁴ See H. Vogt's paper in the *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1906, p. 6 f.: "Haben die alten Inder den Pythagoreischen Lehrsatz und das Irrationale gekannt?" and H. T. Heath's *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, vol. i, p. 360.

⁵ *Euclid's Elements*, vol. i, p. 363.

3. Āryabhaṭa gives the value of π as $62832/20000$, which in decimal notation is 3.1416. According to Gow¹ this value was obtained from Ptolemy's formula for finding a chord of an arc in terms of the chord of double the arc, which is said to give exactly 3.1416 for the side of a 384-polygon of unit radius. This particular value, however, was given by Pulisa,² who was possibly one of the first to introduce some of the elements of Greek astronomy into India. No early Hindu writer quotes Āryabhaṭa's value of π , and, moreover, Āryabhaṭa himself never uses this value.

4. Āryabhaṭa's table of "sines" was reduced from Pulisa's table of "sines", which was adapted from Ptolemy's table of chords. The rule given by Āryabhaṭa does not lead to the values of the sines as given in his own table.³

5, 6. Indeterminate equations play an important part in Hindu mathematics, and the discovery of solutions of $Du^2 - 1 = t^2$ in Hindu works of a fairly early date was considered very remarkable. Possibly the fact that Fermat, Wallis, Brouncker, Euler, Lagrange, and others paid considerable attention to the problem, gave the discovery of it in Hindu works a somewhat fictitious value.

It has been stated that the Chinese dealt with indeterminate equations at an earlier date than the Hindus,⁴ and that the Greeks developed this branch of mathematics to a high degree at a period earlier than the Hindus is well known, as is the fact that some of their works on this subject are lost. The Greek treatment of indeterminates appears to have culminated in Diophantus or his successors, while the first occurrence in Hindu

¹ *A Short History of Greek Mathematics*, p. 299.

² Albiruni, *India*, i, p. 168.

³ See the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, ed. Thibaut, ch. iv ; J. Burgess, *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 228 ; Kaye, *JASB.*, 1908, p. 125.

⁴ *The Chinese and Japanese Repository*, vol. i, p. 411 t. ; Cantor, *Vorlesung über Geschichte der Mathematik*, vol. i, p. 685 (3rd ed., 1907).

works is about a century later. Āryabhaṭa gives a single, obscurely worded rule for indeterminates of the first degree without either proof or examples. This rule is given more explicitly by Brahmagupta without proof or explanation, but with numerous examples. Āryabhaṭa makes no reference to indeterminates of the second degree, which first occur in Brahmagupta's work and later in a somewhat more polished form in Bhāskara's *Vija-Ganita*.

A close examination of Brahmagupta's rules and examples establishes beyond all doubt that he was not their discoverer. He does not understand all the rules he gives. Some rules are followed by inappropriate examples.¹ In one case he partially solves an example, and says: "The meaning of the rest will be shown further on."² The example is solved further on, but the previous working is not utilized.³ Another rule and accompanying example are regular, but Brahmagupta gives a second similar example with a change of sign which the rule does not account for; and while correctly explaining this second example, refers to the incompleteness of the text and criticizes the rule given.⁴ In another case he finds fault with the rule, and says: "With the exception of a selected unknown put arbitrary values for the rest . . . thus the solution is effected without an equation of the second degree. What occasion is there for it?"⁵

Bhāskara gives some alternative methods for the solution of the Pellian equation, but in no essential does he improve on Brahmagupta. He even reproduces Brahmagupta's one example of "fudging",⁶ and frequently in this section refers to "ancient" authorities, and none of the cases so referred to can be traced to Hindu mathematicians.

¹ Colebrooke, p. 366, § 72.

³ Ibid., § 77.

⁵ Ibid., § 64.

² Ibid., § 70.

⁴ Ibid., § 73.

⁶ *Vija-Ganita*, § 208.

8. It has been claimed for the Hindus that they invented our modern "place-value" system of arithmetical notation. This claim is based principally upon evidence which may be classified under the following heads :—

- (a) The use of the notation in very early inscriptions.
- (b) The testimony of Arab writers.
- (c) The use of the abacus in ancient times in India.

The epigraphical evidence is the most important, but modern research has led to the discovery that in India it is not so reliable as at first seemed. "The task of the student of Indian antiquity is nowadays complicated by the existence of the most ingenious forgeries in every branch of research,"¹ and the chief period of fabrication appears to have been about the end of the eleventh century A.D. Of some twenty inscriptions dated before 900 A.D. which have been cited as evidence of the use of our modern notation in ancient India, *all but one have been shown to be either forgeries or untrustworthy as evidence.* The remaining one is dated 813 A.D., and has not been yet proved to be unreliable; there is no other sound example until a century later.²

The testimony of the Arabs has been grossly misrepresented, and the misrepresentation has become current through writers like Strachey,³ Burgess,⁴ and Taylor,⁵ who are most unreliable. That the abacus was in use in ancient India is very uncertain. Indeed, as far as the evidence shows, it is quite a modern introduction into India; and all arguments based upon its supposed use in India in ancient times are worthless.⁶

¹ Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx, p. 205.

² For details see my previous paper in the JASB., 1907, p. 481 f.

³ *Bija Ganita: or the Algebra of the Hindus*, p. 17.

⁴ *Sūrya siddhānta*, p. 335.

⁵ *Līlāvatī: or a Treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry by Bhāscara Achārya*, p. 11.

⁶ Kaye, "The Use of the Abacus in Ancient India": JASB., 1908, p. 293 f.

III

The above very brief examination of the evidence that can be adduced in favour of an indigenous development indicates in many places a connexion between Hindu and Greek mathematics. Now if we took every known early Hindu proposition in mathematics we should find that each one exists either in identically the same form or with minor variations in Greek works; while the Greek works themselves cover a much more extensive field. It is, of course, impossible here to refer to every case, but we may cite a few that naturally have not been quoted in favour of the indigenous origin hypothesis. Even in the *Śulvasūtras* we find the Hindus building up squares by successive additions of gnomons.¹ In *Āryabhaṭa's* work we may note particularly the parallel trapezium problems which might be traced to Heron; a Ptolemaic formula and table²; shadow problems which might be traced through Heron back to Thales; progressions which occur in Greek writings from Hypsicles to Diophantus; a problem known as the *epanthem* copied possibly from Thymaridas or Iamblichus; etc. The works of Brahmagupta and his successors are the work of *Āryabhaṭa* amplified. The former in addition treats of rational solutions of the right-angled triangle after Greek methods; of cyclic quadrilaterals after Ptolemy; of surds after Euclid and others; of indeterminate equations of the second degree after Diophantus, or possibly the successors of Diophantus, whose works have been lost. Bhāskara, the most renowned of Brahmagupta's successors, adds nothing of importance except certain propositions that were well known to the Arabs before his time and some variants of Brahmagupta's methods of solving the Pellian equation, while in some

¹ Thibaut, JASB., 1875, p. 261.

² Possibly these did not come from Ptolemy, but indirectly from Hipparchus.

respects he exhibits a very marked deterioration. For Mahāvīra, Śrīdhara, and others who come between Brahmagupta and Bhāskara no sound claim to originality has been made, while the only problems of importance in the Bakhshālī MS. are peculiarly Greek.¹

There are also numerous inconsistencies in the Hindu works that are unexplainable if the hypothesis of an indigenous origin and independent development is accepted. For example, Brahmagupta gives² a grossly inaccurate rule for the area of a triangle side by side with the correct rule with the discovery of which he has been credited. The incorrect rule was also given by Boethius and others more than a century before, but no one ever thought Boethius anything more than a compiler where mathematics are concerned. Brahmagupta also gives a correct rule for the area of a cyclic quadrilateral, but none of the early Hindu mathematicians appears to have understood the rule, judging by the examples they give,³ and Bhāskara said⁴ he was a "blundering devil" for giving such a rule. Āryabhaṭa is credited with obtaining an extremely accurate value of π , viz. 3·1416, but in practice he never used it, and later Hindu mathematicians were content with such values as $\pi=3$ and $\pi=\sqrt{10}$. He also gives a correct rule for a pile with triangular base, but says that the volume of a triangular pyramid is half the product of the base into the height: and his formula for the volume of the sphere is as wrong as it can be, etc.

IV

Except in the very doubtful case of the Śulvasūtras, no one disputes the fact that the Greek development of

¹ These problems may be compared with those in the Palatine Anthology.

² Colebrooke, p. 295.

³ e.g. a square and an isosceles-parallel-trapezium.

⁴ *Līlārati*, § 172.

mathematics preceded that of the Hindus by some centuries, while Egyptian mathematics go back much further still. If the later Hindu mathematicians were acquainted with the mathematical contents of the Śulva-sūtras they ignored them entirely.

The period when mathematics flourished in India commenced about 400 A.D. and ended about 650 A.D., after which deterioration set in. This period is characterized by quite an extraordinary amount of intercourse between India and foreign countries.¹

Early Hindu works deal with no section of mathematics that were not dealt with by the Alexandrians, and the contents of the Hindu works correspond pretty closely to certain sections of the works of Heron Sextus Julius Africanus, Diophantus, and others. Allowing for the period that had elapsed since the time of Diophantus, and taking into consideration the general intellectual degeneration that was taking place in the West, the Hindu works, as represented by Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta, are what we might have expected to find in Alexandria about 450 or 500 A.D.

Further, it may be pointed out that none of the Hindu mathematicians makes any claim to originality, this claim having been first made on their behalf by certain very zealous Orientalists of the last century. On the other hand, while it was altogether against the custom for Hindu writers to acknowledge indebtedness to foreign sources, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara distinctly indicate that they were compilers only, and frequent references are made by them to the "text" and to "ancient writers". Colebrooke was misled into supposing that these ancient authorities were Hindus, but an examination of the references shows that the cases so referred to

¹ At least three embassies to the Roman Emperors and a large number to China are recorded. C. Mabel Duff, *The Chronology of India*.

are just the cases that do not occur in earlier Hindu writings.

In conclusion, it is submitted that an examination of the evidence, such as is here given in outline only, shows that the views regarding the independent development of ancient Hindu mathematics referred to at the beginning of this paper do not rest upon a secure foundation: and further that a foreign source or a strong foreign influence is definitely indicated.

XX

THE OFFICE OF KADI IN THE AHKAM SULTANIYYA OF MAWARDI

By H. F. AMEDROZ

IN the following pages an attempt is made to present the substance of Māwardi's chapter on the office of Kāḍī in his *Aḥkām Sultāniyya*, ed. Enger. Bonn. 1853. pp. 107-28. together with some illustrations of how the rules and requirements there laid down were conformed to in practice. The "crux" of the chapter, 'Omar's instructions to the Kāḍī, pp. 119-20, has been removed by Professor D. S. Margoliouth (see *ante*, pp. 307-26), and his help has been forthcoming in the case of other difficulties. Māwardi's entire treatise on Moslem political law is in course of translation by Count Léon Ostrorog,¹ and the merits of the earlier of the two published instalments of the work have been pointed out in the *Journal*, 1901, p. 906. The later instalment covers chapter v of the treatise, the one immediately preceding that on the office of Kāḍī. That chapter may be taken to represent the Moslem ideal, and it is of interest to consider to what extent the ideal was transmuted into fact. The task is not easy. Of Moslem legal procedure we know but little, the nearest approach to law reports being the notices of judicial proceedings in works dealing with the lives of judges. Such a work is the history of the Kāḍīs of Egypt by Abu 'Omar al-Kindi (ob. A.H. 350: B.M. Add. 23,226), now being edited in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series by Mr. A. R. Guest and the edition will include extracts from a ninth century work on the same subject—the *Raf' al-Iṣr* of Ibn Hajar

¹ *El-Aḥkām es-Sultāniyya*, Paris, 1901, 1906.

Asḳalānī, Paris Ar. 2149,¹ in which are preserved large portions of the work composed in continuation of that of al-Kindī by Ibn Zūlāk, ob. A.H. 387, of which no copy is known to exist. Mr. Guest's edition will thus carry the judicial record into the Fatimide period, and will include the Kādīs of the Nu'mān family. To his copy I have had access,² together with the benefit of his explanations, and something has been gathered from obituary notices in Moslem histories and from legal anecdotes of Adab writers. To collect the material facts is laborious; to record them may be held meritorious; and whilst Māwardī's code of rules may serve as a framework for bringing the facts into some sort of order, they may in a measure illustrate the practical working and effect of those rules.

The chapter on the office of Kādi [p. 107] opens with an enumeration of the requisites for a valid appointment: such as will render the appointee's judgments effective. He must be—(1) Adult and a male: the former, so as to be responsible for his actions and able to incur legal responsibility; the latter, because females are unfit for the difficulties of high office, and for judgments being made dependent upon them. And the view of Abu Ḥanīfa that a female may act as Kādi in cases where her evidence can be acted on,³ as also that of Ṭabari that she can act generally, are both of them repugnant to Kur. iv, 38 [p. 108].

(2) Intelligent: an all-important requisite, implying not merely possession of the ordinary five senses, but

¹ This MS. has been courteously sent for use at the British Museum by the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Museum possesses an abridgment of the work by Ibn Shāhīn, Add. 23,360.

² The text of the passages derived from this source has not been set out, as Mr. Guest's edition will indicate the folios in the case of both the MSS.

³ i.e. except in cases involving fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*) or retaliation (*kiṣās*); see Hidāya, ed. Calcutta, 1831, iii. 321. Hamilton's trans., ed. Grady, p. 341.

a sound and discriminating judgment enabling a man to cope with doubtful and difficult points.

(3) Free: for a slave, not master even of himself, is disqualified from holding office over others, as also by reason of his inability to act as a witness; the same of those partially emancipated. Yet a slave can give legal opinions, just as he may hand down traditions. Once emancipated he is qualified, and the fact of his having a patron (*walā'*) is no bar.

(4) A Moslem: a requisite too for the office of 'Ādil, and enjoined by *Kur.* iv. 140. An infidel is qualified to act over his fellows with due notice to the ruling power, but, in fact, he is merely their head (*ṣa'īm*), and that because they choose to recognize him, not because they are bound to do so [p. 109]: the Caliph does not treat his decisions as binding: and his people are at liberty to decline his jurisdiction, in which case the Moslem Court acts.

(5) 'Adāla, i.e. the qualification of being an approved witness, is an essential for all high office. Its requisites may be said to amount to having a spotless character and reputation: any falling short of this standard disqualifies for the office of either *Kāḍī* or 'Ādil; it renders statements of no weight, and legal decisions invalid.

(6) Sound sight and hearing: the first is not by *Mālik* held essential: as regards the second, the same difference of opinion prevails as in the case of a Caliph having this defect¹: beyond this, physical fitness, although desirable, is not essential.

(7) Knowledge of the Law—of its sources and developments, including therein the *Kurān* rightly expounded, and its precepts, whether abrogating or abrogated, whether clear or dubious, whether general in their scope or limited, and whether unexplained or clearly interpreted [p. 110]. Further, the ordinances of the Prophet as established by

¹ Some holding that the defect can be remedied by signs or by writing (Enger, p. 28).

his words and deeds, and how transmitted, whether by a number of persons or by only a few, whether genuine or doubtful, accidental or of general application ; further, the interpretation placed thereon by early Moslems, whether unanimously or not, thus conforming to the consensus of opinion and arriving at a right opinion on points of difference : and last, the power of deciding by analogy (*kiyās*), and of deducing from the stated principles of law their unexpressed but admitted consequences, so as to attain the knowledge of dealing with urgent matters (*nawāzil*) and the distinguishing of truth from falsehood. These legal qualifications combined constitute a practised jurist (one of the *ijtihād* class), and entitle their possessor to be asked, and to deliver, judicial decisions and legal opinions. Any deficiency in these requirements disqualifies both for the practice of law and the acting as *Ḳāḍī*, and renders judgments, whether sound or not, invalid and of no authority, with the result of discrediting (*jarḥ*) both the judgments and the power which appointed the judge. Abu Ḥanifa, indeed, allows the appointment of an unqualified person, as he can get his judgments settled for him, but the general opinion of jurists is that above stated. Besides, as regards the law's developments submission to authority is indispensable, and this is the more ensured when such submission is the act of those subject to precedents than when it is the act of those who have created them. This is illustrated by the Prophet's approval that his nominee over Yaman¹ should be guided by, first, the *Ḳurān*, secondly the *Sunna* of the Prophet.

¹ p. 111, l. 1, read *وفق رسول الله*, as ed. Cairo. 1298, p. 63,

l. 4 a.f., and Shahrastāni, ed. Cureton, p. 155. l. 11 ; cf. Goldziher. *Zāhiriten*, 9, n. 1. He doubts the correctness of this version of the nominee's words. On the nominee, Mu'ādh b. Jabal, cf. Ṭab. i, 1852-3. Yaḥya b. Aktham, when reproached as too young to be *Ḳāḍī* of Baṣra, instanced the case of Mu'ādh, who was his junior in age when sent to Yaman (Ibn al-Jauzi, *Kitāb al-Adhkiyā*, ed. Cairo, 1304, p. 53, and Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlak, ii, 288, Sl. Eng. iv. 35).

and, failing those, by *ijtihād*, viz. the exercise of his judgment.

[p. 111] A man who refuses to follow a tradition transmitted by isolated individuals must not be appointed Kādi, for he is rejecting a principle assented to by the Prophet's Companions, the source whence most rules of law proceed: it is as though he rejected the consensus of authority, which clearly disqualifies. To reject analogy (*kīyās*) may imply the acceptance of any clear text as supplemented by the dicta of early Moslems, whilst refraining from the use of analogy and avoiding consequential deductions: to act thus is a disqualification, or, it may imply the evolving of legal conclusions whilst cleaving to the intent of the text and to the sense thereby conveyed, which is the Zahirite practice¹: on this the Shafeite school is not unanimous: some hold that this disqualifies: some that it does not, inasmuch as it is adhering to the clear meaning of the notion (i.e. of analogy) whilst disregarding the hidden analogy therein contained.

A combination of all the above qualifications, verified either by repute or by inquiry, are requisite for the valid appointment of a Kādi. 'Ali was indeed sent by the Prophet as Kādi over Yaman without previous inquiry, this not being deemed necessary in his case, but he was given full instructions how to perform his duties.²

[p. 112] A ruler may appoint a Kādi holding the legal tenets of a school other than his own: such a one will use his legal faculties; nor need he follow in special cases the ruling of the head of the school to which he is attached,³ for he is not bound to limit himself to

¹ On this sect cf. Shahrastāni, p. 169, and their position on these questions, *Zuhiriten*, 31-5.

² He was told by the Prophet to refrain from deciding in favour of a litigant before hearing his opponent's case. The Prophet's words are differently given by Shahrastāni, p. 155, l. 5 a.f.

³ p. 112, l. 3. for *يقلد* read *يقلد*.

its tenets unless his judgment leads him so to do: he may adopt the tenets he holds applicable. Some jurists refuse to allow an adherent of a given school to decide by the tenets of another, as likely to lead to a suspicion of favouritism: they hold that a judge should adhere to the tenets of one school. But this, although administratively desirable, is not required by law, for a judge must not merely follow a school's authority (*taklīd*), he must exercise his judicial faculties (*ijtihād*). After executing a judgment, when a similar case presents itself he ought to study the matter afresh and decide accordingly, and if he should arrive at a different result, and thus not follow his former decision, he has the example of 'Omar in a case of joint ownership to justify him.

A stipulation by the ruler that a Kāḍī shall follow the tenets of a given school may be general in scope or restricted. The former [p. 113] is bad, whether both ruler and Kāḍī be of one school or not, but it will not invalidate the appointment, provided it amount only to an injunction and not to an essential condition: it will merely be disregarded whether it be mandatory in form or prohibitive, and the Kāḍī will act on his own view (*ijtihād*) irrespective of the stipulation. This, if bad to the ruler's knowledge, will result to his discredit (*kudh*): otherwise it will merely show his incompetency as a ruler; but if it be an essential condition it is bad, and the appointment is invalid. [In 'Irak the condition alone is held bad.]

A restricted stipulation, confined to certain definite forms of judgment, may be mandatory, e.g. to decree a freeman's death for the killing of a slave, or a Moslem's for that of an infidel, or to visit homicide by fine only, not punishment; these stipulations are unlawful, and either invalidate the appointment or not, on the alternative above stated. A prohibitive stipulation [p. 114], e.g. against hearing the above cases and against decreeing

retaliation, or not, as the case may be, is valid, the effect being merely to restrict the jurisdiction and to exclude such cases therefrom; but if the prohibition be not against hearing, but against decreeing, retaliation, our school (i.e. the Shafeite) are divided as to whether this excludes the jurisdiction, some holding that the Kāḍī can neither hear a case involving retaliation nor decree it: others, that he remains competent to deal with the case, the prohibition not being a condition of the appointment. He will accordingly decide these cases as he deems right.

A Kāḍī may be appointed either by words, *de presenti*, or by a message or writing from a distance, but with the latter there must coexist evidence sufficient to identify both the appointee and the district over which he is appointed. The words may express the appointment or imply it: [of the former four formulæ are given, which are adequate, provided the appointment be absolute and not conditional; seven formulæ of implication follow [p. 115] less precise, and therefore less strong, unless put beyond doubt by additional words, some of which are suggested]. Immediate acceptance is necessary to a verbal appointment, but not to one by implication, and some delay is allowable even in the first case. Whether entering on the duties of office amount to acceptance is doubtful, for some hold it incident to the appointment and therefore insufficient. To make an appointment valid it is further requisite that the appointee acquaint the appointor of his fitness, and that he do this before his appointment, or it must be made afresh; and the appointor must possess the knowledge that his appointee is duly qualified and has accepted, so as to entitle him to be his representative as dispenser of justice; but this is a condition of his acting only, not of his appointment, [p. 116] and the knowledge is to be derived, not from performance of the duties, but from common repute.

The extent of the appointment must be specified, whether it be that of Kāḍī, or of Governor, or of administrator of land-tax : likewise its locality ; and to make it binding it must be promulgated so that people may submit to the jurisdiction ; but, independently of this, judgments are effective.

An appointment thus perfected is valid. It resembles agency (*wakāla*), for both involve delegation,¹ and it is revocable at the will of either party, by dismissal, or by resignation, as the case may be (yet not without good cause, seeing the office is due of right to the Moslem body), and not without promulgation [p. 117] so as to hinder any act by, or application to, an outgoing Kāḍī. Judgment pronounced after knowledge of dismissal is invalid, but if it be pronounced in ignorance the case admits of two views similar to those which present themselves in the case of constituting an agent.

A Kāḍī's jurisdiction may, as to subject-matter, be general or restricted. If general, it includes the following matters : deciding disputes either on agreement between the parties, if lawful, or on a hearing followed by judgment on the merits : enforcing liabilities on the recalcitrant in favour of persons entitled, on proof by admission or evidence (whether the judge may proceed on his own knowledge is disputed, as also whether such knowledge may precede his appointment) ; enforcing rights and obligations in the case of those incapacitated by lunacy, or infancy, or interdicted for weakness of intellect or insolvency, so as to safeguard property and the dealings therewith : [p. 118] pious foundations (*wakf*), their preservation and increase and administration, with due regard for the appointed manager (*mutawalli*), if any, but failing such the Kāḍī must administer himself, for if it be a public foundation he is not restricted to its special

¹ p. 116, l. 13, for لا تقرأ read, as Cairo, 67, l. 3, لا تقرأ.

aspect, and if it be not public he is entitled to treat it as such: giving effect to testamentary dispositions, if legal: in the case of persons ascertained by giving possession, and in the case of persons described, after judicially ascertaining them, with due regard for the executor (*wasī*), if any; acting on behalf of single women by giving them in marriage to their peers,¹ where they have no kin (*auliyā*) and desire to be married, a case excluded by Abu Hanīfa, as he holds that women can act for themselves in the matter of marriage: the infliction of fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*) and in respect of divine matters where the liability is established by admission or proof, without any claim, but in respect of human, only after claim made (Abu Hanīfa requires a claim in both cases): protecting the district under his jurisdiction by checking encroachments on roadways and public areas by additions to buildings, and this without previous complaint (in spite of Abu Hanīfa's contrary view, for this being a divinely appointed right a complaint is immaterial, and is a matter peculiarly fit for the executive to deal with): [p. 119] inquiring into the character of any approved witness (*shāhid*) or official of the court (*amīn*), and the choice of proper deputies to act herein, relying on them if trustworthy, and dismissing or changing them if otherwise: [in place of anyone proving incompetent a substitute or an assistant may be provided]²; last, to deal equal justice to both the weak and the strong, and to the high and the low.

A Kādi must not follow his own preferences by doing less than justice to one in the right, nor by inclining to one in the wrong, as shown by K. xxxviii, 25, and by

¹ p. 118, l. 9, for بالاكفاء read, as Cairo, 67 ult., بالاكفاء.

² p. 119, l. 4, for كان مولى من خيارين بائى اصلهما Cairo, 68, l. 12, reads كان مولى بالخيار في اصلح الامرين.

the terms (pp. 119–20) of ‘Omar’s letter (see text with translation, *ante*, p. 307).

[p. 121] Two alleged imperfections in this letter are stated and explained: the omission of the formula of appointment—this is explained as having preceded the letter, or as implied in its terms: and, as regards the approved witnesses, that the scrutiny into their characters is superficial only—this, however, may have been ‘Omar’s own view of the duty, and he may have stated it as such only, and not by way of monition; or it may be that the term he used, *‘udūl*, implies that such a scrutiny has already taken place.

The collection of the land-tax is not included in the Kādi’s jurisdiction, even when general, for its application rests with the military governor, nor is the poor rate (*ṣadaḳa*) included if this be under separate superintendence, although some hold that the Kādi should collect it and see to its application as being a matter of divine ordinance, whilst others hold not, [p. 122] its collection being a financial duty left to the discretion of the sovereign: excluded also is the right of presiding at the mosque prayers, and at festivals.

Instances of a restricted jurisdiction are the right of deciding cases on admission only, not on proof, or in matters of debt, but not of marriage, or in valuations for the purposes of the poor-tax (*niṣāb*): in such cases the Kādi must not exceed the limit, for, like an agent, his office is a deputed one with limited powers.

Again, the jurisdiction may be general in scope, but restricted as to place, e.g. one bank of the river or one quarter of a town: in such a case the Kādi may decide between residents, but not between those coming in from outside, nor strangers. If the appointment be to an entire district the powers cannot be restricted to a part, and if this be held a condition the appointment is invalid. But jurisdiction over such only as attend at a house or

at a mosque is valid and binding, as sufficiently specific. [p. 123] At Ba-ra it was long the custom for a Kādi to decide in the Friday mosque cases up to 200 dirhams or 20 dinars, and also questions of maintenance (*nafaka*), but nothing beyond this.

Two Kādīs may be appointed to one place, either with distinct districts or distinct branches of business, e.g. to the one debts and to the other marriages: or the jurisdiction of both may be unrestricted. Some Shafeite jurists hold this invalid as likely to cause disputes between litigants, seeing that if the two meet, their powers abate, and when they part the powers of the first appointed revive. But by most it is held to be valid, as in the case of agency, and that in the event of the litigants differing the view of the claimant should prevail: if the parties stand on the same footing (i.e. by reason of claim and counterclaim), in that case the nearer judge should act, and if the two judges be equidistant the parties must draw lots or be forced to agree before getting a hearing.¹

[p. 124] The jurisdiction may be limited to specified litigants, in which case it abates with the litigation, and fresh litigation can be dealt with only under a fresh appointment. If limited to specific days it ceases at sun-down. In all cases the name of the person to act must be specified. [This is exemplified by sundry instances of indefinite appointments.²]

[p. 125] To solicit the office of Kādi is not permissible to anyone not a practised jurist, and to do this reflects discredit. In the case of one who is qualified the object may be to oust an unqualified or unworthy occupant in favour of one more worthy, and this is allowable as preventing a moral wrong: but the applicant must be

¹ p. 124, l. 1, for من من الخصام Cairo, 70, l. 3 a.f., reads من التحاكم

² p. 124, l. 2 a.f., for وانه يجوز فيصير Cairo, 71, l. 10, read ولانه يصير

on his guard against self-seeking, which is not allowable. To seek to supplant a fit and competent person from personal enmity, or with a view to personal success, is forbidden and discreditable. [p. 126] Again, the post may be vacant; here the motive will decide, according as it be a desire for the stipend from the treasury,¹ or a desire to uphold justice, and a fear of some unworthy applicant, which is meritorious. If the object be vain-glory and worldly dignity, this, whilst admittedly lawful, is held by some not to be commendable, as shown by *Kur.* xxviii, 13. But others hold the text to show that to seek dignity is permissible, for Joseph sought office from Pharaoh and stated his qualifications (two interpretations of his words being mentioned). Nor did his words exceed the limit of self-praise, [p. 127] for they were due to a special cause and were necessary. Hence proceeds the doubt whether or not it be lawful to take office under an unjust ruler, some holding it lawful provided the office-holder act justly, and that Joseph's motive was to check Pharaoh's wrongdoing: but others hold it wrong as a furtherance and abetting of bad rule by carrying out its commands, and account for the case of Joseph by supposing his Pharaoh a just ruler and not the one connected with Moses, or by supposing that he administered not Pharaoh's provinces² but his territorial property alone. To seek the post by a money payment is bribery and is forbidden, and it throws discredit both on giver and receiver, for the Prophet condemned all those engaged in such a transaction.

A *Kādi* must not accept a gift from a litigant nor from a non-litigant within his jurisdiction, for he may be invoking his aid on occasion. The Prophet described

¹ p. 126, l. 4, *و جاربه* omitted, *Cairo*, 72, l. 1.

² p. 127, l. 9, for *عماله* *Cairo*, 72, l. 18. reads *اعماله*.

such gifts as fetters: if he take and requite them, that is acceptance; if he do not requite them the treasury has the better claim thereto, failing the possibility of returning them to the giver, who has the best right. A Kādi must not delay justice to litigants, [p. 128] except for good cause, nor be inaccessible to them except when taking rest. He may decide against, but not in favour of, a parent or child, as in the first case no suspicion attaches: similarly, as regards evidence, whether for or against them; he may give evidence in favour of, but not against, a personal enemy, but he may give a decision either for or against him,¹ for a decision proceeds on open grounds, whereas the motives of evidence are hidden, which makes suspicion attach to the latter, but not to the former.

The death of a Kādi annuls the appointment of his deputies, but his own appointment survives the death of the Caliph who has appointed him. Where the office is vacant, if there be an existing Caliph the people cannot validly make an appointment: otherwise they can, and the judgments of their appointee are valid. If, however, during his tenure of office a Caliph come into being, his sanction is needed for its continuance, but the judgments already pronounced hold good.

From the outset of Islam and for some two centuries the office of Kādi was accepted with fear and reluctance. The Prophet's utterances on the matter were ominous.² "Kādi," he said, spelt "victim", and that without the need of a knife; intentions, although good intrinsically, if ineffective did not avert the Fire: and one who did his best, but erred, was nevertheless doomed, on the ground that he need not have acted. A more merciful

¹ The sense requires that **ولا يحكم** (p. 128, l. 5) should be read **ويحكم**

² These traditions are collected in various forms by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, ob. A.H. 257, (B.M. Stowe Or. 6, 88').

tradition differentiated a Kāḍī's success and failure by the quantum of reward alone, without mention of punishment; and the Prophet, according to Anas b. Mālik, declared that whilst he who solicited office was left to his own efforts, he to whom it came unsought received guidance from above (for the latter *Hidāya*, iii, 309, has "he who is compelled to act"; and the tradition is cited also by Ostrorog, *op. cit.*, i, 114, note). Cases of refusal or of reluctant acceptance abound. Abu 'Ubaida answered an invitation to act by telling the envoy to put his hand in the fire, and on his declining exclaimed: "Yet you wish my whole body to burn hereafter."¹ 'Omar's son recommended his brother for office: when the brother asked his advice he dissuaded him, and explained to the ruler that in each case his advice had been of the best.² 'Omar's own nominee to the post in Egypt said that he had acted before Islam, and would not act after.³ Later, a father declared his son's appointment to be the undoing of them both.⁴ In A.H. 144 the office in Egypt was pressed on two persons: the one refused, and when threatened with death calmly surrendered the keys of his house, saying that he was ready to meet Allah: the other, less firm, yielded, but his scrupulous integrity, which made him refuse his salary for the days when he did not sit, prompted the other to declare him the worthier of them, as having been tried as well as not found wanting.⁵ Under Ma'mūn a proposed Kāḍī asked indignantly whether his fellow-jurists were to appear before Allah in that capacity and he as a judge? Rather would he be cut in pieces.⁶ That Caliph, when in Egypt

¹ Ibn Kutaiba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, i, 87, l. 1.

² *Ib.* 47, l. 7.

³ Kindi, 135^a.

⁴ *Ib.* 142^b.

⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. 93^a, l. 16; Kindi, 163^b.

⁶ Kindi, 188^a. Another version of the saying is that the former would then appear with the prophets, but the Kāḍīs with the rulers (Ibn Khall. i, 312; *Sl. Eng.* ii, 16. It is the contemplative as against the active ideal of life.

in A.H. 215, offered the post of Kādi to al-Hārith b. Maskīn, who was then intent on impeaching official misconduct there, and he refused it. Later, after years of imprisonment at Baghdad on the question of the Qurān's creation and of subsequent obscurity, he accepted the post under Muta-wakkil, and showed his character in daring the Court's displeasure by bringing its agent to justice, and in anticipating its effect by resigning when a decision of his was overruled by the jurists at Baghdad.¹ His successor, too, Bakkār b. Qutaiba, was content to undergo outrage and imprisonment from Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn rather than act, as he held, illegally in declaring the deposition of Muwaffāq, heir-designate to the Caliphate, yet when he admitted to a trusted friend and legal adviser that his acceptance of office was due neither to the pressure of debts, nor to family claims, nor to his Sovereign's constraint, he was told by his friend that they must henceforth be strangers.² The moral of these stories would seem to be that to undertake and properly discharge the duties of an office essential to the community and assumed necessary by 'Omar himself³ was to decline from some superior standard of conduct. Such a counsel of perfection was obviously out of place in actual life, and henceforth in Egypt no reluctance to act as Kādi is apparent.⁴ Indeed, after the Ṭūlūnid period, when the country had been recovered by

¹ Ibn Hajar, 27^b.

² *Ib.* 28^b, and Ibn Khall. ii. 553, *Sl. Eng.* iv, 593.

³ See the opening words of his "Instructions", *ante*, p. 311.

⁴ A late instance at Baghdad was that of the Shafeite jurist Abu 'Alī b. Khairān. On his refusal, A.H. 310, the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isa, himself a man of great piety, blocked and set a guard on his door, and Ibn Zūlāk relates that an envoy from Egypt saw children brought to see the sight. After some twenty days popular comment made the vizier relent. Abu 'Alī had a reason for his refusal, for he objected to his school acting as Kādi, holding the Ḥanīfite to be the more fit—perhaps because of their broader views on *Ijtihād*. His words were:

هذا الامر لم يكن في اصحابنا انما كان في اصحاب ابي حنيفة

the central power at Baghdad, there was strong competition for the office, and the "exequatur" of the local ruler, as well as the nomination by the Chief Kādi at the capital, commanded, on occasion, a substantial price.¹ Moreover, a third intermediate authority came into being. During the early years of the fourth century one al-Ḥasan b. 'Isa b. Harawān,² devoid of legal qualifications, but wealthy and greedy of rank, procured the appointment of Kādi for Egypt and Syria. He resided habitually in Syria, but he was jealous of his post in Egypt, for when there, hearing that his deputy was intriguing for a direct appointment from the Chief Kādi, he declared himself ready to expend in the ruin of the schemer a whole trough full of gold (*jurn*).³ He does not seem to have

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, 53^a, 98^b, 106^c, and 114^v.

² *Ib.* 41^b.

³ Nevertheless the deputy, Ibn Walid (A.H. 334-6), having procured an appointment from Mustakfi, disclosed it during his absence, and bribed al-Ikhshīd's vizier, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḳātil, to get it confirmed. Ibn Harawān's fury at this news was cut short by death (Ibn Ḥajar, 52^c). An earlier deputy, Ibn Zabr, did even worse. His second term of office, A.H. 320, is noticed in 'Arib, 186, where his name is miswritten. Both he and the above-mentioned Ibn Walid bore similar names, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad; the latter had procured a nomination as Kādi, and being on bad terms with Ibn Badr, then in office, he handed this to Ibn Zabr to use as he pleased. He got it confirmed, and then entered on a fourth term of office, terminated a month later by his death (*ib.* 51^b). Ibn Zabr was indeed a man of resource, as appears from an earlier passage about him. As Kādi of Damascus he was attending the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isa on his visit there during his second term of office (A.H. 314-16), and having to explain the people's outcries against himself on their passage through the town he said the cause was high prices. But the vizier dismissed him, and refused to appoint him to Egypt. Thereupon he at Baghdad, in the pretended character of a Khurāsān pilgrim, disclosed a dream in which the Caliph's ancestor 'Abbās had appeared engaged in erecting a structure which the vizier, as 'Abbās complained, persistently demolished. This he procured a friend to hand in as a Mazālim matter; it thus came to the knowledge of Muḳtadir, who dismissed the vizier, and Ibn Zabr's appointment to Egypt followed forthwith. Hilāl al-Ṣābi, either from ignorance or imperviousness, makes no mention of this story in his account of the vizier's fall from office (Wuzarā, 314-16), but it was no unlikely ground for the Caliph to have acted on having regard to the nature of the story on which he had previously been induced to dismiss Ibn al-Furāt (*ib.* 265-7).

had a successor in his post, but the Acting Kādi in Egypt continued to be a deputy for the Chief Kādi—or for his direct nominee, who in two cases was the Chief's brother—until the approach of the Fatimide Conquest.

Of the requirements demanded in a Kādi, those relating to sex, freedom, religion, and physical fitness were all susceptible of proof, and probably complied with. Jealousy at the success of Ibn Baḍr, who was of humble parentage, prompted a hostile Kādi in A.H. 314 to impeach his free status; he gained a powerful protector and the attempt failed, but as late as A.H. 329 the suspicion clung, for Ibn Zabīr, who had ousted him, called him 'Uj, and said he thought of selling him.¹ And earlier, under Mu'tasim, a Kādi of bad repute had silenced a critic of the 'Uḍl class by procuring witnesses, whom he accepted *ad hoc* as 'Uḍl, to bear testimony to his slavery, and a friendly purchaser had to buy his freedom.² The first "Maula" to be appointed Kādi in Egypt was Ishāk b. al-Furāt, A.H. 184.³ In his service was Sa'īd b. 'Ufair (an often quoted authority in the Khīṭaṭ of Maḳrīzī), who, being required to pay over money in his hands, made reflections on the Kādi's status. He replied by inquiring what Sa'īd supposed himself to be beside Mu'āwīa b. Ḥudāij, famous from Faramā to Spain, and yet a Maula,⁴ whereupon Sa'īd paid without further demur.⁵ Eyesight was dispensed with by the Chief Kādi Aḥmad b. Abu Du'ād in the case of a blind man whom he allowed to act by deputy, and he met Wāthik's objection by explaining that his leniency was due to his having ascertained that the Kādi's sight had failed from weeping at the loss of Mu'tasim—a story which the teller of it regards as an illustration of Aḥmad's readiness in excuse.⁶ Five centuries later a Kādi of great

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, 105^b and 51^a.

² Kindī, 206^a.

³ Ib. 176^a.

⁴ Engaged in the conquest of Egypt and named governor A.H. 47 (Tab. i, 3404; ii, 84).

⁵ Ibn Ḥajar, 22^a.

⁶ Ib. 12^a.

repute, Badr al-Din b. Jamā' (ob. A.H. 733), finding himself late in life threatened with the like infirmity, yet reluctant to give up his post, employed his respite in composing a work to vindicate the holding of office by the blind.¹

As regards Moslem courts acting between infidels, it is told of Khair b. Nu'aim, Kādi in Egypt A.H. 120-8, that he used to act on their evidence after making inquiry into them of their co-believers, and that he heard their cases sitting outside the mosque, at its gate.² He understood Coptic and Hebrew, and addressed the witnesses in those tongues.³

A knowledge of the Kuranic rules of law with the traditions of the Prophet and of his Companions, and of the right interpretation to be placed thereon, supplemented by the ability to deduce from these materials principles capable of determining any question that presented itself for decision—the process termed *ijtihād*—constituted a *mujtahid*, or qualified jurist. The process is elaborately explained by Count Ostrorog in his Introduction (op. cit. i, 36 ff.), with an illustration how, from the tradition that the cat is not a subject of impurity, the conclusion may be reached, practically, that necessity knows no law. A similar process takes place in other fields, and unconsciously. In Scott's *Kenilworth*, before the murdered body of Amy Robsart, the second murderer exclaims to his principal: "If there be a judgment in Heaven thou hast deserved it and will meet it. Thou hast destroyed her by means of her best affections: it is a seething of the kid in the mother's milk." The concluding words are the *nass*: the rest is *ijtihād*.

The remaining qualification, *adāla*, or membership of

¹ استمر الى ان كتّ بصره فشقّ عليه مناقرة المنصب فصنف جزاً في

صحّة ولاية الاعى (Ibn Hajar, 104^a, and Ibn Shāhīn, 81^a, l. 5)

² Kindi, 158^a, b.

³ Ibn Hajar, 44^a.

the 'Udūl class, is clear and definite; less so Māwardī's requirements for membership, which amount, indeed, to moral perfection. We must therefore seek for the principles on which the Kādīs exercised their power of selection. Whatever may have been the precise duties of the 'Udūl, which is far from clear, being a limited class one would anticipate that, as in the case of notaries in France, to whom they are assimilated by de Slane,¹ their number would bear some reference to a district or population. But I have found no trace of this factor being taken into account. In Rashīd's time the nomination by the Kādi at Cairo of ten 'Udūl was deemed large: his successor restricted their number and this caused dissatisfaction; and later in the reign a Kādi selected one hundred, drawn from the "Maula" class.² Under Ma'mūn legal business was impeded at Cairo by the neglect of his Kādi, Yahya b. Aktham, to supply 'Udūl, and in answer to complaints he named seventy forthwith.³ Ibn Walīd (A.H. 334) increased the staff by forty,⁴ and the Kādi under Badr al-Jamālī (A.H. 521) made, we are told, so many appointments that the number rose from thirty to 120.⁵ But a recent famine had reduced the population. Baghdad was larger, and there, under the Kādi 'Umar b. Abi 'Umar (ob. A.H. 328), the 'Udūl numbered 1800,⁶ but twice tenfold this figure is the number of those appointed, according to al-Tanūkhī, at

¹ Proleg. *Not. et Extr.*, xix, 456 n. In a note to his translation of Ibn Khallikān, iv, 50, he says, speaking of the 'Udūl class: "According to the Moslem law of testimony none but persons noted for integrity and piety can be received either as witnesses in a court of justice or as witnesses to bonds and deeds." By the former class must be intended witnesses to matters of fact, an aspect of the matter which I hope in the future to consider.

² Kindī, 174^a, 175^a, and 178^a.

³ Ibn Khall. ii, 288, Eug. iv, 35, from Khatīb Baghdādī.

⁴ Ibn Hajar, 50^b.

⁵ Ib. 130^b; Ibn Shāhīn, 102^a, l. 1.

⁶ Ibn al-Jauzi, *Muntazam*, Berlin, 9436, 63^a.

Baṣra by the Kāḍi al-Tamīmī¹ during his tenure of office

¹ *Nishwār*, Paris Ar. 3482. 85^v. In Tab. iii. 1534 is recorded the death in A.H. 250 of a Kāḍi of Baṣra, Ibrāhīm al-Taimī, perhaps al-Tamīmī, and probably identical with the Ibrāhīm summoned by Mutawakkil from Baṣra for the post of Kāḍi as stated in the following extract from the *Tadhkira* of Ibn Ḥamdūn. In that text, which is far from accurate, the *nisha* also reads al-Taimī.

استدعى المتوكل من البصرة محمد بن عبد الملك بن ابي الشوارب
الاموي و احمد بن المؤدّل بن غيلان العبري و ابراهيم التميمي فعرض
على كل واحد منهم ولاية القضاء بالبصرة فاحتجّ ابن ابي الشوارب بعلو
السنّ وامور تقطعُهُ عن ذلك و احتجّ احمد بن المؤدّل بضعف البصر
و امتنع ابراهيم التميمي فقبل له : لم يبق غيرك . و جزم عليه فولي فنزلت
حاله عند اهل العلم و علت حال الاخرين فيرى للناس ان بركة امتناع
محمد بن عبد الملك دخلت على ولده فولي منهم اربعة وعشرون
قاضياً منهم ثمانية قلّدوا قضاء القضاء و كان آخرهم ابو الحسن احمد بن
محمد بن عبد العزيز بن العباس بن محمد بن عبد الملك بن ابي الشوارب
نقلد قضاء القضاء للقادر في رجب سنة ٤٠٥ و توفي في شوال سنة ٤١٧
ومولده في ذى القعدة سنة ٢٢٨ (B.M. Or. 3180, 222^v)

We have here another commendation of the *nolo judicari*; nevertheless, Ibn Abi-l-Shawārib must have accepted office, and from Mutawakkil, for on his death, A.H. 244 (Athīr, vii, 55), he was succeeded as Chief Kāḍi of Baghdad by his son Ḥasan (called Ḥusain, ib. 118 : ob. A.H. 261, ib. 192 ; and cf. Tab. iii, 1684), and he again by another son, 'Alī, first at Samarra and then at Baghdad : ob. 283 (Ibn Shāhīn, 32^b, 64^b : *Irshād al-Arib*, ii, 260-1). 'Alī's son 'Abd Allāh was a Kāḍi at Baghdad (Dhahabī, Or. 48^a, 280^a), and his son Muḥammad *al-Aḥnaq* acted as his deputy, both dying in 301 (ib. 16^a), and another son, Ḥusain, was Kāḍi there in 317 ('Arib, 139). Ḥusain's son Muḥammad, who was removed by Mu'izz al-Daula on an Alide's advice (see *infra*), is noticed by Ibn Ḥajar, 107^a, and Ibn Shāhīn, 84^a, where the advice is attributed to a dream on the authority of Ibn al-Ṣābi. He died in 347 (Athīr, viii, 393), so that the date 352 given for Mu'izz al-Daula's action (ib. 407) is too late. The last-mentioned Abu-l-Ḥasan Aḥmad succeeded al-Akfānī as Chief Kāḍi in A.H. 405. Some of the two dozen judicial issue are thus accounted for.

(the duration of which is uncertain), his principle being that by the tenets of the Ḥanifite school, to which he belonged, all persons were eligible. Of his appointees 20,000, after qualifying, never acted again.¹ The requirements of Baghdad were indeed relatively moderate, for in A.H. 383, when all appointments since a given date were revoked as having been made on solicitation, we are told that the total number amounted to 303, which was evidently deemed excessive.²

This uncertainty in the total of the 'Udūl class is equally noticeable in the qualities demanded of the individual members. The motives which governed their selection or rejection seem strange and arbitrary. The refusal to accept the evidence of a member of one tribe against that of another may have proceeded on the principle laid down by 'Omar, that they were suspected (*ante*, p. 322), and the admission by the succeeding Kāḍī of the evidence of kin in each other's favour, where they were persons of proved integrity, was doubtless a relaxation of the stringency of the rule.³ Again, the permanent disqualification of persons who had by false evidence supported a baseless claim to an Arab pedigree was a not undeserved form of "infamy".⁴ But to our ideas many a recorded ground of rejection is indefensible, e.g. the fact of holding "Kādari" doctrines, in spite of overwhelming testimony to character;⁵ unsoundness on the question of the creation of the Kūrān;⁶ to have acted even as Shāhid, before a Kāḍī thus tainted, was alleged as an objection;⁷ and a Shāhid who stated that he had given evidence, perhaps of necessity, before a previous Kāḍī, was by his hostile successor disqualified

¹ The process of qualifying is described in the case of Ibn Badr: a document (*maktūb*) was produced to which the new Shāhid bore witness (Ibn Ḥajar, 106^a, and cf. *Adhkiyā*, 54).

² Dhahabī, Or. 48, 19^a.

³ Kindī, 156^a, 158^a.

⁴ *Ib.* 185^a.

⁵ *Ib.* 190^a.

⁶ *Ib.* 201^a.

⁷ *Ib.* 193^a.

from again appearing before him.¹ One Kāḍi refused a man's evidence on the ground that he had previously resisted his advice to provide a *mut'ua* for a divorced wife.² Compulsion he had not ventured on, for the liability was, in law, open to grave doubt,³ and thus, having failed to bring about what he held to be a "great right", he consoled himself by doing a "little wrong". At times the objections were fantastic. Sawwār, Kāḍi of Baṣra, A.H. 138 (Tab. iii. 124), rejected a teacher on the ground that his profession involved teaching the Qurān for a price: he retorted that the Kāḍi dispensed justice for hire, and was then accepted.⁴ At Hamadhān a man of repute, who attended by invitation for the purpose of qualifying, found himself to his surprise rejected. And the Kāḍi explained that having noticed the number of the steps he took in approaching him to be somewhat in excess of what he had before seen, he held him guilty of affectation, and therefore unfit.⁵ And Bakkār rejected a man for having years before made an accident at table the occasion of quoting the Qurān.⁶

The office of Shāhid was in request, as appears from another anecdote in Ibn Hajar's notice of Bakkār. Overheard reproaching an Amin, whom he had sent to superintend a woman's marriage (this being one of a Kāḍi's duties), for having married her himself, he bought the hearer's silence. Thereupon the man went and sold his information to a leading personage whom he knew aspired to the office, and the story, to Bakkār's surprise and annoyance, obtained full circulation. The office, indeed, had a money value. In Rashid's time the official commissioned by the Kāḍi in Egypt to inquire into the fitness of a Shāhid—the Sāhib Masa'il—was said to be

¹ Kindi, 214^a.² Ib. 155^a.³ Ib. 158^a.⁴ 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, i, 91. and fuller, Baihaki, *Maḥāsini wa Masāwi*, 621.⁵ *Nishwār*, 80^a, and, on that authority, *Adhkiyā*, 54.⁶ Ibn Hajar, 28^a.

selling his sanction.¹ and, later, the appointment to that office, produced a price to the Kādi's son, who was brought to account by the next Kādi.² Ibn Zabīr took a thousand dinars for accepting as Shāhid, Muḥammad b. Badr,³ who was already a jurist of repute, and whose appointment was intended to redress an injustice suffered at the hands of a preceding Kādi.⁴ This justifies the surmise that the office of Shāhid may have been one of profit as well as of dignity. Apart from cases of bribes given for gross perjury, as to the 'Udūl punished by Muṭaḍid for giving false evidence of a pretended marriage,⁵ there were evidently opportunities of profit. One Shāhid retained a sum of 500 dinars on the sale of a *ḥubṣ* property by way of poundage (*ḥakḥ al-'umal*), which the more scrupulous Kādi taxed down to 30 dinars on the footing at 10 dinars for each day's work, and raised on persuasion and reluctantly to 50 dinars. The same Kādi, *circa* A.H. 320, when checking the too constant attendance of his Shāhids, told them that they would get no livelihood out of him, and that they were to come only when necessary.⁶ It appears, indeed, from a story told by Ibn al-Jauzī⁷ that they accepted offices of trust outside their legal duties, for we find a Shāhid who had been entrusted with a bag of money, presuming on the owner's long absence to substitute dirhams for dinars, a fraud detected by the dates on the dirhams being too recent. Mutawakkil, again, when making a free gift, unconnected with litigation, of a house to Hunain, adduces evidence before 'Udūl as to its value.⁸ And the matter of *shahāda* presents itself yet more unexpectedly in the account of Muṭaḍid's proceedings when resolved, against his vizier's advice, to have the name of Murāwia cursed from the pulpits. As a preliminary he ordered the populace to attend to their

¹ Kindī, 174¹.² Ib. 192⁵.³ Ibn Ḥajar, 50¹.⁴ Ib. 106⁴.⁵ Ibn 'Abdoun, ed. Dozy, 294-6.⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, 128⁴.⁷ *Adhikayā*, 51.⁸ Ibn Abi U-sa'ir, i. 196, l. 7 a.f.

business and to refrain from all concourse and concerted action, "and not to tender evidence to their ruler except when required to testify to something within their knowledge."¹ It may be doubted whether *shahāda* be here used in its technical sense, for the 'Udūl were not recruited from the populace, and possibly the restraint was rather on the liberty of petitioning the sovereign than of providing him with actual facts.

It was perhaps these lower aspects of the office of Shāhid which led to its duties being regarded as unworthy of eminent persons. This appears both from the anecdote below² from the *Nathr al-Durar* of the Vizier al-Ābi (ob. 421: Brockelmann, i, 351), the actor in which, Iyās, was Kāḍī of Baṣra A.H. 199 (Tab. ii, 1347) and from Yākūt's life of Abu Sa'īd al-Sīrāfi (ob. A.H. 368), in the *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, iii, 86, 89, where we are told that on his attending to qualify, the Kāḍī. Ibn Ma'rūf, protested against a man of his eminence condescending to be second even to himself. And, be it observed, as we had been told previously that Abu Sa'īd had acted as deputy for Ibn Ma'rūf in East Baghdad, his

¹ Tab. iii, 2165, l. 1.

² خاصم رجل رجلاً الى إياس بن معاوية وهو قاض البصرة فطلب منه
 البينة فلم يات به فتنع وقيل له : استنجز بوكيع بن ابي سود حتى يشهد لك
 فان اياساً لا يجرئ ردّ شهادته . فنعل فقال وكيع : والله لاشهد ذلك ولئن
 ردّ شهادتي لاعننه بالسيف . فلما طلع وكيع فهم اياس فاقعده الى جانبه
 ثم سأله عن حاجته فقال : جئتُ شاهداً . فقال : يا ابا المطرف أتشهد
 كما تشهد الموالي والعجم انت فجلّ عن هذا . قال : اذاً والله لا اشهد .
 ففيل لو كيع بعد : انما خدعك ولم يقل شهادتك وردك . فقال : اولى
 لابن اللخنا لو علمتُ لعاوته بالقضب . and differently. (B.M. Or. 5769, 159 . and differently. ib. 1349).

qualifying must have formed a necessary preliminary to his acting.

That a Kādi's tenets should differ from those to whom he owes his appointment would appear, *a priori*, of less importance than that they should coincide with those of his litigants. In Egypt, where until the rise of the Shafeite school the Malekite code prevailed, the first appointment of a Kādi of the Hanifite sect, A.H. 164, led to difficulties (he refused to enforce charitable settlements—*hulbs*), and to his dismissal,¹ but appointments from the same school followed in A.H. 184 and 205,² and Bakkār, appointed in A.H. 245, was also of that school, at a time when all the leading jurists of the country were Shafeite. Under his immediate predecessor a long contested suit, turning on the question whether persons claiming through a female were capable of inheriting as against those claiming through a male (Kur. xix, 59), was brought to a close by a judgment at Baghdad, after a series of conflicting decisions had been given in the case by successive Kādīs in Egypt, each of whom followed the tenets of his own school—as, indeed, did the Baghdad jurists in their ultimate judgments.³ Again, the tenets of a deputy Kādi might be at variance with those of his chief. Thus we find Ibn Badr, a Hanifite, stipulating that his deputy, Abu-l-Dhikr, should abide by the rule of decreeing an abode and maintenance to a divorced wife.⁴ And one of the items of complaint in a petition for the removal of a deputy for al-Fāriki (A.H. 398–405) was that his decision had not been in accordance with the tenets held by the Kādi.⁵

It was doubtless to obviate these difficulties that in later times the Sultan Baibars gave his Kādi, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn bint al-A'azz, deputies for each of the four sects, but

¹ Kindi, 167.

² Ib. 185¹ and 192¹.

³ Ib. 214, and more fully, Ibn Hajar, 33^b–34^b.

⁴ Ibn Hajar, 107¹.

⁵ Ib. 41¹.

Ibn Hajar records also, on the authority of Ibn Muyassir,¹ a similar arrangement by Ahmad b. al-Afdal b. Badr al-Jamālī, in A.H. 525, which was discontinued on his fall in the following year. Under this earlier experiment the Hanifite school was not represented.

Māwardī's denial that a judge is bound by his own previous decisions in similar cases may be held to imply equal liberty as regards decisions by his learned brethren, and, indeed, the proceedings in the above-mentioned case of inheritance do not suggest the existence of any Moslem doctrine of *res judicata*. Yet Bakkār, when the above case had been authoritatively adjudicated on at Baghdad under the Mazālim jurisdiction, and that in accordance with his own Hanifite tenets, was very reluctant to overrule his predecessor's decision on the ground that it was in accordance with the tenets of the school which that predecessor held by, and he did so only on the persuasion of an eminent jurist, Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'la.² On the other hand, a century earlier a Kāḍī who showed a disinclination to give effect to his predecessors' decisions in the matter of a *ḥubs* was warned that a similar fate might await his own decisions, and thereupon yielded.³

Nor does it appear that the Moslem body politic deemed it to their interest that there should be any definite *finis*

وفي سنة ٢٥ رتب ابو على احمد بن الفضل في الاحكام اربعة بحكم
كلّ منهم بمذهبه وبورث بمذهبه فهو الشافعي والمالكي والامامي
والاسماعيلي وصُرف الاربعة عن القضاء عند القبض على ابي علي بن
الافضل في سنة ٥٢٦ . . . واستقرّ الحافظ بعد قتل احمد بن
الافضل وخروج الحافظ من الاعتقال وابطال ما كان ابن الافضل
قرّره من اربعة قضاة فاعاد الاختصار على قاضي على مذهب الاسماعيلية

(Paris Ar. 2149, 46^v, 48^v).

² Kindī, 214^v, and as to Yūnus, Ibn Khall. ii, 553, Sl. Eng. iv, 591.

³ Kindī, 164^v.

litium. Another *hubs* case illustrates this. Created by a member of the Mādarā'i family, it was by him sold to meet a fine, and again resold to others. As against these purchasers it was decided by a Kādi (A.H. 314-16) that the *hubs* character remained. This decision was repeated by another, A.H. 339-48, and his decision confirmed by his successor, A.H. 348-66. The case was then carried, under Mazālim jurisdiction, to the Fatimide Murizz, and was by him referred to al-Nu'mān, the ancestor of that family of Kādīs. His death (A.H. 363) prevented a decision, and the case disappears from view,¹ but it may be that a Mazālim decision once given was final.

The fitness of a proposed Kādi (apart from his own statement) was to be within the appointor's own knowledge, as derived from common repute. This knowledge was sometimes gathered by the more direct method of question and answer. Marwān, finding 'Abis b. Sa'id Kādi in Egypt (A.H. 65), inquired of him whether he had any knowledge of the Kūrān or of the portions of inheritance thereby assigned, and being told "None" asked on what his decisions proceeded. "On my knowledge and, failing that, on the result of inquiry," of which Marwān expressed approval.² Some years later similar questions were put by 'Omar b. Hubaira to the above-mentioned Kādi Iyās early in his career, who answered affirmatively, but pleaded that he was of mean appearance, unready in speech, and irritable. 'Omar replied that he did not intend him as an ornament; that he seemed well able to express himself; and that the remaining weakness could, if necessary, be met by strong measures. Iyās thus got his first preferment,³ and his legal reputation

¹ Ibn Hajar, 136^b.

² Kindi, 141^a.

³ 'Uyūn al-Akhhār. i. 35. Later he sought to avoid being Kādi at Baṣra, but his competitor, no less unwilling, propounded a successful dilemma to the Governor, and Iyās was chosen (Ibn Khall. i. 102. Sl. Eng. i, 234). The dilemma is attributed to another in 'Uyūn.

endured. Rashīd likewise proceeded on common-sense grounds. A nominee protesting his unfitness as being unskilled in the law, the Caliph told him that he possessed three qualifications—rank, which would keep him from any base action; deliberateness, which would be a safeguard against error; and a disposition to seek advice, which often proved a sure guide. And as for legal aid, it could be supplied him. And he proved a success.¹ Yahya b. Aktham is described as testing the ability of a proposed Kādi by a not very difficult question as to the relationship of two infants born of the marriages of two men with their respective mothers, the answer to which Yahya had himself to furnish.²

It is indeed apparent that especial heed was paid to a Kādi's character, and that from him a high standard of conduct was expected. Acts of treachery were frequent enough in high places, but when the Kādi Abu 'Omar unwittingly lured Badr to his death by a pretended safe-conduct from Muktafi, popular feeling was outspoken against him.³ One Kādi claimed to be ex officio under a special obligation to speak the truth (on a question of admitting money held on deposit), and said that a brother Kādi too had acted on this principle.⁴ And when Ibn al-Furāt rewarded an ignorant low-born man, in whose house he had lain hid, by the post of Kādi as the one where his unfitness would be the least felt, it was pronounced by the Kādi 'Ayyāsh to be a notable symptom of decadence in the public service.⁵

Under Buwaihīd rule better principles of selection prevailed, as is shown by the following anecdote from

i, 85, l. 14. Iyās, early in life, proved a match for the Kādi at Medina, ib. 93-4.

¹ 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, i, 34. 'Omar b. Abd al-'Azīz specified five qualities as requisite, ib. 81.

² Ib. 86.

³ Tab. iii, 2212-14.

⁴ Hilāl. Wuzarā, 99.

⁵ Ib., Introd., ii, quoting *Nishkur*, 75.

the *Tadhkira* of Ibn Hamdūn of Mu'izz al-Daula's choice.¹

ذكر ان معز الدولة ابا الحسن احمد بن بوبه دخل عليه ابو عبد الله بن الداعي العلوي و قال له : قد اقطعت فلاناً اصفسلارية الديلم كل واحد مائة الف . قال : نعم . فقال : انت تعظم حرمة رسول الله صلعم . فقال : نعم . فقال : يجوز ان تقطع جدى وآله مائة الف . قال : كيف . فقال : لانك قد ضمنى القضاء لابن ابي الشوارب بمائة الف وتحيل عليه الغلمان و فى الشهوات و الخمور وما بقى من آثار رسول الله صلعم و شريعته الا الحكم ولو تركت هذه المائة الف له . فقال : قد فعلت ولكن انظر من يصلح للقضاء فاثبت له حتى أوليه لمن يعمل فيه بالواجب . فمضى ابو عبد الله بن الداعي الى ابي عبد الله البصرى وسأله من يصلح لذلك فاملى عليه ستة عشر نفر : ابو بكر الرازى : و ابن معروف : و ابو بكر بن سبار من اصحاب ابي حنيفة : و ابو بكر الابهري : و ابو الحسن بن أم شبان من اصحاب مالك : و ابو بشر بن اكثم من اصحاب الشافعى . فجاء ابن الداعي الى ابن بوبه و عرض عليه الاسماء فقال : اما ابو بكر الرازى و ابو بكر الابهري فكل واحد منهما يصلح ان يكون قاض قضاء الدنيا فضلاً عن بغداد ولا مطمئن عليهما فى شئ الا ان اخي ركن الدولة ابا على اذا بلغه هذا يقول : ما وجد ببغداد و هى حضرة الخلافة احداً يوليه القضاء حتى ولى من هو من اهل عملي و السياسة توجب ان يرجع اليهما و اما ابو محمد بن معروف فقليل لى انه يحض الغناء و بعد ان جعلت فى نفسى ان أولى هذا الامر لله فلا اريد ان أولى فيه من يتطرق عليه بشئ و اما ابو الحسن بن ام شبان فيصلح لهذا وقد كان تولّى قضاء القضاة قبل هذا ولكنه هاشمى و هو ابن عمّ الخليفة ومتى صار القضاء اليه وازر الخليفة

His ideal of a *Kāḍī* was a high one, and whilst conscious of some moral failing in himself, he held that one who had, as he thought, pandered to it was unfit for the office. His fear that, if he chose a stranger to Baghdad, his brother Rukn al-Daula might feel surprise at the capital not being able to produce a fitting person, is in curious contrast to 'Aḍud al-Daula's recorded opinion of the qualities of its inhabitants. In Ibn Ḥajar's notice of one of the above-mentioned candidates, Ibn Umm Shāibān (fol. 109a, and Ibn Shāhīn, 85b), a statement by 'Aḍud al-Daula is quoted to the effect that he had come across only two men at Baghdad deserving of the name—this *Kāḍī* and the Alide Muḥammad b. 'Omar (ob. A.H. 390; Hilāl, 377)—and that both of them were natives of Kūfa. The Alide who persuaded Mu'izz al-Daula to get rid of Ibn Abī al-Shawārib, even at pecuniary loss to himself, is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 424, as heading a Dailamite attack on Washmaghīr at the time of the death of Mu'izz al-Daula; the Alide sympathies of his dynasty are well

ولم اطقه وخرج القضاء عن يدي واما ابو بكر بن سيّار فكنيت قد
انفذته في رسالته الى الاهواز فعاد واهدى الى غلاماً حسناً وهو يعرف
تراءى في الغلمان ومن يتقرّب بمثل هذا لا اريد ان اوليه القضاء
فقلت له : ابو بشر (بن اكرم) وعرفت ابا عبد الله البصري فقال لابي
محمد الاكفاني : امض الى ابي بشر ابن اكرم وسلم عليه بقضاء القضاء
وعرفه الحال ليعلم ان هذا من قبلنا و تكون لنا عنده يد : فمضى الى ابي
بشر وكان شيخاً قد كبرت سنّه فسلم عليه بالقضاء فقال : أتتهراً بي وانا
شيخ كبير . فقال : ما اهزأ . وعرفه القصّة فقبل بين عيني ابي محمد
وبولي قضاء القضاء واقام نحو من اربع سنين ثم أُطلع بعد ذلك على
خباته ووقّف للناس ثم تغيّرت الاحوال (B.M. Or. 3180, 201^b)

known, and the name of 'Ali was one likely to move him. The six names proposed to him can all be identified in the *Tā'rikh al-Islām*, B.M. Or. 48. Aḥmad b. 'Ali al-Rāzi Fakhr al-Din (ob. 370) is said to have refused the post of Kādi (fol. 114^a). Abu Muḥammad 'Ubaid Allah b. Aḥmad b. Ma'rūf, already mentioned, died Chief Kādi in 385 (fol. 174^a). Aḥmad b. Sayyār al-Ṣaimari was appointed Kādi in 356, and died on the authority of Hilāl al-Ṣābi in 368 (fol. 103^b). Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Abhari also refused office (Yākūt, *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, i, 106), and died in 375 (fol. 145^a). Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Umm Shaibān was the second instance only of a Hashimite Chief Kādi; he at one time had charge of Egypt and Syria, where he acted by deputy; died 367 (fol. 112^b). 'Omar b. Aktham, the candidate chosen, immediately preceded Ibn Ma'rūf as Chief Kādi, and was the second Shafeite occupant of the post. He died in 357 (fol. 55^b), and as we are told that he served four years this anecdote must be dated A.H. 353.

The extent of the Kādi's jurisdiction in Egypt is often specified, whether augmented by the powers incidental to the Kīṣaṣ, Maẓālim, Kharāj, Shurṭa, Bait al-Māl, or Dar al-Ḍarb (al-Kindi, *passim*). Marriages also¹ and public granaries² are mentioned. The administration of orphans' property was specially incumbent on the Kādīs, and to have rendered their property productive is often instanced to their credit, and, in the case of Ibn Badr, the fact that he used to be attended by the mothers and guardians with the orphans and to inquire about them.³ Property of absent persons was also under the Kādi's guard.⁴

Wakf and the kindred *ḥubs* are often referred to as

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, 100^a.

² Kindi, 150^a.

³ Ibn Ḥajar, 106^a.

⁴ Kindi, 200^a, 202^b, and 211^b.

engaging the Kādī's attention,¹ the *ḥubs* from the time of the Caliph Hishām and onwards.² The earliest Kādī in Egypt of the Ḥanifite school, A.H. 164, excited disapproval because under his legal tenets the *aḥbās* were not recognized;³ a later Kādī is described as actively engaged in furthering them;⁴ and under Murtaṣim a Kādī equally careful of them thought of taking their administration from the beneficiaries to himself, except in the case of those whose deed of creation was recorded.⁵ And in A.H. 348 the Kādī Muḥammad b. al-Khaṣīb defended himself against popular outcry by saying that he had watched over the *aḥbās* and made them productive, dividing the produce among the persons entitled.⁶ As regards wills, an instance occurs of the removal of an executor on the ground that he had been Shāhid to a Kādī of bad repute.⁷

The power of interdiction (*ḥujr*) was exercised by one Kādī indirectly and with hesitation,⁸ whilst another renounced its exercise from a consciousness that he was himself a fit subject for it.⁹ It was also a factor in a much disputed case under al-Ikhshīd, where Ibn Badr sought to enforce payment of a debt due from an absent defendant by compelling his son to sell a house alleged to belong to the debtor.¹⁰ And it was used illegally and fraudulently by a Kādī under the Fatimides, *circa.* A.H. 420, by way

¹ The two were not identical, and in *ḥubs* the ultimate charitable object seems to have been preceded by benefits to individuals. It is said of the Kādī under Baibars—

عُمِرَ فِي أَيَّامِهِ جَامِعُ الْعَتِيقِ بِبَصْرَةِ وَفِي أَمْوَالِهِ وَكَذَلِكَ أَمْوَالُ الْأَوْقَافِ

والإحباس (Ibn Shāhīn, 60^a, l. 8)

² Kindi, 156^a.

³ Ib. 167^b.

⁴ Ib. 173^a.

⁵ Ib. 202^b.

⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, 114^a.

⁷ Kindi, 214^a.

⁸ Ib. 143^a.

⁹ Ib. 156^b.

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, 52^{a, b}.

of revenge against an heiress who refused his offer of marriage.¹

As regards the *hudūd* jurisdiction, there seems to have been some reluctance to inflict the fixed penalties allotted to theft. Abu al-Dardā, one of the Companions, advised a woman accused before him of that offence to deny it, and when a man so accused before Ziyad was urged to confess, al-Aḥnaf b. Kais was heard to remark that there were occasions when truth was a blemish.²

قال ابن ميسر: ومات في ولايته (يعني عبد الحاكم بن سعيد بن مالك الفارقي اخي مالك بن سعيد) رجل يقال له الزيلعي وترك مالا جزيلاً ولم يخلف سوى بنتاً واحدةً فورثوها جميع المال على قاعدة مذهبهم فتطاول الناس لتزويجها لاجل كثرة مالها ومن جملتهم عبد الحاكم فامتنعت فحرق منها و اقام اربعة شهوداً بانها سنية و احتوى على مالها فهربت منه و طرحت نفسها على الوزير ابي القاسم المجرجرائي و عرفته ما اعتمد معها القاضي فعمل لها محضراً يرشدها واستكتب لها جماعة منهم ابن اجت القاضي ابو الحسين من مالك بن سعيد فامر الوزير باحضار القاضي فاحضر مهاناً ووكل به من استقاد منه المال وذلك بعد ان كان تصرف فيه قبل باربع سنين ثم قبض الوزير على الشهود الذين شهدوا بسنيتها فاودعهم السجن و خلع على من شهد لها بالرشد والزم القاضي بتسليمها مالها ووكل به عنده في داره فصار يزن في كل يوم شيئاً وولده ينوب عنه في الاحكام الى ان صرف في سنة ٤٢٧ فكانت ولايته ثمان سنين (Paris Ar. 2149, 60^{a, b}).

The rule as to a daughter's right of inheriting is stated in the notice of 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Abi Thaubān—

وكان المعز تقدم الى قضائه ان يورثوا البنت جميع الميراث اذا لم يكن معها اخ او اخت (ib. 57^b, and Ibn Shāhīn, 46^a, I. 6)

² Uyūn al-Akhbār, i, 95.

The next duty, that of abating buildings which constituted a nuisance, seems to be referred to in a passage where a Kādi in Egypt under Amīn, passing with a friend by a projecting roof of one Faraj, said that if it were complained of he would have it down.¹ This Kādi was a Hanifite, and expressed that sect's view of the law, as stated by Māwardi.

The first to make inquiry in Egypt into the character of the 'Udūl was a Kādi under al-Manṣūr.² Previously common repute for honesty had been relied on, and the result was frequent perjury. So the Kādi made secret inquiry.

Under Rashīd a Kādi delegated the duty of inquiry to an official termed "Ṣāhib Maṣā'il",³ and on that official accepting unfit persons to be 'Udūl, the Kādi went about at night-time and in disguise to collect information about them.⁴ It appears from a passage in the *Hidāya* (iii, 364) that the practice of inquiring into witnesses' characters must have led to mischief, for it lays down that, according to Abu Ḥanifa, the seeming trustworthiness of a witness should suffice, unless his veracity were called in doubt. And, after quoting what 'Omar had said on the subject (see *ante*, p. 309), it continues: "Apparent trustworthiness therefore must suffice, for absolute certainty is unattainable. Excepted are cases of fixed penalties and of retaliation: there a searching inquiry should be made, for it may lead to the legal consequences being avoided"—another proof of a desire to evade the severity of the law—"inasmuch as any doubt thereby thrown on the sufficiency of the witness would serve to avert punishment" (the participle of *dara'a*, explained *ante*, p. 323). It adds that at that time a secret inquiry by the Kādi's officer was the course adopted, so as to avoid publicity and recrimination. And further, that the jurist Muḥammad

¹ Kindi, 187°.

³ *Ib.* 174°.

² *Ib.* 162°.

⁴ *Ib.* 196°.

regarded a public examination as a source of trouble and disturbance.

One distinction between public and private charitable foundations is illustrated by a dialogue between Baibars and the Kāḍī Taj al-Dīn, recorded by Ibn Ḥajar,¹ which shows that in the case of those of a public character the duty of administering them devolved on the successors of the Kāḍī *virtute officii*; but having regard to the above-mentioned case of al-Mādarā'i's *hubs* and the decrees securing its permanency, it must be presumed that as regards all of them there existed some Moslem principle in the nature of equity never being at a loss for a trustee.

We now arrive at 'Omar's letter of instructions, explained and discussed *ante*, pp. 307-26, by Professor Margoliouth. It is inserted to enforce a maxim to the effect that a Kāḍī should not allow himself to "hedge aside from the direct forthright", a sentiment expressed also by a Kāḍī in Egypt when he said that arbitrary justice is a bar between the judge and his God.² Whatever Moslem justice may have been in practice—and it was probably much what the people deserved—it was lofty in its theory and adequate in its conceptions. Ibn Kūtaiba³ quotes from the *A'in*, or Book of Ancient Persian Usages

ودخل القاضي تاج الدين ابن بنت الاعزّ على الملك الظاهر
(بيبرس) يوماً وقد اشهد على نفسه في مكتوب حبس فيه داراً على جهة
من جهات البرّ وجعل النظر فيه للقاضي تاج الدين فقال: يا مولانا
السلطان انظر فيه بطريق النظر العامّ حتى يكون النظر لكلّ من ولى
الحكم غيرى او بطريق الخاصّ؛ فقال له: انت لا تروح من الحكم حتى
اموت انا و تموت انت . وكان كذلك مات القاضي وهو على حالته وقد

عجز كل كبير في الدولة عن ازالته (Paris Ar. 2149, 78^{a, b})

² Kindi, I43^b.

³ 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, i, 83-4.

(cf. Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh al-Ashrāf*, Bibl. Geog. Arab., viii, 104, l. 9), and *Fihrist*, 118, l. 27, "Kitāb Ā'in Nāma fi-l-Ā'in"), a clear enunciation of the difference between law and equity in its popular sense, instancing a case where the two conceptions are in accord—the rule of a life for a life; where equity prevails over law—to take a free life for that of a slave; and where law prevails over equity—the liability imposed on payers of the bloodwit: all sound illustrations. Equally sound is the next saying quoted from al-Aṣma'i, that something there is superior to strict law, mutual forbearance and concession, seeing that the utmost legal due, when exacted, results in gall.

XXI

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN, AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS THROWING LIGHT ON THEM

By C. O. BLAGDEN

SINCE writing my article¹ on the Talaing text of the Myazedi record, I have been furnished with a number of documents which enable me to supplement what I then wrote and correct a few errors of transcription and interpretation. M. L. Finot has lent me a photograph of the Pāli, Burmese, and undeciphered texts of the second pillar of the Myazedi record, as well as an estampage of the undeciphered text of the first pillar, and has made several suggestions for which I am much indebted to him. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has followed up his former valuable assistance by sending me a number of important estampages. They include one of the Talaing text of the second pillar of the Myazedi record (now on the platform of the Myingaba pagoda at Pagan), which I had despaired of ever seeing, as well as rubbings of the great Shwezigon inscription, also at Pagan (Nos. I (1)–(8) of *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ara*,² of which no transcript is given there), and of two inscriptions recently discovered at the Shwesandaw pagoda, at Prome (which I shall call Shwesandaw I and II), all in Talaing of about the same period. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has also given me some valuable information bearing upon these records. I must express my sincere thanks for all this help.

The Burmese text

A comparison of the Burmese transcript printed in my paper with the photograph of the Burmese version on the

¹ JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 1017–52.

² Rangoon, 1892; English translation, Rangoon, 1899.

second pillar (which, however, is only partly legible, a good deal of the inscription being damaged) displays the following variants, some of which serve to correct the published version :—

Line 1. (a) B¹ has a space after ဗုဒ္ဓာယံ: probably a second ဗြူ occurred here, but it is no longer legible (variant); (b) B omits အနိဝ် (variant).

Line 7. (a) B has ဝယ် for ဝါယ် (variant); (b) ကာ for ကုဏေယ် (variant).

Line 9. (a) B omits ငထယ် (variant); (b) has ဝယ် for ဝါယ် (variant).

Line 15. (a) B has မောအ် for မော (variant); (b) has ဒိဒိ: this is also the right reading in A.

Line 17. B has ဝိယ် for ဝိယ် (variant).

Line 18. B has အထိအ် for အထိအ် (variant).

Line 20. (a) After ကျောနံ and before သွင် B has more space than is required by the င of A, but the lettering is illegible (variant); (b) under ဒိယ် B has a mark or letter the meaning of which I do not know (variant); (c) B has ရှယ် for ရှယ (correction).

Line 21. (a) B has ထိဝ် for ထိဝ် (variant); (b) ထိဝ်အ် for ထိဝ်အ် (correction).

Line 22. B has ၂ after ငအ် (variant).

Line 27. B has မောအ် for မော အ (correction).

Line 28. B has ထိဝ် for ထိဝ် (variant).

Line 30. B has ရှော for ရှောတ် (variant: but A is right here).

Line 32. B has မော for ယာ (correction²: but this is really also the right reading in A).

Line 34. B has ငါ for ရာ (correction³: A has this also, really).

¹ To save space I call the first pillar A, the second B.

² To be corrected in JRAS., 1909, IV, p. 1043, l. 21, also.

³ To be corrected in loc. cit., p. 1047, l. 9, also.

Line 35. (a) B has ပြည့် for ပြည့် (variant: but B is wrong here); (b) သူ for နှစ် (correction: but A really also has it).

Lines 36, 37. B has အဆယ် for အဆယ် (correction).

Line 38. B has အဝတ် for အဝတ် (correction).

Line 39. B clearly has အဖို့, which is right (A also, I think).

I think that in l. 12 (where B is illegible) we should read the A text သာရာသာရာဝကုမာရ် and regard the repetition of သာရာ as a mistake of the kind that has been styled "dittography". In l. 1 the word သွင် and in l. 3 the word နှိတ် were not very clearly legible in the transcript given in my paper.

The Talaing text

As the second pillar is narrower (at any rate, on the Talaing face) than the first, the Talaing replica (here briefly called B) has shorter lines than the other copy (A). Unfortunately the stone is broken, and a good deal of it appears to be lost: in the transcript which follows the parts in brackets are therefore introduced from A. But I must first make a few preliminary remarks on two frequently occurring emendations. To begin with, I have now turned every *te'* into *wo'*. This has been done because of the analogy of the Shwezigon inscription, where the reading is clear. It habitually uses *wo'* in similar contexts, and especially in such phrases as *smāñ row wo'*, "(he) asked thus," *gah . . . row wo'*, "(he) spake thus."¹ On the other hand, it writes *t-eh*, not *te'*, and hardly uses the word except after *deh* (3rd person personal pronoun). In the Myazedi record, both A and B, the word might be *te'* or *wo'*, for all that we can tell from the shape of the letters in most cases.

¹ But when the speech has preceded, the formula is *row gah*, not *row wo'*. The latter is used when the speech follows.

A more important point is that the symbol which in my former transcript I rendered by ~ has turned out to be a superscript *r*. This is made certain by the fact that it occurs in *suruwañutañāṇ* in l. 40 of B,¹ as well as by a number of cases in Shwezigon of words like *dhamma* and *nirbbāṇ* (always written with the superscript *r* in these inscriptions) and such Talaing forms as *dirdas*, *yiryās*, which are sometimes written with the ordinary *r* and *virāma*, more usually with the superscript *r*. Therefore, all the words with ~ in A have now been spelt with *r*, except the proper name *Saṅghasena*, where, in fact, a different symbol is used in the original, which really does represent superscript *ñ*. (It also occurs in the Pāli B, as I see in the photograph, though the published transcript of A gives the anusvāra, perhaps wrongly.) The Talaing words cited are curious instances of a combination of reduplication with an infix *-ir-*, which appears to form nouns from verbs. Thus *das* = "to be", *dirdas* = "being, existence", **yās*² = "to shine", *yiryās* = "light, radiance", *tāw* = "to dwell", *tirtāw* = "abode". There are others of which the derivation is not so plain. The infix *-ir-* is also used without the reduplication, as in *jirnok*, "extent," from *jnok*, "big." It was evidently an important feature in the morphology of old Talaing, but is hardly traceable in the modern form of the language.

The following is my transcript of B (parts in brackets being from A):—

1. || [ś]r[ī] || namo] Bu[d]dh[āya || śrī || sās kyek Bu-]
2. -ddha tirley kuli ā[r] moy lñim [turow klaṇ]
3. ḃār cwas dijhām cñām tuy || de[y dṇ]
4. Arimaddanapur wo' smin Śrī Tribhu[wanādityadha-]

¹ And also in l. 26, where the *-r* of *titar* is so written over the *B-* of *Brahmapāl*.

² Shwezigon has the compound form *syās*.

5. -mmarāj das || gnakyek smiñ goḥh [moy Tri-]
6. -lokawaṭaṃhsakādewi imo['] || kon gna-
7. -kyek goḥh Rājakumār imo['] || smiñ]
8. g[o]ḥh kil ḍik pi twāñ ku gna[ky]e[k]
9. g[o]ḥh || kāl gnakyek goḥh eu[ti ār]
10. a-ut kiryā gnakyek goḥ ku ḍik pi [twāñ]
11. goḥh smiñ tun keil ku kon gna[kyek]
12. ma imo' Rājakumār goḥh || smiñ [goḥh]
13. kmīn ḥār ewas dijhām enām tuy kā['] smiñ]
14. goḥ ajey ṇan scuti || kon gna[kyek]
15. ma imo' Rājakumār goḥ [mi-]
16. -rṇas guṇ ma smiñ iḥim jirk[u] k[i]nda[ñ]
17. kyek thar moy ār tu[ḥo]k smi-
18. -ñ munas row wo' || kyek thar wo' e-
19. -y ḍik pa rañ po' tirla ḍik pi twāñ ma
20. tirla keil ku ey go[ḥh] ey ḍik
21. kil ku kyek wo' tirla anu-
22. -modanā da || kāl goḥ smiñ [s]lik gap=puma-
23. -s thic ā thic ā smiñ pa sādhu[k]ār || kāl
24. goḥ tirla poy mhāther [||] titar
25. Muggaliputtatissatther || titar Sumedhapa-
26. -ṇḍit || titar = Brahmapāl || [t]i[ta]r Brahma-
27. -d[i]w || titar Son || t[i]ta[r] Sa]ṇghasena-
28. -warpaṇḍit || kinta tirla ta [go]ḥ [sm]i[ñ]
29. eut ḍek han ti || blaḥ g[ol] ko]n
30. gnakyek ma imo' Rājaku[mār goḥ]
31. ket kyek thar goḥh thā[panā kandañ] gno-
32. -h cloñ thar wo' || kāl b[usac]
33. kyek goḥ wo' kon gnakyek goḥ
34. ket Sakmunalon moy twāñ [Ra]pā-
35. -y moy twāñ Hegir-uy¹ moy
36. twāñ || ut ḍik pi twāñ go[ḥ] eu-
37. -t ḍek ku kyek thar ma thāpanā
38. hin guoh wo' rādhanā row wo-

¹ As to this, see the remarks *infra*.

39. -' || sinrañ ey wo' or das he-
40. -t ku gwo' sarwwañutañāñ || ko-
41. -n ey laḥ || cow e' laḥ || kulo
42. ey laḥ || ñaḥ c-eñ laḥ || yal pa u-
43. -padrow ku ḍik ma ey kil ku
44. kyek wo' yañ ñir ñāc kye-
45. -k trey Mettey laḥ or ḍeh
46. go' || ° ||

Line 1. Almost the whole of this line is missing in B, the top part of the stone being apparently gone. M. Finot writes to me that *sās* is an abbreviation of *sāsana*. It may be so, but we find *sāsana* used in Shwezigon and *sāsana* in modern Talaing. *Kyek*: Shwezigon and Shwesandaw I and II generally have the more modern spelling *kyāk*, also *ḍūk* (v. l. 29) and *c-āñ* (v. l. 42).

Line 2. *Tirley*, whatever its derivation, is certainly a title: in Shwezigon we repeatedly find *kyāk Buddha tarley*, "my lord the Buddha," *tarley Ānan*, "my lord Ānanda," *tarley Gawampati*, "my lord Gawampati." Shwezigon uses -a- in several other words where Myazedi has the more archaic -i-, e.g. *tarla* (v. l. 28), *kanta* (ibid.), *sanrañ* (v. l. 39). It seems probable that the vowel was becoming indeterminate (much like the *e* in the English word *belong*), as it is in the modern pronunciation. But Shwezigon retains the -i- sometimes, e.g. *jirku* (v. l. 16). *Kuli*: so in Shwezigon *nor ma kyāk Buddha tarley parinirbbān | kuli lñim turow klan piawas enām*, "1630 years having elapsed after Buddha's entering into *parinirvāṇa*." (In *lñim* and a few other words -m and the anusvāra appear to be used interchangeably, as in modern Talaing. A little palæographical curiosity is to be noted here: in the inscriptions -ī is represented by ° and -im by °, but vice versa in modern Talaing.)

Line 3. *Dey ḍuñ*: in Shwezigon (*passim*) the form is usually *ḍey ḍuñ* (but that inscription has rather a habit

of putting \bar{i} and \bar{u} for i and u respectively, e.g. $t\bar{u}y$). *Pdey* also occurs, but is much rarer.¹

Line 6. The short $-i$ at the end of the queen's name is wrong: Burmese and Talaing A have $-\bar{i}$. *Kon gnakyek*: Mr. Taw Sein Ko informs me that I was wrong in assuming (as I did in my former paper, loc. cit., p. 1050, n. 3) that the prince was a son of the queen by a former marriage. He tells me that the prince was really a son of Kyanzittha, and was kept out of the succession because that king wished to bequeath the throne to his grandson, Alaungsithu, the child of Kyanzittha's daughter by an Indian prince. The story, which is a curious one, has been told by Phayre in his *History of Burma*, p. 38. Kyanzittha's own mother had been an Indian princess, and not long after Kyanzittha's accession an Indian prince arrived at Pagan as a suitor for the hand of the king's daughter. The alliance was disallowed on political grounds, and the Indian prince committed suicide, but the princess subsequently gave birth to Alaungsithu, whom his grandfather caused to be formally anointed, and who, in fact, did afterwards succeed to the throne on Kyanzittha's death. *Gnakyek*: with reference to my suggestion as to the etymology of this word, I must point out that *gna* is used in Shwezigon apparently as some sort of title, before the name of the king eulogized in that inscription. But it may be a different *gna*, of course.

Line 8. All the modern pronunciations of *dik* in my former paper (loc. cit., p. 1031, ll. 21, 22) should have been shown with \bar{d} (not d).

Line 10. *A-ut*: in l. 36 and in Shwezigon the word is spelt ဒုတိ, *ut*, which is somewhat nearer to the modern

¹ In connexion with *ewas* in this line, I take this opportunity of saying that it is the form used in expressing multiples of ten, and is represented by the modern ငဝတိ. "Ten," simply, is *cas*, modern ဝတိ (e.g. in Shwezigon, *sweñ akusalakarmmapatha cas*, "(they shall) avoid the ten ways of sinful action").

spelling अङ्गो , *uit*. As regards the meaning of *kiryā*, M. Finot points out that it is a simple transition from "work" in the sense of "action" to "work" in the sense of "the material result of action", and that in Sanskrit the word *kriyā* is found in the sense of "literary production" (i.e. product). The corrected spelling establishes the derivation beyond doubt. Shwesandaw II has *kiryā*, with the superscript *r*, as here; Shwezigon repeatedly has *kriyā*.

Line 11. I have remarked on the indiscriminate use of *gohh* and *goh* in my former paper. Here, and in ll. 12 and 31, B differs from A in preferring *gohh*; in l. 24 it differs in preferring *goh*. Shwezigon and Shwesandaw I and II use *goh*. *Keil* (conceivably to be spelt *kiel*) is a sort of half-way house between the *kil* of ll. 8 and 21 and A and the *kel* which is the rule in Shwezigon (which once or twice has *kil*, though). *Kil* is the most archaic form, as is shown by the progressive broadening of the vowel till in modern pronunciation the word has nearly the same sound as the English word *cur*.

Line 14. It is satisfactory to find the reading *ajey* *ān scuti* (which was more or less of a conjecture in A) clearly established by B, where the letters are unmistakable, the word *ajey* being written again in the eccentric way with the *j* subscript under the *a*, which had made me doubtful of it. (The credit of the conjecture is in the main due to my friend Mr. Halliday.) I have not yet come across *ajey* elsewhere, but Shwezigon has the following passage, where *āñjey* apparently means "disease": *yañ trūs brow suñwat gumloñ ci sjlīñ āyuk skah sak āñjey gil wel | mahājan gumloñ ci skah sak bhey skah sak upadrow*, "men, women, and children, all shall have length of life, shall be free from disease and pain" (the meaning of *wel* is not yet determined, perhaps it means "always"), "(and) all mankind shall be free from calamity, free from misfortune." *Scuti* is constantly used

in Shwezigon to denote a change from one state of existence to another, by transmigration and rebirth¹: e.g. *blah goh risi Bisnū goh scuti nor goh stin ār Brahmālok* | *scuti nor Brahmālok goh* | *stlān das (?) dey dān Arimaddanapūr ci.* etc., "thereafter the Rṣi Bisnū (= Viṣṇu) shall depart from thence (and) shall ascend to Brahmāloka; (then) departing from Brahmāloka, he shall come into existence (?) in the city of Pagan," etc. (The word after *stlān* is damaged, it might be *dmās*, and the precise sense is not certain, but the general drift of the passage is clear from the context and parallel passages.) Shwezigon has a number of other verbs beginning with *s-*, which was evidently a common prefix in old Talaing: e.g. *sclās*, "to become" (*das*, "to be"), *skel*, "to give," *sjnok*, "to be great." Clearly the prefix was (at any rate, in some cases) pronounced with an indeterminate vowel, but Shwezigon habitually writes it with subscript consonants, as if no vowel intervened, a practice for which there are many analogies in the spelling of modern Talaing.

Line 15. *Mirnas*: B upsets my conjecture here. The word appears in a slightly different form in Shwezigon in the phrase *kuṁ mirnes lah wit*, which I take to mean "also remember, do not forget". I do not know the modern form of the word, unless it is မှတ်, *bnah*, မှတ်, *bnuh*,² "to think of."

Line 16. *Kindam*: the subscript letter is certainly *d*, not *n*, as I had wrongly supposed. Shwesandaw II has the word in the same form: e.g. *kindam ceti* . . . *kindam bihār*, "build pagodas . . . build monasteries." Shwesandaw I has *skindam*. Shwezigon has, as a rule, *skandam*, and in one place spells it with an ordinary *d* and virāma, but usually with a subscript *d*; but the

¹ M. Finot informs me that this is the proper meaning of the Pāli *cuti*.

² In this article I can give only the *literal* transcription of Talaing words with the precise pronunciation of which I am not acquainted.

lettering is larger than in Myazedi and therefore clearer. The subscript *d* used in this word is in shape much like the ordinary *d*, not like the subscript *d* in *Arimaddanapur* in the illustration to my former paper. It is not quite clear why the pronunciation of the root-syllable has shifted in modern Talaing to the first series (i.e. as though preceded by a surd, not a sonant), as the modern spelling implies. Possibly there may be an etymological connexion with ဝဒံ, *gadam*, ဝဒံ, *gadam*, ဝဒံ, *khadam*, "a chamber" (cf. German *Zimmer*, "room," *Zimmermann*, "carpenter," *zimmern*, "to build": *kindam*, *kundam* = "to build, to fashion"). The variation in spelling in the vowel of the first syllable points to its having already become indeterminate: cf. the words cited *supra* on l. 2.

Line 17. The precise meaning of *tubok* is still in doubt, but in Shwezigon the word for "to show" is *tubah* (or *tumbah*?), which is evidently the modern *thabah*, "to point out," so that *tubok* cannot be identified (in form) with the latter. There is, however, another modern word used together with *thabah* in the same sense, viz. တမံကံ *tamanik*, or တမဝေ, *tamok*, which may possibly be connected with our *tubok* (through a derivative form **tumbok*).

Line 18. *Munas* is still a mystery: possibly it may have some etymological connexion with *mirnas*, but that is very doubtful. For "men" we find in Shwezigon (*inter alia*) the form *manus*, an Indian loanword (from Sanskrit *manuṣa* or Pāli *manusso*).

Line 19. The reading *pa ram po* of B is clear and corrects the previous misreading *par pā*.¹ The meaning is "(I) have made (this golden Buddha as) a help for" (or "to help") "(my lord)". *Ram* is clearly the modern ဧရီ.

¹ A apparently has *pā*, but there is a space where the other half of the letter င — ဟ might have been put. Perhaps it has been worn away; or it may have been omitted inadvertently (?).

ruim, "to help"; *po'* I cannot yet explain; *pa* certainly means "to do, to make", and the form is certainly right (*par*, if there is such a word, would mean "to fly", modern ဝဋ, *paʷ*, which is still *par* in some of the cognate languages, e.g. Bahnar). As to *tirla*, see remarks on l. 2 *supra*. Shwezigon has *tirla* in a speech where Ānanda addresses Buddha and *tarla* in another where Gawaṃpati addresses him.

Line 22. *Da* (for which A has *da'*) appears frequently in Shwezigon, apparently as a particle, with a force sometimes precatory, sometimes merely assertive. This throws doubt on my former explanation. Probably the sentence should be rendered "pray, my lord, approve" or "may my lord approve" (*sc.* of my action). The reading *sḍik gap* = *pumas* is undoubtedly right,¹ and recurs in precisely the same form in Shwesandaw II. Shwezigon, more correctly, has *sḍik gap pumas*. The phrase means "(the king) was pleased and happy". *Pumas* is the modern ဝုမ္မဋ, *pūmah*, as Mr. Halliday had rightly conjectured. *Gap* may be the modern ဝဋ, *gap*, "sufficient" (cf. the modern ဝဋ ဝေဋ, *gap gow*, "proper, fit"), perhaps with the meaning of "very" (cf. Italian *assai* from Low Latin *ad satis*, for a development of meaning in the converse direction). My former conjectural reading was quite wrong.

Line 23. *Pa sādhuḥkār*: M. Finot has pointed out to me that *sādhuḥkār* is one word, the Sanskrit *sādhukāra*, "approbation." I find in Shwezigon an interesting sentence referring to the effect to be produced when the king addresses the people: *yañ binru anumodanū binru tirhin kirsah binru sādhuḥkār . . . row binru brey jumnok . . .*, "the sound of approval, the sound of praise, the sound of approbation . . . (shall be) like the

¹ I ought to have recognized the subscript form of *p*. It is quite common in Shwezigon in cases which admit of no doubt whatever.

noise of a great rainstorm," etc. *Pa sādhuḥkār*, literally, is "made approval" (if in A we read *sasādhuḥkār*, which is possible, as the letters *p* and *s* closely resemble one another in this script, the meaning would be the same). The whole phrase may be translated "(and) expressed his approval (saying) 'Oh! worthy (deed)! oh! worthy (deed)!'" My former explanation must be amended accordingly.

Line 24. I am still in doubt whether the word I have transcribed *titar* (which I have not yet met with in the other inscriptions) is not really *tiwār* or *ticār*, more probably the latter. Its meaning is still in doubt.

Line 25. In *Mugguliputtatissatther* B clearly has *th* subscript, not *h*, and for that reason (and analogy) I have now written all these proper names with their appendant titles as compound words.

Line 26. It is curious (and not in accordance with the usual method observed in these inscriptions) to find the *-r* of *titar* superscript over the *B* of *Brahmapāl*, but cf. *gap=pumas*, l. 22. In some languages (e.g. Javanese) this sort of thing is the usual practice; not so in Talaing.

Line 27. *Sanghasenawarpaṇḍit*: the *r* (if there at all) is superscript over the *p*, and the spelling is wrong for *warapaṇḍit*, which A has correctly.

Line 28. As to *kinta*, see remarks on l. 2 *supra*. *Tu* is used *passim* in Shwezigon as the plural affix, and is clear in B and certainly right.

Line 29. *Han* is certainly a preposition meaning "on to", as in the sentence in Shwezigon *tarley Gawam-pati cis tān han manussalok*, "my lord Gawam-pati" (after paying a visit to In (Indra) in Tāwatīn, Tāvatisā) "came down to the world of men". It is also sometimes used where in English no preposition would be required, e.g. Shwezigon *ey āc han tarley*, "I ask my lord" (= "I ask you"). For *blaḥ goḥ* cf. the quotation given on l. 14 *supra*, which follows directly on a passage where

a preceding event is mentioned, viz. *rīsi moy ma imo' Bīsū . . . skandam dān moy imo' Sīsīt ! blaḥ goḥ*, etc., "a Rsi named Bīsū . . . shall build a city called Sīsīt, and then." etc.

Line 32. I think the word I had previously read *būsac* is really *busac*, so there is no reason to suppose it to be a compound: but I can give no further account of it except that it occurs in Shwesandaw II as a verb governing *kyāḥ*, much the same as here.

Line 33. *Goh* is clearly intended for *guoh*, "cave-pagoda," the reading of A; it may be a real variant spelling or a mere slip.

Line 34. The reading *Sakmunalon* is clear and correct (agreeing with Burmese A and B): Talaing A appears to have *Sakmunalor*, which is wrong.

Line 35. The transcription *twāñ Hegir-uy* does not accurately represent the original: no transliteration can. The *ñ* lacks a virāma, which by mistake has been transferred to the *H*-, where it is of course incompatible with the *-e*-. But the condition of the text explains, I think, how the corruption in the name of this third village (which affects both A and B) came to arise. I take it that what was written in the first place was, after all, merely intended to represent the Burmese name of the village, viz. ဧန့်ဗိုဝ်, *Henbuiw*, which was varied for some reason to ဧန့်ဗိုဝ်, *Henbuiy*, in the original Talaing draft. Then from this, by some one's mistake, came the B reading ဧဝ်ဗိုဝ် (the *n* being misplaced and turned into *r* and the combination *buiy* being misunderstood and dislocated into *gi* and *uy*, in addition to which the virāma of *twāñ* was transferred, as already stated, to the *H*-). The A reading represents a further stage of corruption: the copyist, trying to make sense of the B text, put a virāma on the *-ñ* of *twāñ*, added another *ñ* after *twāñ* (after putting in a punctuation mark, as

after the other *twāñ*'s in A), and took the *e* for a visarga, thus producing *ñahh gir-uy* (or *gin-uy*). The engraver left the third stroke of the *y* unconnected with the rest of the letter, so that I took it for a *p*. My attempt at an explanation of the supposed *ñahh gin up* of course falls to the ground: the true meaning is simply "Henñuiy, one village".

Line 37. The reading *thāpanā* is quite clear and is right. There is a slight difference between A and B in the shape of the letter *th*: in B it always has a little indentation in the bottom line, rather like the bottom of *dh*, whereas in A the bottom line is straight.

Line 38. *Hin guoh wo'*: A has *hin goh wo'* (I had read *te'*), which I had taken to mean "while (doing) this". But I doubt if *goh* and *wo'* can be combined in this way, and if the B reading is the one really intended by the draftsman, it seems to follow that we must construe the words with what precedes and translate the passage "poured out water for the golden Buddha that he had enshrined in this cave-pagoda and prayed thus". This is, I think, not inconsistent with the parallel Burmese version. But it assumes that *hin* is a variant of the preposition *han* (v. on l. 29 *supra*). Or might it mean that he poured water *on* the pagoda in honour of the Buddha he had enshrined? (This would involve the same view of *hin*.) So far as I know water is poured on the ground in these ceremonies, and I should prefer the former interpretation. I have my doubts as to the reading *hin*, anyhow. It is quite clear in A, but may be wrong nevertheless; in B it looks decidedly like *sarin*. Until one or other of these words is met with in another context the real reading here is uncertain.

Line 39. The form *sanrañ* occurs frequently in Shwezigon, and the reading *sinrañ* (which is clear in B) is certain. (As to the form, see remarks on l. 2 *supra*.) As B reads *ey wo'* after it, we must render the words

“this my deed” or “this act of mine”, which is a literal rendering of the Burmese words, as amended by the correction on l. 34 of the Burmese transcript given *supra*. I ought to have stated that *het* is the Sanskrit *hetu*, “cause.”

Line 40. I am not sure that *gwo'* here and *go'* in l. 46 are mere variants of spelling. There is an infix *-w-*, which sometimes forms nouns from verbs in modern Talaing, and *gwo'* may be such a noun. In that case the more literal translation would be, “May this act of mine be an efficient cause for the attainment (by me) of omniscience.” I find *go'* and *sgo'* used in the other inscriptions for the verbs “to obtain”, “to possess”.

Line 41. *E'* is a misspelt *ey*. A made the same mistake after *sinrañ*, where it puzzled me. Here there is no doubt whatever, and A has *ey*.

Line 42. The reading *pa* is clear: cf. l. 19 *supra*.

Line 44. *Yañ* is constantly used in Shwezigon to begin sentences. It does not appear to add anything definite to the sense.

Line 45. *Lah* here is clearly the precatory negative: cf. the sentence quoted on l. 15 *supra*. Taken together with *ñir* (which probably means “a little”) it means “not at all”, “by no means”, or the like in an optative phrase like this one. The word is distinct from the repeated *lah* of ll. 41, 42 (meaning “either . . . or”), for the latter comes at the end of each alternative clause, whereas the former precedes the verb it negatives.

Line 46. The verb in this case is *go'*, “to obtain,” hence “to be able”. *Deh* in the preceding line is certainly the subject, and is a personal pronoun of the 3rd person (singular or plural), spelt *deh* in Shwezigon. My former conjectural explanations of these words cannot be maintained.¹ But the translation requires no modification.

¹ Shwezigon has *gah*, “to speak, to say.”

I take this opportunity of correcting an error in my remarks on the Talaing vowel-system (loc. cit., p. 1027). As an analogue to the Talaing open *o* (ò) I wrongly instanced the French word *pot*, which happens to have the close sound. French *trop* would have been better, and *corps* better still, as its vowel is long. I have to thank my friend M. A. Cabaton for correcting me on this point.

I have dealt somewhat at length and in detail with this text, not so much on account of its intrinsic interest, which is perhaps not very considerable, as for the reason that this record (if small things may be compared with great ones) is in its humble way the Rosetta stone of Talaing epigraphy, an unexplored field from which historical and linguistic material of much value may be extracted some day. Even with the help of the Myazedi text it is no easy matter to interpret the other old Talaing inscriptions that I have cited, and as yet whole passages of them are completely unintelligible, to me, at any rate. But the quotations I have given here have been checked with other passages and with the modern forms of the language, and I think their renderings can be accepted with some degree of confidence.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON THE TWO BESNAGAR INSCRIPTIONS

The substance of this note was communicated to Mr. Marshall when we met at Agra during the rainy season tour of last year, in response to his request for brief comments which he proposed to insert in his Annual Review for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Earlier in the year Mr. Marshall had very kindly given me a photograph of the inscriptions. But as he expected that further clearing of the paint from the pillar would reveal more of Inscription A, I preferred to wait. Our hopes have been disappointed. In a letter dated 21 March, 1910, Mr. W. H. Lake, Superintending Engineer, Gwalior State, writes :—"The column has been thoroughly cleaned from top to bottom, and there are no more letters below the seventh line. The inscription takes up a space of 1 ft. 10 in. in depth, and from the bottom of the inscription to the chabutra on which the column stands is 2 ft. 9 in." Mr. Lake has sent me excellent ink-impressions of both inscriptions, for which I desire to record my best thanks.

Inscription A

Compare the text published in this Journal, 1909, p. 1089.

Line 4. For *Yōnadātēna* I read *yēna dātēna*.

Line 7. For *Chamdadūsēna* I read *chatudasēna*.

The general sense of the document would be :—"This Garuḍadhvaja was erected here by Haliodara, who came as an ambassador from the great king Aṃtalikita, while Bhāgabhadra, the king of Sāṃkāśya, the saviour, was reigning gloriously in his fourteenth year."

Strict grammar would of course require *āgatān*, or some finite verbal form, to follow the relational *yēna dātēna*. But as it has now been found that the inscription ends with line 7, and as Mr. Fleet's happy analysis of *upatā sakāsarañō* excludes a finite verb from line 5 where alone it could occur, we may accept the instrumental case of *āgatēna* as an instance of intelligible but faulty 'attraction'.

Kāsīputasa Bhāgabhadrasa is explained [Journal, 1910, p. 142] as "Bhāgabhadra, son of a lady of the people of Kāśī, or son of a daughter of a king of Kāśī". But is this necessary? Why not "Bhāgabhadra, i.e. he who is the son of Bhagabhadra, and of Kāśī his wife"? Bhāgabhadra and Bhagabhadra are not dictionary names. *Trātārasa* = *sōtēros*, immediately following, suggests the further equation *bhāgabhadrasa* = *eutuchous*. But this would leave *Kāsī-* or *Kīsī-putasa* (as it appears in the ink-impression) standing by itself as the name of the king of Sāṅkāśya—which is a difficulty. The word *chaṇḍadāsa* was read doubtfully and interpreted as the name of a second, local, Hindu prince who was the vassal of Bhāgabhadra, king of Sāṅkāśya. As above proposed, I would delete the name of Rāja Chaṇḍadāsa. Our record would thus deal with only two kings, Aṅtalikita, an Indo-Greek, ruling in the Panjāb, and Bhāgabhadra, a Hindu ruler of Sāṅkāśya and master of Bēsagar.

Inscription B

Compare the text in Journal, 1909, p. 1092.

I read:—

Trini amutapadāni + + su anuṭhitāni
nayaṃti svaga damō chagō aprāmādo.

In the ink-impression supplied by Mr. Lake, *nayaṃti svaga* and the *prā* of *aprāmādo* are clear. The lines may be translated:—"The paths to immortality are three;

when rightly followed they lead to Svarga: they are restraint of one's organs, surrender (of one's actions to the Lord), and attention (i.e. holding to the truth)."

Dr. Barnett refers to Dhammapada, ii. verse 1. I would add references to Mahābhārata, Udyōgaparva :—

Damastyāgōṣṭhāpramādaścha ētēṣvamarṭamāhitam |
tāni satyamukhānyāhur brāhmaṇā yē manīṣiṇaḥ ||
xlii, 22.

Damastyāgōṣṭhāpramāda ityētēṣvamarṭam sthitam |
ētāni brahmanukhyānāni brāhmaṇānāni manīṣiṇām ||
xliv, 7.

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March 23, 1910.

THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION A

The fact made known above by Professor Venis, that this inscription ends with the word *radhamānasa*, places the concluding portion of the record in a new light. It constrains us to endorse his reading [*chatu*]dasēna, which is quite justifiable by the indications in the ink-impression, in the place of [*Chamḍa*]d[ā]sēna.¹ The last line, then, gives *rasēna chatudasēna rājēna radhamānasa*; representing a Sanskrit *varshēna chaturdasēna rājyēna vardhamānasya*. And, strange as the construction is—"of him (Bhāgabhadra) augmenting or prospering by sovereignty by the fourteenth year",—we must accept the phrase as meaning what would have been expressed, in more customary terms, by the equivalent of *vardhamāna-rājya-varshē chaturdasē*, "in the fourteenth year of the augmenting or prosperous reign". I thus agree with Prof. Venis in deleting the name of the Rāja Chaṇḍadāsa.

¹ We might perhaps read [*ekā*]dasēna. But [*chatu*]dasēna is good enough.

But I am afraid that we must sacrifice something else also; namely, the idea that Bhāgabhadra was a king of Sāmkāśya. We require some word to govern the genitive *Bhāgabhadrasa* *radhamānasa*, which we cannot well take as a genitive absolute. We might obtain such a word by understanding *arthē. kṛitē*, or any such term, in the sense 'on account of'. But the plain course seems to be to read in line 5, not *Sa[m]kāsa-rañō*, but *sakāśa[m] rañō*. We thus have the equivalent of *sakāśam*, which is well known in the sense 'to the nearness or presence of', and contrasts here with the preceding *upa[m]tā*, = *upāntāt*, 'from the nearness or presence of'. Accordingly, Bhāgabhadra ceases to be a king of Sāmkāśya, and becomes a king in Central India, reigning perhaps at Bēsagar itself, perhaps at Ujjain.¹

It does not seem either necessary or good to accept Professor Venis' proposal regarding line 4. beyond endorsing his reading *dātēna*, which the ink-impression shows to be quite practicable, in the place of *dātēna*. He would read *yēna dātēna āgatēna*; and, since a finite verb in connection with *yēna* is not forthcoming, he would take *āgatēna* as standing by "attraction" for *āgataṁ*: "by whom, (as) an ambassador, it was come". The phrase *yēna dātēna āgataṁ* would, no doubt, be admissible in itself; though *yō dāte āgate* would be more natural. But the case is different when *āgatēna* is given, and we have to substitute *āgataṁ* for it. Hēliodōra —(the *ē* in the first syllable, and the *ō* in the fourth, are distinct; so we need not read "Haliodara")— was plainly a Greek, a Yōna. The ink-impression seems to me to support *Yōna* quite as much as *yēna*. And, if

¹ I take the name Bēs. Bēsagar, as derived through such forms as *Vēsa, *Vēsa, from Vēdisā, Vēdisā, = Vaidisā, from Vichā, the river now known as the Bēs, Bēsh, for which see this Journal, 1909. 1087. The statement about Aśoka, Ujjēni, and Vēdisanagara, in the Dīpavaṁsa, 6. 15, seems to mark Vēdisanagara as a town in the territory attached to Ujjain. Bēsagar is about 130 miles east-by-north from Ujjain.

we take *Yōna-dātēna*, the instrumental *āyatēna* is quite intelligible, and we need not assume anything strange or mistaken about it: along with *Yōna-dātēna* and the other instrumentals, it is in apposition with *Hēliodōrēna*, which is governed by *kāritē*.

In these circumstances, I would amend my translation as follows:—

Revised translation.

This Garuḍadhvaja of Vāsudēva, the god of gods, has been caused to be made here by Hēliodōros, a votary of Bhagavat, a son of Diya (Dion), a man of Takhasilā, a Yōna ambassador, who has come from the great king Antalkidas to king Kāśīputra-Bhāgabhadra, the saviour, who is prospering in the fourteenth year of (*his*) reign.

It may be noted that the title *trāṭṭi*, = *sūtēr*, 'the saviour', applied here (perhaps somewhat exceptionally) to the Hindū king Bhāgabhadra, seems to be also found in the case of a Hindū king named Vṛishṇirāja, or of a king belonging to the Vṛishṇi tribe or family, on a coin dealt with by Mr. Bergny in this Journal, 1900. 420.

Since writing the preceding remarks, I have found that this inscription has been handled by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in JBBRAS, 23. 104. He has recognized that we should read (with Professor Venis) *dātēna* in line 4, and (with me) *sakāsa[in] rañō* in line 5. But he has gone wide of the mark in his treatment of the concluding part of the record, where he has found a statement that Hēliodōros was "residing in the kingdom of Nai (?) in the Middle country", and set up the Garuḍadhvaja "for instructions in (his) new religion", namely, by publishing the teachings contained in the inscription B: the correct reading of line 7 is that which has been indicated by Professor Venis.

J. F. FLEET.

THE SAKA ERA

Professor Rapson has said in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc. (1908), introd., p. 106, note 2, that inscriptions which present the name Śaka attached to the era of A.D. 78, begin in Southern India with the year 169 [= A.D. 247-48] and in Northern India with the year 400 [= A.D. 478-79]. This is an unfortunate blot on what is mostly a very admirable work. The inscriptions thus cited are spurious copperplate records, fabricated at a very much later time, and worthless as evidence of early use of the name Śaka or of any other historical details. They have been recognised as spurious by Professor Kielhorn, as well as by me: and they were marked as spurious by him in even the places to which Professor Rapson has given his references for them.

The earliest genuine inscriptional instance of the use of the name Śaka with the era of A.D. 78 comes from Southern India, and is of A.D. 578. It is found in the record at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay,¹ which is dated on the full-moon day of the month Kārttika "when there had elapsed five centuries of the years of the anointment of the Śaka king to the sovereignty."

From Northern India the earliest genuine inscriptional instance is of A.D. 862. It is found in the record at Dēogaḍh in the Lalitpūr District, United Provinces,² which

¹ Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 3. We already have an appreciable number of other inscriptions, published since the time when Professor Kielhorn's two Lists were issued: but they add nothing in the present matter to what is to be learnt from the Lists.

² Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, from about A.D. 400, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, Nos. 14, 352.

The Baijnāth Prasasti, which was supposed to be dated "Śaka-kāla" 726 expired, = A.D. 804-5 (*ibid.*, No. 351) is now known to be dated "Śaka-kāla" 1126 expired, = A.D. 1204-5.

The record on the Multāi plates, dated in Kārttika, "Śaka-kāla" 631 (expired), falling in A.D. 709 (*ibid.* No. 350), not only comes from Southern India, but also is almost certainly a southern record. Professor

is dated in Aśvayuja and in the year 784 (expired) of the years of the "Śaka-kāla", the Śaka time or era. And it is to be noted that this record is primarily dated, with the full details of the month, etc., in "Samvat 919", that is, in the Vikrama year 919: it is only as a subsidiary detail that the Śaka year is given in a separate passage at the end, a sort of postscript. The Śaka era, as a practical reckoning of civil and official life, was so foreign by nature to Northern India outside Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt, and met with such limited acceptance when it was introduced there, that, after A.D. 862, the next known instance of its use in Northern India (except in those parts) is of A.D. 1137-38. Even from this last date it figures in Northern India, during the inscriptional period, to only a very limited extent in comparison with the Vikrama and other eras: and the cases in which it is cited in inscriptions there exclusively, without being coupled with one or another of the northern reckonings, are still more conspicuously few: in very few cases indeed is it so cited at any appreciable distance from the dividing-line between the North and the South.

In literature, however, the use of the name Śaka with the era is carried back to A.D. 505 by the Pañchasiddhāntikā, I. 8, where Varāhamihira, citing a detail laid down by Lāṭāchārya in a work in which he explained the Rōmaka and Paulīśa Siddhāntas, tells us that for certain calculative purposes there was to be used a certain moment fixed (as regards the year) *sapt-āśvi-rēda-saṁkhyam Śaka-kālam apāśya*, "by deducting the Śaka-kāla having the number

Kielhorn drew attention, in his introductory remarks to the Northern List, to the fact that the List includes not a few southern records.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji had a Chalukya copperplate record, dated "Śaka 653" (expired), = A.D. 731-32, from Balsād ('Bulsar') in the Surat District, Gujarāt: see JBBRAS, 16. 5. As it has not been published and he did not state the places mentioned in it (except Maṅgalapurī, the town whence the charter was issued), we cannot locate it. But all the probabilities are against its having any connection with Northern India.

seven, the (two) Āśvins, and the (four) Vēdas :” that is, at the end of the Śāka year 427, in A.D. 505. This is, for the present, the earliest time from which we can trace unquestionably the use of the name with the era.¹

It will not surprise us if hereafter we obtain evidence carrying back the use of the name Śāka with the era of A.D. 78 to about A.D. 400. But we shall not go beyond that. The case, as I put it together, is as follows :—

The era was founded (in the sense that its opening years were the years of his reign) by the Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, who appears to have been a Pahlava or Pallava, i.e. of Parthian extraction,² and who reigned from A.D. 78 to about 125. He established himself first in Kāthiāwār, but subsequently brought under his sway Northern Gujarāt (Bombay) and Ujjain, and, below the Narbadā, Southern Gujarāt, Nāsik, and probably Khāndēsh. His capital seems to have been Dōhad, in the Pañch Mahāls. And he had a viceroy, Bhūmaka, of the same family with himself, in Kāthiāwār; and a co-regent, Chashtāna, son of Ghśamotika, at Ujjain. Soon after A.D. 125, Nahapāna was overthrown, and his family

¹ The astronomer Lalla used as an epoch the end of the “Śāka” year 420, in A.D. 499: Śiṣyadhīvriddhida, ed. Sudhakara Drivedi, p. 10, verse 59; p. 50, verse 18. But he wrote at some later time.

There has been recently brought to notice a Sanskrit work entitled Lōkavibhāga, written by an author named Simhasūri and treating of Jain cosmography, which gives the date of its composition as the twenty-second year of (*the reign of*) Simhavarman, lord of Kāñchī (Conjeveram), and the year 380 (expired), = A.D. 458-59, “of those who are named Sakas”: see the Annual Report by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, for the year ending 30 June, 1909, §§ 35. 112. This will have to be thought over, because it is not easy to believe that the era can have been used in such a manner as that, at so early a time, in the eastern parts of Southern India: the earliest instance, as yet established, of its use for civil dating anywhere in that direction, is of A.D. 945 (Southern List, No. 563). I learn from Mr. Narasimhachar that the Lōkavibhāga quotes in its chapter 6 some Prākṛit verses from a work called Trilōkaprajñapti: this may perhaps throw some light on the matter.

² There is at any rate nothing to mark either him or his successors as Sakas.

was wiped out, by the Sātavāhana - Sātakarṇi king Gautamīputra-Śrī-Sātakarṇi, who thereby recovered the territories on the south of the Narbādā, and perhaps secured for a time Kāthiāwār and some other parts on the north of that river. Very soon, however, Chashtāna, or his son Jayadāman, or perhaps still more probably his grandson Rudradāman, established his sway over all the territory which had belonged to Nahapāna on the north of the Narbādā : founded a line of Hinduized foreign kings, who reigned there for more than three centuries : and established the era by continuing Nahapāna's regnal reckoning, instead of starting a new reckoning beginning with the first year of his own reign.

In the inscriptions of Nahapāna and his successors, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, the dates in this era do not as yet go beyond the year 127, or (doubtfully) 222.¹ But their coins give a constant succession of dates down to at least the year 310 (expired), = A.D. 388-89.² And, as in the case of other Hindū eras in their early periods, during that time the era had no name : on the coins, only the numerals are given ; in the inscriptions, the years were simply cited as *vasa* and *varsha*, 'the year (of such-and-such a number)'.

At some time about A.D. 400, the Hindūs received the Greek astronomy : and they then devised, for the purposes of their computations, the Kaliyuga era, the commencement of which they placed in February, B.C. 3102. Subsequently, retaining the Kaliyuga for the

¹ The date in the year 127 is in the Jasdan inscription : see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 32. The other date is in the Mulwāsar inscription : see, in order, this Journal, 1890. 652 ; Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 1, p. 43 ; *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 43, with plate ; and Rapson's remarks in this Journal, 1899. 381, and Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc., introd., p. 62. The second numeral is certainly 20 (not 30 as given in *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*) : and on the whole the first numeral is probably 100 (not 200 as given there). The name of the king has been read both as Rudrasēna and as Rudrasīha.

² Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc., p. 192.

higher astronomical work, they looked about for another reckoning to be used for certain minor and practical purposes, dealt with particularly in works called *Karaṇas*, which did not aspire to be *Siddhāntas*. The selection was plainly made somewhere in Western India; perhaps at Ujjain, but with equal probability at Bharukachchha, Broach:¹ and it is not impossible that it was made by Lāṭāchārya, whose name indicates a native of Lāṭa, Gujarāt, and who may easily have begun to write at an appreciable time before A.D. 505.

At any rate, the selection was made: and the choice fell on the era beginning in A.D. 78. It seems to have been suggested by two considerations. In the first place, it was, as we have seen, the official reckoning of Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt, and those parts, still in use in A.D. 388: and no great effort is needed to lead us to believe that it was current half a century or so later.² In the second place, its years probably began either with Chaitra śukla 1, or with some other day so near to the vernal equinox, which was a cardinal detail received from the Greeks;³

¹ Ujjain (we know) was a great seat of astronomy: and the Hindū prime meridian was taken through it. But there are indications that Broach, also, was in early times a centre of learning as well as of commerce: notably, the point that the Nāgarī characters were developed there, as is shown by the fact (see, e.g., Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, p. 51) that the earliest specimens of Nāgarī are found in the signatures of the Gurjara princes of Broach on their copperplate charters, which range from A.D. 629 to 736.

² The Gupta era of A.D. 320 is first found in those parts in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (my *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 58; Northern List, No. 446), which contains dates in A.D. 455 and the next two years. And the way in which the first of its dates is stated — *Gupta-prakālē gaṇanām rūḍhāya*; “making the counting in the reckoning of the Guptas” — is a fairly clear indication (though it is in verse) that a distinction was being made between the Gupta era and a local era still in use.

³ Before the arrival of the Greek astronomy, which brought with it the solar year beginning at the vernal equinox to which the Hindūs attached the Chaitrādi lunar year, the Brāhmanical lunar year began with Māgha śukla 1, and was attached to a solar year beginning at the winter solstice.

that it was an easy step to make them begin with Chaitra śukla 1 for the lunar year, and at the equinox for the solar year.¹

It then became necessary to attach a name to the era thus selected, so as to distinguish it, in citing it, from the Kaliyuga era. But its origin had been forgotten: except that it was founded by some foreigners whose descendants had become Hinduized. Now, the leading foreign tribes who down to that time had invaded India were the Yavanas, the Palhavas, and the Śakas. And there is a general grammatical rule (Pāṇini, 2. 2. 34) which requires that, in composition with *Yavana* or *Palhava*, the base *Śaka* must stand first, as containing fewer vowels: in agreement with which, Patañjali, in his comments on Pāṇini, 2. 4. 10, gives *Śaka-Yavanam* as an instance of certain Dvandva compounds which form neuters singular. The rule apparently did not apply to more than two bases treated all at once. But, the compound *Śaka-Yavanam* having been established, it was natural enough, in prose at least, in adding a mention of the Palhavas, to place the base *Palhava* last: and so we find the term *Śaka-Yavana-Palhava* in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 8. 60, line 5). In this way, under the effect of a grammatical rule, the Śakas acquired a special prominence in the traditions of the Hindūs. And thus, when a name was wanted by the astronomers

¹ The astronomers, or some of them, no doubt had also the choice of the so-called Vikrama era beginning in B.C. 58. But its Chaitrādi variety had not then been established: at that time its years began only with Kārttika śukla 1, near the autumnal equinox, which was quite a secondary point in the year. Sewell and Dikshit tell us (*Indian Calendar*, p. 40, note 2) that this era is never used now by Indian astronomers: and I cannot find any indications that it ever was so used.

There was of course also the Gupta era of A.D. 320, apparently with Chaitrādi years: but there is no evidence that it reached Western India before A.D. 455 (see note 2 on p. 822). There was also the era of A.D. 248 or 249, subsequently known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, in use under the Trakūṭaka kings in Southern Gujārāt in at any rate A.D. 456 and 493: but its years began with Bhādrapada śukla 1.

for the era of A.D. 78, the name of the Śakas presented itself and was given to it.

From the time when the newly christened Śaka era was made the second astronomical reckoning, calculative epochs in terms of it were freely laid down in the Karaṇas. The almanacs were prepared from the Karaṇas. And through the almanacs the era became thoroughly well established and spread far and wide. In Southern India it was received with much favour, and became the dominant era and the great historical reckoning. In Northern India, however, it did not meet with the same practical acceptance: see remarks on p. 819 above in connection with the date of A.D. 862. And curiously enough, in its own home, as a standing reckoning in civil or at least official life, it seems to have been entirely supplanted by the Gupta-Valabhī era from about A.D. 455 to the end of the Valabhī period (say about A.D. 775), and then to have received but little recognition as compared with the Vikrama era, which was made the official reckoning by the Chanlukya kings of Aṇhilwād-Pāṭaṇ, who were Jains.¹ And so the Śaka era of A.D. 78 owes to the astronomers, not only its name, but also its survival to our time as one of the three great Hindu reckonings.

J. F. FLEET.

THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION

I would supplement here some remarks which I made about this inscription incidentally on p. 242 ff. above.

Some words in this record were interpreted by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji as meaning that king Khāravela of

¹ The Northern List shows only the following instances of the use of the Śaka era in Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt: No. 353, of A.D. 914; No. 354, of A.D. 1018-19; No. 356, of A.D. 1051; and Nos. 377, 378, 380 to 384, ranging from A.D. 1499 onwards. The Vikrama dates begin there with No. 45, of A.D. 974, a date of the first Chaulukya king, Mūlarāja I.

Kalinga "does (*this*) in the 165th year of the time of the Maurya kings after 164 years had passed away".¹ And on the strength of that, without other evidence of any kind to support it, there has been set up a Maurya era, dating in the Pandit's opinion from the time when Aśoka conquered Kalinga, and in Professor Buhler's opinion from the coronation of Chandragupta.² But, as I have already remarked, the record does not really contain any such date.

The inscription is a Jain record, in somewhat imperfectly spelt Prākṛit, beginning with the formula :— *Namo arahaṃtānaṃ namo sava-sidhāna*. It gives a concise account of the career of Khāravela from his birth to the thirteenth year of his reign. But its primary object was to register certain acts done by him, as king, to promote the Jain faith. The words which have been supposed to give the date mentioned above are in line 16, in a clause which is part of a passage beginning in line 14 and running to the end of the record. This passage mentions in line 14 *vāhikā nisidiyā*, 'an outer place for quiet study', and in line 15 *arahata-nisidiyā*, 'a place of the Arhats for quiet study'.³ That part of the passage ends in line 16 with the words *thabbe patiṭṭhāpayati*, "he sets up pillars". And

¹ For the Pandit's treatment of the record, see the Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Congress, Leyden, vol. 3 (1884), p. 135 ff., with a plate. For other lithographs see Prinsep in JASB, 6 (1837), 1090, plate 58, from a hand-drawing by Kittoe; and Cunningham in *Insers. of Asoka*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 1 (1877), plate 17. I use also a photograph, reduced from a tracing, for which I am indebted to Dr. Burgess.

² *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 89. Mr. Vincent Smith, who would like to find any foreign era in use in India in early times rather than an indigenous one, would improve on those proposals by suggesting that, though Chandragupta began to reign in B.C. 322 or 321, he was not crowned or anointed till some years later, and so the Maurya era may be "synchronous" or "identical" with the Seleucidan era of B.C. 312; *Early History of India* (1908), 38, note 1; 40, note; 187, note 2. We need not say anything further about that.

³ I take *nīsidiyā*, *nīsidiyā*, in the sense *sādhyāya-bhūmi* which is assigned to *nīsidiyā*; see SBE, 22, 179, note 1.

these are followed by the words in which we are interested : they run:—

Pana(*or ?* nam)tariyasacha(*or ?* thi)vasa[sate] [rā]ja-[Muri]ya-kālā(*or ?* lē) vochhine cha chōyaṭṭha a(*or ?* am)-gasatikatariya ch = upādayati.

The completion of the reading *rāja-Muriya* is according to the Pandit's decipherment from the original rock. It is very possibly correct.

In what follows after *kālā* or *kālē*,—(his reading was *kālē*),— he found the equivalent of a Sanskrit *vichchhinne cha chatuṣshashty-agra-śatak-ōttarē*; adding that the correct Sanskrit would be *vichchhinnāyām cha chatuṣshashtyām agra-śatak-ōttarayām*. And he thus obtained the meaning “ after 164 years had passed away ”.

In this we cannot follow him. Even if *vichchhinna*, ‘cut, torn, interrupted, ended, ceased’, could be used, as applied by him, in the sense of a year being ended (which I very much doubt), it is not the word which is given by the original text. The original, even as shown in the Pandit's lithograph and in his reading of the Prākṛit text, has *vochhine*. This is easily recognized as standing for *vochchhinne* = *vyavachchhinnāni*. And we thus have a well-known Jain technical term applied to sacred texts which have been ‘cut off, interrupted’, or, in other terms, have been neglected and lost sight of. The use of this term quite prohibits the existence of a date. With this clue to help us, and noting that a distinct accusative is required with the verb *uppādayati*, — (it cannot be rendered by “ he does ”, with the accusative “ this ” understood),— we see that the record says here that king Khāravēla restored “ both [*certain texts*] which had been neglected since (?) the time of the Maurya king *or* kings, and [*certain other texts*].” And it thus becomes not difficult to recognize, in what stands after *vochhine cha*, the equivalent of *chōyaṭṭham aṃga-sattik-āntariyam*

ch = *uppādayati*: "and he produces, causes to come forth (i.e., revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven *Angas*."

In what stands before [*rā*]ja-[*Muri*]ya-kālā (or *lē*), the Pandit read *pannāntariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate*. He explained this as equivalent to a Sanskrit *pañch-ōttara-shaṣṭi-varsha-śatē*; for which, he observed, the correct expression would be *śaṣṭy-adhika-varsha-śatē*. And he thus arrived at the meaning "in the 165th year".

We cannot follow him in this, any more than in his explanation of *rochhine cha* and what stands after it. But it is not easy to say what we have here: except that it can only be an accusative plural neuter, specifying some Jain scriptures, and having *rochhine* = *cyavach-chinnāni* in apposition with it. As remarked in my previous note, we might perhaps find in the beginning of this term, the Prākṛit *paṇnatturi*. 'seventy-five': and there appear to be exactly 75 adhyayanas in *Angas* 9 to 11. But it seems more probable that we have *paṇnatta* + *ariya* = *prajñapt-ārya*, and that the case as regards what comes after that is as follows. Where the Pandit read *saṭhi-vasa-sate*, preparing his lithograph (which is not a facsimile) to match that. Cunningham's lithograph and reading show *sacharasā*, followed by two illegible syllables.¹ We can easily discount the Pandit's treatment of this passage, in view of his evident desire, created by the words [*rā*]ja-[*Muri*]ya-kālā (or *lē*), to find a date here. And, if we follow Cunningham's lithograph, we may understand that the words, as written, represent *paṇnatt-ariyasachcha*, and that the reference is to texts propounding some Jain *ariyasachchāni*, analogous to the *chattāri ariyasachchāni*, "the four sublime truths", of the Buddhists. Perhaps some Jain specialist may recognize what was intended, and will tell us?

¹ Prinsep's lithograph does not help here.

Though, however, the record is not dated in the year 165 of a Maurya era, it can, I think, be dated by something which it has in line 11. The record there mentions an act which Khāravēla did in the eleventh year of his reign. It does not say (as was supposed by the Pandit) that "in the city of Gadabha he removed the toll levied by previous kings as also *Tanupadabhāvana*, for 1300 years". It says, with some supplementary details which are not clear, that he resettled an *udumga*, = *uddamga*, *udraṅga*, a 'town' of some kind, — ?*pām̐thuddamga*, 'a market-town for the convenience of travellers'; or ?*pīthuddamga*, 'a studying town',¹ — which had been founded by former kings, or by a former king, and had been deserted. And taking *tērasa-vasa-sata* as meaning, not '1300 years', but (with equal ease) '113 years', we may gather that the town had been ruined 113 years previously, when Aśōka conquered the Kalinga countries; on which occasion (as we know from the 13th rock-edict) much havoc was wrought. That event happened in the ninth year after the anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty: that is, in B.C. 256: see my table in this Journal, 1909, 27. And in this way the eleventh year of Khāravēla may be fixed as beginning in B.C. 143; and the inscription, which ends with a record of acts done in the thirteenth year, may be placed in B.C. 141 or 140. This result, however, does not restore the idea of a Maurya era: it only points, as indeed does the whole record, to a careful chronicle having been written up in Kalinga.

J. F. FLEET.

¹ I owe the possible *pī* (instead of *pā*) to Professor Luders. *Pīṭha* has the meaning, amongst others, of 'a religious student's seat'; also, I think, of 'a teacher's footstool'. The idea would fit in well with the references to the places for quiet study, and the revival of Jain texts. And there would, I think, be no difficulty in taking the apparent *th* as a damaged *th*.

MAX MÜLLER MEMORIAL SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

When I was on tour in India during the cold season of 1907-8. I purchased nearly one hundred Sanskrit MSS. for the Administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund. These are now deposited in the Bodleian Library, having been bound and hand-listed. As Sanskrit scholars will probably be glad to have some information about this collection, I here give a few notes briefly describing them. Nearly one half of the MSS. are Vedic, the rest representing the *Mahābhārata*, besides *Purāṇa*, *Kāvya*, *Nīti-śāstra*, and *Dharma-śāstra*.

There is a complete text of both the *Samhitā*- and the *Paṭa-pātha* of the *R̥gveda*. Each of the Aṣṭakas is a separate MS., one of them being dated 1442 A.D. and another 1434 A.D. The latter is probably the oldest dated Rigveda MS. known at the present time. There are also two complete copies of the text of the *Sāmaveda*. Of the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmana* there is a complete copy (1433 A.D.), besides an incomplete one containing the last ten Prapāthakas. The *Taittirīya Brāhmana* is represented by one MS. in Telugu characters. There is also one copy of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and one of the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*. The ancillary Vedic literature is represented by about twenty MSS. Of the *Prātiśākhya* of the *R̥gveda* there is one copy, and of that of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* three. One of the latter is accompanied by the commentary of Rāmacandra and another by that of Uvaṭa. Besides one copy of the *Nighaṇṭu* there are four of the text of the *Nirukta*, three being complete and one containing the first six books only. There is besides a complete copy of Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta*. Of works connected with the Sāmaveda there are four *Gāṇas*, one *Sāma-tantra*, one *Sāmatantra-vṛttisāra*, and one *R̥ktantra-sāra*.

Representing Epic poetry there is a practically complete text of the *Mahābhārata*. Each Parvan is, as a rule,

a separate MS. Most of them are dated, and nearly all belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. When Professor Lüders was in Oxford last autumn he collated the MSS. of some of the earlier Parvans in this collection. Besides the *Harivaṃśa* there are eight Purāṇas, the *Ātma*, *Ādi*, *Āditya*, *Kalki*, *Mudgala*, *Śamba*, *Śiva*, *Skanda*, as well as a *Parānanda-purāṇa* and a *Śrī-purāṇa-saṃhitā*. There is, further, one copy of the *Viṣṇu-dharma* and one of the *Itihāsa-samuccaya*. The historical romances are represented by a beautifully written copy of the *Harṣa-carita*, which, being dated 1463 A.D., is probably the oldest MS. of this work known.¹ Of the text of the *Meghadūta* there is one copy, and two of Mallinātha's commentary. The *Pañca-tantra* is represented by four MSS., only one of which is dated (A.D. 1719). All these four have been collated by Dr. Hertel. There are also five copies of the *Hitopadeśa*. Of the text of *Manu* there are two copies, one of which was formerly used for reference in the High Court at Calcutta. One MS. contains the commentary of Kullūka, and two others that of Medhātithi. When Professor Jolly visited Oxford last year he examined these Manu MSS. and pronounced them to be valuable.

All these MSS. are now accessible to scholars, and may be borrowed under very liberal conditions by applying to the Administrators of the Max Muller Memorial Fund.

A. A. MACDONELL.

OXFORD.

March 14, 1910.

THE BHEDA SAMHITA IN THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT

In the Journal for 1909, pp. 869-70, I propounded a hypothesis regarding a certain passage in the *Nāṇanīṭaka*,

¹ I might here mention that Dr. M. A. Stein's collection of nearly 400 Kāśmīr MSS., deposited in the Indian Institute, contains four or five Śāraḍa copies of this somewhat rare work.

quoted from the *Bheda Samhitā*. I now wish to draw attention to the discovery of a "new fact" which supports that hypothesis.

Let me briefly repeat the old facts. They are—

1. On fol. 24 of the Bower MS. there are given twenty-four formulæ for the preparation of gruels in verses 785–802. To these is appended a charm for ensuring long life (*āyus*), in verses 803–4, and after it comes the colophon *Bhelī yarāgū*, or the gruels of Bheda. The end of verse 802 is marked by the sign of the *cakra*, or sacred wheel, and the same mark is appended to the colophon, as may be seen in the figure below, lines 9 and 11.

2. The colophon *Bhelī yarāgū* indicates that the verses preceding it are quoted from the *Bheda Samhitā*. As a matter of fact, the charm (vv. 803–4) is found in the existing unique Tanjore MS. of that *Samhitā*, in the seventh chapter of its *Sātra Sthāna*, which deals with *indropakramanīya*, that is, with general rules for the preservation of bodily and mental health. But the formulæ for the gruels (vv. 785–802) cannot be traced in that MS. owing to its mutilated condition. Formulæ practically identical, however, are found in the *Caraka Samhitā*, in the second chapter of its *Sātra Sthāna*; and considering that the two *Samhitā* are written on almost identical lines, it may rightly be assumed that the missing formulæ would have been found in the second chapter of the *Sātra Sthāna* of the *Bheda Samhitā*, if the text of that *Samhitā* were complete.

Now, from the last-mentioned fact, it is obvious that the charm has no particular connection with the gruels. It and the gruels are mentioned in two different, and quite unconnected, chapters of the *Samhitā*: and the charm is to be used generally in connection with any treatment with the object of rendering the latter effective for causing long life. On the other hand, the colophon *Bhelī yarāgū* refers specifically to the gruels of Bheda,

and hence obviously refers to the series of gruels in verses 785-802.

The hypothesis which I suggested was that the colophon in the existing copy of the *Nāranīṭaka*, in the Bower MS., had been misplaced by the scribe. It should have stood at the end of verse 802. But as the charm, following in verses 803-4, was extracted also from the *Bheda Saṃhitā*, the scribe inadvertently wrote the colophon after the charm at the end of verse 804.

When I wrote this hypothesis for the Journal of 1909, I had not referred to the facsimile of fol. 24, which is published in my edition of the Bower MS. Writing, at present, the Introduction to that edition, I had occasion to examine that particular folio, and noticed, to my surprise, that it bore a marginal note, whether added by the original scribe, or by a subsequent user of the MS., is uncertain. The note is shown in the subjoined figure—

9 ਘਣਾਨੁ ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮਤਿ ਪਦਮ ਪੂਜਾ ਦੁਸਤੁ ਘਟਾਓ ਨੇਕ
10 ਗੋਪ ਬਲਗੁਣ ਪੁੰਨ ਕੀਰਤਨ ॥ ਜਨਿ ਅਖੈ ॥
11 ਜੋ ਫਿਰੇ ਬਡਾਰੀ ਸੁ ਮੁਖ ਮਖਿ ਭਾਗਨ ਨਖਰ

The facsimile shows the right-hand lower corner of the reverse side of fol. 24. The text, which consists of portions of lines 9-11, reads as follows :—

9 yavāgū ⊙ Agnir = m = me m = ādhyagād = dehād = Vāyuh prāṇān = da
10 śed = ā pas = tath = āsy = āyur = n = na hīyate *Bhūti yavāgū* ⊙ ॥ ३
11 lo dbhide ca vāri śtha-mustam = api c = otpala-kesaram

Verse 802 ends with *yarāgū* on line 9, and verse 804 with *hīyate* on line 10. The note is seen on the right-hand margin, written in minute characters, much smaller than the text; and the place of the text, i.e. the colophon *Bhelī yarāgū*, to which it refers, is indicated by two minute *kāku-pada*, or “crow’s feet”, the well-known mark used by the Indian scribes to indicate some error of

omission or misplacement or the like in the text. It is clear that the writer of the note meant to indicate that the colophon required some sort of correction. The note itself consists of two numerals, viz. the figure (two horizontal strokes) for 2, followed, below it, by the figure for 7. The intended meaning of these two numerals seems to become clear when we remember the second fact above explained. The figure 2 must refer to the verses 785-802, which are quoted from the second chapter, and the figure 7 to the verses 803-4, which are quoted from the seventh chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna* of the *Bheda Samhitā*. And the only apparent object of making the corrective note on the margin can be that the writer of it wished to indicate the inadvertent misplacement of the colophon.

There is a further circumstance which confirms this interpretation of the marginal note. The regular practice of the scribe of the *Nāvanīlaka* is to mark a colophon (at the end of a series of verses, or of a series of formulæ, or of a whole chapter) by placing it between a couple of signs of the *cakra*, or sacred wheel, or of the *padma*, or sacred (white) lotus. The former sign is a circlet with a central dot, as in the present case; the latter is a circlet enclosing a smaller circlet, the circumference of which is studded internally by (usually) three dots. The writing, as it now stands on fol. 24 (see figure), shows a detached *cakra* at the end of verse 802 on line 9, and another *cakra* on line 10 after the colophon. This arrangement breaks the usual convention, as above explained; but if we restore the colophon to its proper place, after verse 802, it is seen that the convention is fully observed. For in that case the colophon comes to stand between a couple of *cakra*, one before, the other after it.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF EASTERN TURKESTAN

The existence of an "unknown language", perhaps of several, in Eastern Turkestan has been known for some time; but no solution of the riddle, so far as I am aware, has yet been found. The only real key to it, a bilingual text, has not been forthcoming. There now seems a fair prospect of that key being supplied by the manuscripts discovered by Dr. M. A. Stein in the course of his recent exploration, in the immured temple library of one of the caves of the "thousand Buddhas", south-east of Tun-huang.

A number of these manuscripts, all written in the "unknown language", were very kindly placed in my hands by Dr. Stein. A rapid examination disclosed the fact that there were included among them two short Buddhist canonical texts, both in a complete, or nearly complete, state of preservation. They are the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* and the *Vajracchedikā*.

The manuscript of the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* consists of twenty leaves, measuring about $14 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with four lines of writing on each page. The initial and final pages are blank. The pagination numbers are on the margin of the obverse of the leaves. The first inscribed page (i.e. the reverse of fol. 1) begins with a small coloured figure of the seated Buddha within a black-line circlet, followed by the usual *saddham* (*sic*, for *siddham*). The colophon identifies the text as the *Aparamitāyū Sutrā* [*sic*]. All the folios, except Nos. 7 and 8, are written, in a kaligraphic hand, in the well-known upright Gupta script of Eastern Turkestan. Folios 7 and 8 are written in the peculiar cursive script, specimens of which have been published by me in part ii of my "Report on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities" (Extra Number, Journal A.S.B., 1901, vol. lxx). These two folios measure only about $12 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with four lines of writing, except on the reverse of folio 8, which has only

two lines. They clearly constitute a later addition made to replace the loss of the two original leaves. Their peculiar importance lies in the fact that they will enable us to identify with a close approach to certainty the exact value of the cursive letters. With one or two exceptions they seem to confirm the values given by me to those letters in my Report above-named.

In the Calcutta collection of Nepalese Buddhist canonical texts there is a copy of the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*. In Rajendralāla Mitra's catalogue, p. 41, it is called a *Dharmapāṇi*. No. B, 38. It consists of twenty-two folios, measuring 7×3 inches, with five lines on each page. In the Cambridge collection of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts, described by the late Professor Bendall, there are also three copies of the same *Sūtra*, of similar dimensions. I have not yet seen any of these four copies, but to judge from their dimensions their text must be identical with that of the manuscript in Dr. Stein's collection. A comparison of the short extracts from the texts, quoted in the catalogues of R. Mitra and Bendall, confirms that conclusion. The Calcutta and Cambridge texts are entirely in Sanskrit. They consist of a number of *mantras*, many times repeated, and interspersed with explanatory directions regarding their use. In Dr. Stein's text the *mantras* are given in Sanskrit (more or less corrupt), but the interspersed directions are translated into the "unknown language", and the translation is to all appearance a verbatim one. But whether this is so, or not, can only be determined when the five texts are fully compared. If my expectation should prove correct, we should have here at last an example of the long-desired bilingual text, the acquisition of which would form not the least of the merits of Dr. Stein's successful exploration.

By the time I return to Oxford I hope to receive the Cambridge and Calcutta manuscripts of the *Aparimitāyuh*

Sūtra; and it is then my intention to publish in a subsequent issue of this Journal, in parallel columns, the Sanskrit text of the *Sūtra*, as collated from those manuscripts, and the "unknown language" text of Dr. Stein's manuscript, as well as photographic facsimiles of all the leaves of the latter manuscript. This, it is hoped, will place, in a convenient form, all the available material in the hands of those scholars who may desire to work on the problem of determining this particular "unknown language" of Eastern Turkestan.

The manuscript of the *Vajracchedikā* consists of forty-four leaves, measuring about $10 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with four lines of large writing in the upright Gupta type of Eastern Turkestani characters. It is, however, not quite complete: only thirty-three leaves survive; fols. 11-14, 16-19, 39, 41, and 43, altogether eleven, are missing. The pagination numbers are on the obverse sides. The text commences, on the reverse of the first folio, with a circle in the upper right corner, followed by *siddham*. The centre of the page is occupied by a large figure of the seated Buddha within two concentric circles. The obverse of the first folio is filled with a disorderly mass of writing in cursive characters of varying sizes, among which the words *Kalpārāja sūtra* and *Vajara-chaidakī-prajñāpārā-siddham* are legible. The reverse of the last folio has three lines, and in the centre another large figure of the seated Buddha within concentric circles. The first line gives the colophon *ha-ki Vajrachedaka nṭṛ-śa-yā Prajñāpārāṇima sa-mā-sye ||* which, apparently, represents the Sanskrit *ārya-Vajracchedikā bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā samāptā* of Max Müller's edition in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 46. Then, after a broad intervening blank space, follow the other two lines, which read *sa-dḍham Vajrachidaki hī-ya-ttā*, etc. The manuscript commences with a long introduction in the "unknown language", of which there is no Sanskrit equivalent in Max Müller's edition. The text

itself of the *Vajracchedikā* begins only with the second line of the reverse of the third folio, where its beginning is indicated by a circle followed by *saddham*, exactly like that at the commencement of the whole manuscript.

In conclusion, I may quote, as a specimen, the conventional opening sentences of the two texts, printed interlinearly, the Sanskrit in roman and the "unknown language" in italic type.

APARIMITĀYUḤ ŚCTRA

Evam mayā śrutam | Ekasmin samaye
Tta-tta mu-huṃ-ja pyū-stū | Śi-ṇa be-ka

Bhagavān Śrāvastyaṃ viharati-sma Jetavane
*Gya-stū-bṛa-ysū*¹ *Śrā-rā-sta ā-sta-vye-jī-vā Rī-spu-rā-*

Anāthapiṇḍasya [saṃgh-]jārāme mahatā
bā-śpa A-nā-tha-pi-ṇḍī-hā-rā saṃ-khye-rma . . .

bhikṣu-saṃghena sārđham² ardha-trayodaśabhir
.³ [*ha-nsa*] *devā-sse paṇi-jaśū*⁴

= bhikṣu-sataiḥ sambalulais=ca Bodhisattvair=
śau ā-śpi-ryau-ja u-phu-rā-kyau Bau-dhi-sa-tvau

mahāsattvaiḥ [sārđham] Tatra
*mi-styau*¹ *bṛa-ysū-ṇa vu-ysyau-ja ha-nsa*² . . .

khalu [etasmin samaye] Bhagavān Maṃjuśrīyaṃ
. . . *Tti-ṇa be-ka-mī Gya-stū-bṛa-ysū Maṃ-ju-śrī*

¹ This is not exactly a translation of *bhagavān*. The element *bṛa-yā* occurs again below in *mi-styau bṛa-ysa* = *mahā-attra*, and means a "being", *sattrā*. The element *gya-stū* occurs regularly in the closing phrase of Buddhist canonical works, *deva-asura-gandharva*, etc., in which it corresponds to *deva*. The whole word *gya-stū-bṛa-ysū*, accordingly, appears to mean a "divine being", or perhaps a "perfect being". And the phrase *gya-stū-ṇa gya-stū* in the *Vajracchedikā* would seem to represent Sanskrit *devānāṃ deva*, "most divine," or "most perfect".

² The word *sārđham*, = *ha-nsa*, is transferred to the end of the sentence in the Eastern Turkestani text.

³ Here and elsewhere the Eastern Turkestani text is shorter; the reductions are indicated by dots.

⁴ The Eastern Turkestani version here seems to follow a different Sanskrit text; apparently it means "twice five hundred".

⁵ *Mi-stū* corresponds to Sanskrit *mahā*. Compare *mahatā*, *mahāsattrā*, *mahānagarīm* in the two texts.

kumāra-bhūtam āmantrayate-sma || Asti Mañjuśrīḥ
e-ysā-xm̃ ¹ *gu-r̥ste u-ttai-pa-sti-sa* | *A-sca Mañ-ju-sryu*
 upariṣṭāyām Aparimita-guṇa-saṃcayo
sa-rham-dā-hā-lai ² *gu-na-A-pa-ra-mi-ttā-saṃ-ca-yā*
 nāma loka-dhātulī |
nām-ma lo-ra-dā-ra-ra ;

VAJRACCHEDIKĀ

Evam mayā śrutam || Ekasmin samaye
Tta-ttu mām-mā pyū-stā || *śe-snye śe-snye-tā*
 Bhagavān Śrāvastyām . . .
Gya-stā-nā Gya-stā-br̥-ysā Śrā-ra-stā kṣīrā ³
 viharati-sma Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍasya
ā-stā-vyā-jī-vā R̥i-spu-ra-bā-śra A-nā-tha-pi-ṇḍī-hā-rā
 [saṃgh-]ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena sārddham
saṃ-khye-rma ⁴ *mi-stā-na bi-lsā-gā-na haṃ-nsa*
 ardha-trayodaśabhir= bhikṣu-sataiḥ sambahulaś= ca
dvā-si paṃ-jśā ⁵ *śau ā-śri-ryau-jśa*
 Bodhisattvair= mahāsattvaiḥ || Atha khalu
 || *Ttī* . . . *Gya-stā-nā*
 Bhagavān pūrv-āhṇa-kāla-samaye nivāsyā
Gya-stā-br̥-ysā br̥-ha-kā . . . *na-vā-ysye*
 pātra-civaram ādāya Śrāvastīm mahānagarīm
pā-tta-rā cī-va-ra pa-na-nā-ti Śrā-ra-sta mi-stā-kī-tha
 piṇḍāya prāvīkṣat ||
pi-ṇḍā traṃ-da ||

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

WIESBADEN.

May 16, 1910.

¹ The consonant of this syllable is broken away.

² The Eastern Turkestani version here seems to follow a different Sanskrit text ; for *sa-rham* seems to point to Sanskrit *sarva*.

³ *Kṣī-rā* would seem to represent Sanskrit *pura* or *nagara*, "town."

⁴ *Sam-khye-rma* I take to represent *saṃghārāma*, though the usual Sanskrit text has only *ārāma*.

⁵ See n. 4, p. 837.

NOTE ON BUDDHIST LOCAL WORSHIP IN MUHAMMADAN CENTRAL ASIA¹

In the account of my first Central-Asian journey I have had occasion to call attention to numerous instances which the Khotan oasis and its vicinity present, of the survival of local worship from Buddhist into Muhammadan times. The accurate topographical indications which are furnished for that region by the records of the early Chinese pilgrims, especially Hsuan-tsang, enabled me to prove there that practically all sites that they describe as sacred to the Buddhist population of their time are still to this day marked by Muhammadan *ziārats* of note, and that the popular legends attached to the latter often retain clear traces of the earlier Buddhist traditions related by the pilgrims.²

The total absence about Khotan of stone suitable for building or sculptural use has always caused buildings, whether sacred or secular, to be constructed of materials such as timber, stamped clay, or sun-dried bricks, which are particularly liable to decay. Under the peculiar physical conditions prevailing within the irrigated area of the oasis and in its immediate vicinity, actual remains of earlier shrines constructed of such materials could scarcely be expected to survive in recognizable form.³ In consequence it was not possible to support the identifications of the sacred sites above referred to by such tangible archæological evidence as I had so often come across in the course of my corresponding antiquarian researches in Kashmir, where Muhammadan *ziārats* are still in many cases built with the very stones taken from the earlier Hindu shrines

¹ This note, in Hungarian, was contributed to the *Emlekkönyv* presented to Professor I. Goldziher, Budapest, in honour of his sixtieth birthday, June 22, 1910.

² For references see my *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, Index, p. 611, s.v. Local Worship.

³ Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 195 seq.

to which they succeeded. The wider extent of my explorations of 1906-8 has enabled me to supplement those illustrations of the tenacity of local worship in Central Asia by instances where I could lay my hand on tangible archæological proof, and a few of these I propose to present here.

Hsüan-tsang, the greatest of our Chinese pilgrim guides for that region, when recording his journey about 642 A.D. across the Pāmirs to Kāshgar and Khotan, tells us of an ancient hospice or *puṇyāsālā* which he reached after leaving the capital of Chieh-p'an-t'o, the present Sarikol, to the north-east and marching for 200 *li* or two daily marches across mountains and precipices. The position of that religious foundation is described as in the centre of an elevated plain "in the midst of the four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the Ts'ung-ling mountains". "In this, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and storms rage. . . . Even at the time of the great heat the wind and the snow continue . . . Merchant caravans, in coming and going, suffer severely in these difficult and dangerous spots." According to an "old story" which Hsüan-tsang heard related, a great troop of merchants with thousands of followers and camels had once perished here by wind and snow. An Arhat, or saint, of Sarikol was believed to have subsequently collected all the precious objects left behind by the doomed caravan and to have constructed on the spot a house in which he accumulated ample stores, as well as to have made pious endowments for the benefit of travellers in neighbouring territories.¹

Taking into account the topographical indications furnished by the pilgrim's own route and the distance and bearing recorded, I had previously arrived at the

¹ See Julien, *Mémoires des contrées occidentales*, ii, p. 215.

conclusion that the site of the hospice would have to be looked for on the Chichiklik Maidan, the plateau-like head of a high valley, where the main route from Tāsh-kurghān, the Sarīkol capital, to Kāshgar crosses the second great mountain range stretching south from the Muztāgh-ata massif. But it was only on my recent journey that I was able to examine this route and to verify the conjectured location. I found that the curious level plain about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles across, at the head of the Shindi Valley, situated at an elevation of over 14,000 feet and bordered all round by snowy ridges, corresponds most closely to Hsüan-tsang's description. The accounts of my caravan men and my personal observations amply sufficed to convince me of the losses which this desolate upland of Chichiklik, exposed to the winds and snows, claims annually in animals and sometimes in men.¹ Most of it was still under snow when I passed here in June, 1906. But a low knoll near the centre of the plain was clear, and when, attracted by the sight of a dilapidated Muhammadan tomb or "Gumbaz", I proceeded to examine its top, I soon discovered there the foundations of a square enclosure some 35 yards on each side, built of rough but very massive stone walls and manifestly of early construction. The correct orientation of the lines of wall was by itself a clear indication of pre-Muhammadan origin. At the same time the decayed grave mounds I could trace inside and the reports gathered from the Sarīkolīs accompanying me left no doubt about the spot being now held sacred in Muhammadan eyes.

¹ The hardships often suffered on this high plateau by travellers are strikingly illustrated by the record of another pious traveller, Benedict Goez, the lay Jesuit, who passed here in 1603 on his journey from India in search of fabled Cathay. He and his Kāfila started from Sarīkol, "and then in two days more they reached the foot of the mountain called Crecialith (i.e. Chichiklik). It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death, and our brother himself barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here." See Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way thither*, II, p. 562.

The Chichiklik plain, forbidding as it looks, must for a variety of topographical reasons always have formed a regular halting-place, and the central position occupied in it by the ruined structure is exceptionally well adapted for the purposes of a storehouse or hospice such as Hsüan-tsang describes, intended to provide shelter and supplies for travellers from whichever of the several passes they may come. How much time has passed since those walls have crumbled away to their foundations can no longer be determined. But every archaeological and topographical indication justifies our recognizing in them the last remains of the ancient structure to which Hsüan-tsang's record refers. Throughout Chinese Turkestan graveyards are invariably attached to supposed *ziārat*s of saints, and it is therefore safe to look upon the graves now found within the enclosure and the sanctity claimed for the ground as a distinct trace left by the legend which in Hsüan-tsang's days ascribed the foundation of the hospice to the action of a holy man.

Another instance of local worship surviving the change of religion was also observed in the mountains. It presents points of special interest for the student of folklore. While moving in May, 1908, from Aksu along the foot of the Tien-shan range to Uch-Turfan, I had heard vague stories about ruins of some mysterious town which was said to be sighted on clear days far away in the mountains south of the latter place, but to disappear whenever it was searched for. As I subsequently made my way through these barren mountains by a previously unsurveyed route towards the valley of Kelpin, it was easy for me to ascertain that these legends of an ancient hill-town, variously talked of as *Shahr-i-Barbar*, *Shahr-i-Haidar*, or under a Chinese designation as "The castle of the Tang chief", had their origin in the remarkable appearance presented by a high and fantastically serrated portion of that range of the outer Tien-shan south of

Uch-Turfan which figures on previous sketch-maps under the name of Kara-teke. Its peaks, curiously recalling the Dolomites, rise above the Kara-shilwe side-valleys to heights of about 14,000 feet, and with their extremely bold pinnacles and precipitous rock walls bear a strange resemblance to ruined towers and castles.

The few Kirghiz who cling with their herds to what scanty grazing can still be found in the high valleys around, now almost waterless through progressive desiccation, know the line of these peaks by the collective name of *Kāka-jāde*, and regard them with superstitious awe. The stories they told me of dragons supposed to dwell among them and to issue forth at times in the shape of clouds raining fire and hail, curiously recalled the legends heard by the early Chinese pilgrims of the Nāgas dwelling on the heights of the Pāmirs and above the Hindu Kush passes. But I was still more interested when information, elicited with some difficulty, reached me about a stone image to be found high up on the southern slope of that range.

Leaving my camp on May 13 at a point south of the Saghiz-kan Pass, where water was available in a rock cistern, I proceeded in search of the image with Mangush, the Beg of the local Kirghiz. After a ride of some 17 miles skirting high plateaus, we reached the grazing ground known as Chal-koide at an elevation of some 7000 feet, and right under the frowning crags of the eastern end of "Kāka-jāde's town". There, to my surprise, I found the rough stone enclosure of a regular *ziarat* crowning the top of a small rocky knoll, and within it the stone image reported. It proved to be a stèle-shaped slab about 3 feet high, rudely carved in flat relief, with the representation of a male figure. Under the disproportionately large head the hands, folded upon the breast and holding a curved sword, could still be made out. The carving was too rude to permit of any approximately

safe dating, though the far-advanced weathering of the surface clearly pointed to considerable age. But that the image, whatever it was meant to represent, went back to Buddhist times was made highly probable by the discovery by its side of a small block of stone, apparently granite, roughly carved into the miniature representation of a *stūpa*, showing the conventional arrangement of bases and dome common to Central-Asian monuments of this class.

The most curious feature to me, however, was to see the enclosure around filled with all the usual votive offerings of orthodox Muhammadan shrines in these parts, horse-skulls, horns of *Ovis poli* and wild goats, rags fastened on staffs, etc. It was evident that worship at this shrine was very much a thing of the present, in spite of the Uch-Turfan Mullahs' protest against it of which Mangush Beg told me. Until recent years the cult of this queer *ziārat* was general among the Kirghiz of the neighbouring grazing grounds, and numbers of men used to come to it from distant valleys, good Muhammadans as all these Turki herdsmen have been for long generations. At the present day only the older men were said to cling to the custom of praying at the shrine; but even thus nobody dares to enter its enclosure. The carved figure is supposed to represent a female, *Kuuughiz* by name, and the wife of some ancient hero called *Kaz-ata*, whose image-pious eyes recognize in an inaccessible rock pinnacle high up on the crest of the range. This connexion clearly indicates that the curious shrine here surviving must have owed its origin to the worship of some striking natural feature or *Srayambhū Tīrtha*, as it would be called in Sanskrit, which we know so well from the folklore of India, ancient and modern, and which Buddhist local cult has always been ready to find room for.

The ease with which superstitious awe will revive local worship, even when extinct for centuries and among a population long completely converted to Muhammadanism,

may be illustrated by an instance which came under my observation in Chitral. It is true this mountain valley on the southern scarp of the Hindu Kush watershed counts now politically to India, but racial ties and the general character of its culture connect it very closely with the region of the Upper Oxus. Marching up the Yārkhun River in May, 1906, on my way to Wakhān and the Pāmirs, I was able at the village of Charrm, close to where the Murikho Valley debouches, to examine a large boulder bearing the carefully incised sgraffito representation of a Buddhist *stūpa* with a short inscription below in Brāhmī characters apparently of the 6-8th century A.D. The boulder had been accidentally unearthed in a field not far from an outlying homestead some eight years before my visit. The villagers, though all good Shiāhs, had since built a hut protecting the stone, which is now worshipped as the relic of some "Buzurg" or great man of holy power. A legend that rapidly sprang up tells of a holy man who in old times had sat there and mysteriously disappeared, the stone being left to mark the spot, which has since the discovery of the rock carving become known as "the sacred corner".

I was unable to ascertain whether previous to the discovery any latent tradition survived about the locality. But the ground showed plainly that the stone had lain buried for ages under alluvial deposits, which must have accumulated during periods when the terraced hillside, as in many places of Upper Chitral, had passed out of cultivation. All knowledge of the "Kāfir" significance of the carving had disappeared in the meantime, the complete conversion to Islām dating back in these valleys to at least three centuries. Consequently no priestly protest whatever appears to have been raised when the local cultivators took pious charge of this relic of early Buddhist worship, and thus constituted themselves its safest archaeological guardians.

M. AUREL STEIN.

THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

Professor Jacobi's second article on the Antiquity of Vedic Culture (above, pp. 456 seqq.), some parts of which have been replied to already by Mr. Keith (*ibid.*, pp. 464 ff.), makes me wish for my part to add a few words to what I have said before on the same subject.

1. In the first part of his paper Professor Jacobi argues against my supposition, the reasons for which I have stated in this Journal, 1909, pp. 1095 seqq., that the gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, mentioned in the Mitannian inscriptions, are proto-Iranian rather than Indian. Varuṇa, Professor Jacobi says, is nowhere mentioned in Iranian records. It need not be said that this was well known to me. But there is another fact, the importance of which seems to me to be underrated by Professor Jacobi—a fact indicating the probability, even before we knew those newly discovered inscriptions, that Varuṇa bore a part in prehistoric times in the religion of Iran, in spite of not being named in that country. This fact, which has been alluded to by Darmesteter and others and by myself in this Journal, 1909, p. 1097, is, that both in India and Iran a couple of gods are found, one of whom in either country is called Mitra, while the other one in Iran bears the name of Ahura, in India the name of Varuṇa.

Jacobi (p. 457) contends that although the first member of this couple of gods is identical, it does not follow that the second member on either side should also be the same. I do think that the distinguished Indianist in this matter gives way too readily to scepticism and passes over those particular circumstances that furnish an important factor for concluding that Varuṇa and Ahura are equivalent. For the association of Mitra with Varuṇa lies on quite a different line from those numerous fluctuating associations which so frequently in the Vedic hymns make a god appear united now to this god, now to that one, in

constantly new and ever-varying combinations. The Vedic Mitra, on the contrary, over and over again appears in a most intimate association, which grammatically is expressed by a Dvandva compound, with Varuṇa. Vedic texts, which upon the whole do not teach us much about the proper character of Mitra, give this, and this alone, as the predominant trait in his character, that he is the constant companion of Varuṇa. Considering the standpoint of the Veda this very close association would seem groundless and unintelligible: it is evident that Vedic India had inherited it from long bygone days.

Just in the same way we find in the Avesta the name of Mithra associated in a dual Dvandva with one, and only one, name of another god, Ahura. In the sphere of Zarathustrianism such an association can hardly have originated, for in this religious system Ahura stood incomparably above the level of a god like Mithra. Thus with regard to the couple Mithra-Ahura also we have reason to believe that, as Bartholomae says,¹ this is "zweifellos eine aus arischer Zeit stammende Verbindung".

Consequently, in confronting the two couples Mithra-Varuṇa and Mithra-Ahura with each other, we are dealing with uncommonly fixed and uncommonly old associations.

Let there be added further that the Vedic hymns give most frequently to Varuṇa the epithet of *asura*, which is, as is well known, the precise equivalent to the Iranian *ahura*.² And further that, as Darmesteter has persuasively shown, the personality and the divine functions of Varuṇa are described by the Vedic poets in expressions that most remarkably resemble those which in the Avesta are employed with regard to Ahura. So in my opinion there is a far stronger basis for the supposition of Ahura and Varuṇa being equivalent gods than would appear from the rather brief statements of Jacobi, p. 457.

¹ *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1185.

² This Jacobi (p. 457) has not failed to mention.

In a similar way I consider the Vedic Indra and the Avestan Verethrajan as derived from the same Indo-Iranian prototype. Jacobi states that in the Avesta Verethrajan and Indra are two distinct mythological persons, and that "it is just as likely that the Indians should have fused two gods into one as that the Iranians should have split one into two". Perhaps other students of the Rigveda will look with the same distrust as I do at a theory which would make of Indra and of the slayer of Vṛtra two different gods. For our present purpose, however, it is of no consequence how we judge on this question. For as in any case Indra appears by this name in the Avesta as well as in the Veda, I certainly do not see, even if this Indra should have originally differed from the slayer of Vṛtra, what difficulties would arise by assuming the existence of that proto-Iranian Indra who I believe is recognizable in the In-da-ra of the Mitannian inscriptions.

Professor Jacobi (p. 459) thinks it difficult to believe that two distinct peoples, derived from a common stock, can have preserved the same gods as in prehistoric times, when those people had not yet separated. With reference to this I think that the length of time of the separation of the two nations is a point of most considerable influence. The Zarathustrian gods naturally are very different from the gods of the Mahābhārata or the Purāṇas. But it is not reasonable to doubt that a few centuries after the separation of the Indians and the Iranians, before the great Zarathustrian reform set in, some of the principal deities may have remained identical with each other on both sides. Differences between the creed and the mythology of the western and of the eastern group of people will not have been lacking even at this time. But it is not in the least surprising if the few names we read in the Mitannian inscriptions do not reveal anything of these differences. Thus there is no reason

to conclude from the conformity of these names with Indian names of gods that the gods named in these inscriptions should, in spite of the geographical improbability, be Indian.

2. I now turn to the chief question at issue. Let us assume that those gods with Vedic names are indeed, as Jacobi believes, Indian gods; what conclusions are then to be drawn with regard to the problem of the antiquity of Vedic culture? After all that has been said before on this subject a few words will suffice. I believe that most readers of Professor Jacobi's first article will have had the same impression as I had, that he understands those inscriptions to be a decisive argument in favour of his own belief in "the enormousness of Indian civilization" (*Journal*, 1909, p. 722). Is the Cey satisfactory to me—though I must say it is rather unexpected—to see that Professor Jacobi's real opinion, as we stated by him, is quite different, and that his claims as to the chronological significance of the inscriptions are much more moderate. Till recently, he says (p. 460), the oldest authentic date in Indian history was the date of Buddha's death, and now the oldest certain date is pushed back for well-nigh a thousand years. The progress in our knowledge pointed out by this is, in fact, far less substantial than it would appear after those words—the somewhat sonorous mentioning of a thousand years. For it was naturally clear to all of us, even before the discovery of the Mitannian inscriptions, that the period of the oldest Upanisads, and further back, of the Brāhmaṇas, and still further back, of the Rigveda Saṃhitā, and of the beginnings of Indian history that precede the origin of the Rigveda, must have extended through many centuries before Buddha. There will be few scholars—if there are any at all—who did not, and who do not, think it certain, or nearly certain, that nine hundred or a thousand years before Buddha the worship of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa was

firmly established among Indian sacrificers and poets. Now documents have been discovered which—if they refer to *Indian* gods, which I think they actually do not do—would state exactly the same things which, with tolerable certainty, we had inferred before.

Nobody, of course, will find fault with an historian who gladly accepts such a confirmation of his conclusions. But is it not saying rather too much to say that all this “gives an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization”?

3. Finally, I wish to make a remark on one point of minor importance.

Professor J. (p. 460) ascribes to me the opinion that in the calendar the full moon of Phālguna “marked the beginning of the hot season”, which he very naturally finds probable. But if he will take the trouble to look at my statements in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 49, 475 seq., he will see that it is not the beginning of the *hot season* with which I have connected that full moon, but—for reasons there stated—the beginning of *spring*. I think it will be admitted that this makes a difference.

HERMANN OLDENBERG.

THE EARLY USE OF THE BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA

It appears to me that at least three issues are raised by Dr. Fleet's note, taken together with mine, in the last number of this Journal, p. 474 seq., viz. :—

1. Was *any* method of reckoning from an assumed date of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (i.e. death) current in Burma before (say) 1165 A.D.? And, if so,

2. Was such method identical with the one used in Ceylon (and subsequently also in Burma) after 1165 A.D. (and in that case was it imported from Burma to Ceylon

or vice versa), or were there two systems, of independent origins, assuming different initial points?

3. What are the correct dates of accession and demise of the early kings of Pagān, especially Anawrahta, Kyanzittha, and Alaungsithu?

I am not in a position to give an answer to the last question. The first one I answered provisionally in the affirmative. The second I had to leave unanswered but pointed out that there actually have been variations in the initial date of the Buddhist era used in Burma even after 1180 A.D., in fact up to nearly 1300 A.D. Dr. Fleet does not distinguish between the first and second issues. He appears to take it for granted that any method of reckoning from Buddha's death used in Burma must have arisen from the same source as the Ceylon method, and so he draws from the Ceylonese data available at present the conclusion that that source was Ceylon, and that the system was introduced into Burma about 1170-80 A.D.

That conclusion inevitably leads to the view that the Myazedi inscriptions of Pagān are not a contemporary record. I do not think this result would have suggested itself on the internal evidence of the record taken as it stands. It appears to me to involve certain difficulties. Quadrilingual inscriptions, set up (as in this case) in duplicate, must, I imagine, be rare at any time and place; so far as I know, the Myazedi record is the only instance of the kind hitherto found in Burma. Its existence may be explained by the circumstance that a recent expansion of Burmese rule had brought neighbouring alien races under its sway, and that the prince who performed the act of piety recorded in these inscriptions was anxious that it should be commemorated in a manner which would be understood by all the more important sections of the population comprised in the Burmese empire. But would anyone, after the lapse

of many years, have thought it worth his while to draft and set up in four different languages a statement of the fact that a long deceased prince had made a votive offering on behalf of a long deceased king? I do not think so: surely the principle of *cui bono* applies strongly to such a case as this.

That, no doubt, is a mere matter of opinion. But the Myazedi inscriptions do not stand alone. The great Shwezigon Talaing inscription (also of Pagān) supports the argument. This is a record of nearly 400 lines, and consists in the main of a very verbose and fulsome panegyric (thrown into the form of a prophecy by the Buddha himself, which is repeated with variations and comments by various other persons) in honour of a king Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja of Pagān, namesake and probably immediate successor of the one mentioned in the Myazedi record. According to the Shwezigon inscription Buddha foretells that a certain ancient sage, the Risi Bisnū (Rṣi Viṣṇu), is to be reincarnated (after several intermediate adventures that are here immaterial) as a king of Pagān, in whose reign the land will enjoy a golden age of prosperity and true religion. The language is so extremely eulogistic that it is, in my opinion, pretty evident that the inscription was set up during the lifetime of the king in question. The date when the Risi is to reappear as king is given variously as 1628 and 1630 "expired"¹ after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, the latter figure being presumably a statement in "round numbers", the former a more exact one. The phraseology appears to me to be ambiguous, as the date might refer either to the birth of the king or his accession. But in any case I think the king intended is Alaungsithu, who, according to Phayre, was a grandson of his predecessor Kyanzittha, and reigned from 1085 to 1160 A.D.

¹ The original gives these dates (the second one twice over) in words, not in figures.

(These dates are presumably derived from dates in the Buddhist era given in Phayre's Burmese sources, and are not therefore necessarily quite accurate. Other reasons for doubting their accuracy will be mentioned later on.) It looks, however, as if during the reign of Alaungsīthu some method of reckoning from some assumed *pari-nirvāṇa* date was current in Burma.

The argument can be carried a step further. I have quite recently received an estampage of a newly discovered inscription from Prome. This record, which I shall call Shwesandaw I (as a second inscription was found near by in the same pagoda precincts) is also in Talaing and is evidently based upon the Shwezigon record. Only the first page is available, and that too in a much dilapidated condition, but it embodies the same Pāli *gāthā*, apart from slight verbal variants, as the Shwezigon inscription and the Talaing text goes on to tell (somewhat more concisely, though with a few additional details not given by the Shwezigon record) the same story about the prophecy. But what concerns us is that at the beginning, after an invocation, we have the following:—

2. . . . kāl S[a]k[arāj ? ? ? ? 4]87 Mrigasiras [? ? ? ?]
3. [' ?]k [?]i[? ? ? ? ?] tñey Sukriwār || Uttar Pha[lgunī ? ? ?]
4. [? ? ? ? ?] lagna ||

I am not sure that *Sakarāj* is the word intended: the stone is badly damaged here. *Tñey* is the old Talaing for "day". In l. 3, where I have put half a dozen marks of interrogation there are, I believe, amongst other things one or two numerals which I cannot at present make out, the passage being blurred. But anyhow we have in l. 2 a year, probably of the Burmese era. Its first visible numeral is barely legible, but I think it is a 4, as it must be if the era is really the Burmese one. The other two seem to me to be clearly 87. That would put the inscription in 1125 A.D., which would, I imagine, be in the reign

of Alaungsithu, who is mentioned as king in Burmese Era 501 (1139-40 A.D.) in a Burmese inscription (*Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., Rangoon, 1899, pp. 64-5).¹ The fact that Shwesandaw I gives the month (\pm November), and evidently also the lunar day (though this is unfortunately illegible), the day of the week, Friday, the *nakṣatra*, Uttara-Phalgunī (as I suppose), and the *lagna* (illegible), should satisfy Dr. Fleet that this at least is a synchronous record.² Well, in l. 21 seq. the prophecy says that in the 1630th³ year of Buddha's religion the Risi Bisnū is to come down from Brahmāloka and come into life as the scion of two families, one of which (that of his mother, I fancy, who was a princess of the Pagān royal family and daughter of Kyanzitha) is the Solar race (*ādicca-wansa*).⁴ The name of the other I cannot make out, as it is partly obliterated. The record goes on to say that he shall

¹ There are also two longer ones, in Pāli, set up by the king himself, which apparently are parts of one record. The second is dated in 503 Burmese Era (*ibid.*, pp. 73-9).

² As I have had no experience in the verification of Indian dates I submitted these particulars to M. A. Barth, of Paris, through my friend M. A. Cabaton. M. Barth very kindly took the trouble to make the necessary calculations, and informs me that in the month in question, in 1125 A.D., the moon entered this *nakṣatra* after sunrise on Friday, the 20th November. Assuming, then, that the year is really 1125 A.D., and that the months are *amānta*, as in the modern Burmese reckoning, it would seem that there are no discrepancies in the legible data and that this is really the date of the inscription. If the era of this record is not the Burmese one, I know of no other likely to have been used in Burma at this time which would be any more compatible with Dr. Fleet's position. The Śaka era and any *parinirvāṇa* era would be equally objectionable. If it were the former we should (having regard to the contents of these inscriptions) have to make the numerals 1087, and if the latter, 1687, instead of 487. The former would work out at 1165 A.D. and the revised *parinirvāṇa* era at 1144 A.D. If it is the last-named or some other *parinirvāṇa* era, *culit questio*. Besides (M. Barth informs me) none of these years (except 1125 A.D. with *amānta* months) fulfil the given conditions of month, weekday, and *nakṣatra*.

³ The original gives this date in words, not in figures.

⁴ Or the family of the prince "Aditsa" mentioned by Phayre (*History of Burma*, p. 20) as a legendary ancestor of the Pagān king.

become king (*smiñ dharmmarāja*) in the city of Pokāmma, which is Arimaddanapur, i.e. Pagān.

I draw the conclusion that the Shwezigon inscription, on which this Shwesandaw one appears to be based, must be prior to November, 1125 A.D. In that case we have three records using a Buddhist era apparently before 1150 A.D., though one would be enough to establish the point, as Dr. Fleet concedes. Surely the weight of evidence is in favour of the view that these are contemporary records. Of the three the Myazedi Talaing inscription appears on the whole to use the most archaic form of spelling, and on that ground has an additional claim to be considered the oldest of the three. I admit, however, that we know very little about the details of Talaing spelling at this period, and it seems to have been very variable, so the point is hardly one to be pressed. Still, on the facts as they stand, I take the view that the Myazedi inscriptions must be dated somewhere about the time of Kyanzittha's death.

When we come to inquire further what that time was and what was the initial point assumed for the reckoning then in use, we are met by the extraordinary discrepancies of chronology which Dr. Fleet has mentioned. I have admitted that I am by no means sure that the 1628 of the Myazedi record is 1085-6 A.D. I am not even positive that it represents the year of the death, and not the accession, of Kyanzittha, that monarch of so many irreconcilable dates. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in a recent letter to me, has expressed the view that Kyanzittha reigned from 1628 to 1656. It may be so. If my reading of the numerals in Shwesandaw I is right, it follows not only that the year 1630 of *this* Buddhist era was some time (I do not know how long) before 1125 A.D., but also (I think) that the king who came to the throne (or was reincarnated ?) in that Buddhist year (or 1628) was reigning in 1125 A.D. If the 1630 (or 1628) refers to

Alaungsithu's birth, then Kyanzittha might well have reigned to 1656 of this Buddhist era. But if it refers to Alaungsithu's accession, then Kyanzittha must have been dead in the year 1630 (or 1628), whatever years A.D. these may have been. The former view seems to accord better both with the phraseology of the inscriptions (especially Shwesandaw I) and with the circumstances of Alaungsithu's birth as related in Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 38, though it upsets Phayre's chronology of this period. Either way, Kyanzittha must surely have been dead before 1125 A.D. and the Shwezigon and Shwesandaw I records can hardly refer to him. But all this does not help us much to fix the initial point of the era.

Having regard to the other two cases previously mentioned, where the initial point of the Buddhist era used in Burma was not the usual 544 B.C., I think that the evidence is insufficient to enable us to assert that this era as used in Burma in these early days was identical in origin with the Ceylon one. But it is consistent with the view that a method of reckoning from some assumed *parinirvāṇa* date had existed in Burma independently of the Ceylon method, and was in use there before 1165 A.D., but was subsequently superseded by the Ceylon method. This conclusion seems to accord with the data of the inscriptions, and with the circumstance that Buddhism in Burma was not in the first instance derived from Ceylon. Why should not the Burmese, at any rate from Anawrahta's time (before their Reformation of 1181–2 A.D.), have used a *parinirvāṇa* era, either invented by themselves or derived ultimately from the country from which they (or their Talaing teachers) originally got their religion?

C. O. BLAGDEN.

REMARKS ON MR. BLAGDEN'S NOTE

As regards Mr. Blagden's third issue, I am not prepared to go farther into the dates of Kyanzittha and other kings of Burma. While interested for various reasons in the Burmese calendar and reckonings, I am too much occupied with Indian topics to spare time for the details of Burmese history.

I certainly had not separated the first and second issues in the manner in which he has now stated them. It now seems (1) that he suggests that there existed in Burma before A.D. 1165 an independent reckoning from the death of Buddha which placed that event somewhere in the neighbourhood of B.C. 544, but not exactly in that year, and perhaps even as much as sixteen years earlier; and (2) that he is willing to concede, or at least to think it possible, that the reckoning which places the death exactly in B.C. 544 was devised in Ceylon shortly after A.D. 1165, and was carried thence to Burma in the decade A.D. 1170-80, and eventually superseded the reckoning existing there. This latter position is all that I wish to maintain. On my side I shall be glad enough to grant what he claims under the first issue, when the evidence is clear: at present it is not so.

Mr. Blagden has now brought forward two more Burmese inscriptions, which contain dates in a reckoning from the death of Buddha, and which, he claims, were framed and published before A.D. 1165.

One is a Shwezigōn Talaing inscription containing a prophecy —i.e., a statement of fact put into a prophetic form— that a certain ancient sage was to be reincarnated as a king of Pagān 1628 or 1630 years after the death of Buddha: that is, in or about A.D. 1085-87. This inscription (it appears) is not otherwise dated, so as to show exactly when it was framed: nor is it explicit as to the king who was the subject of the prophecy. But Mr. Blagden considers it to be "pretty evident that the

inscription was set up during the lifetime of the king in question", because its language is so extremely eulogistic. He "thinks" that that king is Alaungsithu, for whose reign he quotes from Phayre, but with some hesitation, the period A.D. 1085 to 1160.¹ And he says "it looks as if during the reign of Alaungsithu some method of reckoning from some assumed *parinirvāṇa* date was current in Burma." The whole argument is purely hypothetical.

The other is a newly discovered inscription, Shwesandaw I, which contains the same prophecy. This inscription, again (it appears), is not explicit as to the king who was the subject of the prophecy. But it does contain its own date. And the question is: does this date fall before A.D. 1165?

The details of this date, as given by Mr. Blagden, are the year [4]87 of the Sakkarāj or common Burmese era of A.D. 638, the month Migasira, the weekday Friday, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Pha[lgunī]. With these details, the date has been calculated for him by M. Barth; with the result (see note 2 on p. 854) that it answers to Friday, 20 November, A.D. 1125. And the moon certainly may be taken to have entered Uttara-Phalgunī during the forenoon of that day, and the day did fall in the waning (dark) fortnight of the Burmese Migasira, Sakkarāj 487.

But it is not easy to see how any safe conclusion, in any direction, can be based on a date the available details of which are as problematical as they are in this case. The figures 87 seem tolerably certain. But the figure for the century is not certain; nor even the name of the era: as regards the era Mr. Blagden says:—"I am not sure that *Sakarāj* is the word intended": as regards the figure for the century he says:—"I think it is a 4, as it must be if the era is really the Burmese one." These are somewhat

¹ With these figures, this king's reign covered from at least one point of view that of his grandfather Kyanzittha: another problem in Burmese history.

dubious grounds for fixing the year as Sakkarāj 487. And the fixing of it is really based on the point (see note 2 on p. 854) that, in view of other possibilities which presented themselves to Mr. Blagden, M. Barth examined the date for the year 1087 of the Śaka era of A.D. 78 and the year 1687 of the era of B.C. 544, as well as for the Sakkarāj year 487, and found that only in the last year could he place the moon in Uttara-Phalgunī on a Friday in Migasira.

But, if we might take the century as 10 or 16 instead of 4, if we could thereby get a suitable result in some other reckoning, why may we not read it as 5 or some subsequent figure even if the year is a year of the Sakkarāj era? And is even the name of the *nakshatra* certain? Mr. Blagden has marked it as Uttara-Pha[lgunī]; indicating that the syllables *lgunī* are either illegible or seriously damaged so as to be questionable. And a very essential item, the specification of the lunar day, is illegible. Also, as regards the fortnight, the position of the *k* which Mr. Blagden has deciphered may indicate *sukka*, the waxing (bright) fortnight, rather than *kāḷa*, the waning fortnight. But, if the fortnight should be the waxing fortnight, the *nakshatra* cannot be stated as Uttara-Phalgunī, unless the record makes a gross mistake: the moon can never be in Uttara-Phalgunī in the waxing fortnight of Migasira. Perhaps the *nakshatra* might be taken as Uttara-Bha[drapādā]?

When all or practically all the details of a Burmese, Hindū, etc., date are certain, we can determine whether that date was or was not correctly recorded; and then, if it is found correct, we can go on to see what may be proved by means of it. But we cannot, to any good end, take a seriously imperfect date (which this one is), make speculative calculations, complete the reading on a selected result which suits what we want, and then build up historical conclusions on that reading. We must have

a better date than this one, to serve as a basis for deciding that the Burmese had a reckoning from the death of Buddha in use before A.D. 1165.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES ON THE MAHAVAMSA

In preparing a translation of the Mahāvamsa I came, in a few cases, to results which require a slight emendation of the text as given in my edition of 1908. First I beg to correct a few misprints, viz., *saṃghāṭiṇ* (1. 74) into *ṭiṇ*; *jīnasamugamā* (2. 30) into *ṣamāgamā*; *rajaṅgaṇa* (5. 47) into *rāj*; *āṇāpeteā* (17. 35) into *ānāp*.

The correct form of the doubtful word in 23. 11 and 35. 11, which puzzled me so much, and which I hesitatingly spelt *sahodḍa*, has been happily found by Dines Andersen (on a postcard written to me, dated Copenhagen, September 8, 1909). It is, no doubt, *sahodḍha* = Skr. *sahodḍha* (BR. s.v.; Manu, ix, 270). Andersen quotes a passage from Dhammapāla's Commentary on the Therīgāthās, where the same word occurs in its genuine form: *Satthukaṇṇaṃ nāma coraṇṇaṃ sahodḍhaṇṇaṃ gaṇhetvā* (Pischel, Thig. p. 184²⁷). In the MSS. of the Mah. the word is badly corrupted, and neither Turnour, nor Sumangala and Batuwantudawe, nor I, came to the right emendation. The short notice on the word in my edition (p. 356) must, therefore, be changed into "*sahodḍhaṇṇaṃ gaṇhātī* (*coraṇṇa*, etc.) = Tī. *sahabhaṇṇadakaṇṇaṃ* g° (Mah. 23. ii, 35. ii), means 'to catch (a thief, etc.) together with the stolen (goods)'. Cf. Skr. *sahodḍha*". See JPTS., 1910, p. 137.

On p. 355, l. 29, I beg to insert the words "Sum. Vil. 1. 80¹⁰ on" before the quotation "Dighanik. 1. 1. 10".

In 4. 30 I now prefer to read *taṃpakkhagāhīṇ* instead of *°gāhī*. Cf. Introd., p. xxvi. There can be no doubt that the passage alludes to Cullav. xii, 2. 3, where we are

told that the young monk Uttara. Revata's upatthāka, accepted the presents refused by his master, and went over to the party of the Vajjian monks. He was, on account of that, dismissed by the Thera. It is now also easily intelligible how the word *sissam* could be interpolated.

In 5. 61, I think the comma must be put after *āsi*, so that *yato tu so puttasesi mokkham* forms a connecting sentence.

A more important passage is 5. 169-70. Here the punctuation in the text of my edition is really misleading. The correct translation is: "The nephew of the king, the renowned Aggibrahmā, was the husband of the king's daughter Saṅghamittā: her and his son was named Sumana. He (i.e. Aggibrahmā) also, having obtained the king's permission, was ordained together with the sub-king." A comma must be put after *sāmiko*, and a full stop after *nāmato* (5. 170*b*). According to the text, as punctuated in my edition, one might refer the pronoun *so* in 170*c* to Sumana and not to Aggibrahmā, which would be nonsense.

WILH. GEIGER.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM "BHAGAVAN"

The contribution on this topic by Dr. G. A. Grierson in JRAS., January, 1910, pp. 159-62, is a good attempt made to approach the sense of the term Bhagavān (or Bhagavat), and then to find the nearest English word for it.

The term Bhagavān is an ancient one, which may be found in the Upaniṣads, and traceable further back to the Vedic deity Bhaga. And according to a grammatical rule, "vat" can take the place of "mat", so that Bhagamān becomes Bhagavān.

The intention of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, VI. v. 69 ff., is to

explain the ancient Mantra, the *Dvādaśākṣari*, containing both the terms Bhagavān and Vāsudēva, the latter being traceable to the Viṣṇu-Gāyatrī of the *Nārāyaṇam* in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad. In this explanation the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa takes up *Bhagavān* first and then *Vāsudēva*. *Bhagavān*, according to the definition contained in the verse 79—

Jñāna-śakti-balaīśvarya- vīrya-tējāmsy aśeṣataḥ |
Bhagavac-chabla-vācyāni vinā hēyair guṇādibhiḥ ||

is "He who is full of auspicious qualities and devoid of inauspicious ones". That this conception of God is not a later one, enunciated by the Bhāgavata school, but is the oldest Vaidic conception, may be learnt from what is called the *Ubhaya-līngā-dhikaraṇa* in the Brahma-Sūtras, extending over III, ii, 11, beginning *Na sthānatō'pi*, to III, ii, 25. The word cannot therefore mean merely "blissful", qualified subjectively (JRAS., 1910, p. 160). or merely "holy", for either of these terms give but a part connotation of the word. "Blessed" would be better, if it may be understood as an abbreviation for "blessed-qualified". The word "Adorable" only draws out the root-sense, but completely ignores the contents of the definition as given in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, verse 79 (*supra*). Parenthetically, the words "used in worship" on p. 161 ought to be "used for others than Bhagavān for mere courtesy". I would therefore suggest the following terms with which to translate Bhagavān: "Blessed," "Excellent," "Best," "Perfect," "Glorious," and perhaps "Lord". I would leave to my English friends to weigh the different connotations these several terms carry in their lexicon, and choose the best.

Referring to the term *Vāsudēva*, it is often confounded with the son of Vasudēva (Kṛṣṇa), but read the several connotations of it in the *Sahasra-nāma-bhāṣya*. Similarly, *Kṛṣṇāya Dēvakī-putrāya*, of Chāndōgya-Upaniṣad, III, xvii, 6, is by some confounded with Kṛṣṇa, the son of

Vasudēva.¹ Śrī Madhvācārya, in his commentary on this Upaniṣad, explains this clearly. There is also a Kṛṣṇa again in the *Nārāyaṇīm* of the Taittirīya - Upaniṣad. This is, again, not to be confounded with Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudēva.

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February 7, 1910.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM "BHAGAVAT"

Dr. George A. Grierson has an interesting note on the correct rendering of the term "Bhagavat" as understood by the Bhāgavatas. He suggests that it should be rendered by "ADORABLE" to express the full connotation of the term. Certainly many would think that it is a fairly accurate rendering. But the present writer is of opinion that if we are to be still more accurate we must find out some word which would cover its full signification, and which would do full justice to its history. Such a rendering would convey all the ideas which underlie its employment in the whole range of Sanskrit literature.

As Dr. Grierson has very lucidly set forth in his highly interesting paper, "The Monotheistic Religion of Ancient India," at the Congress of Religions, Oxford, September, 1908 (*Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1909, pp. 115-26), on the authority of Drs. Bhandarkar, Garbe, and Barnett, the Bhāgavata sect has a very old alliance with the Sāṅkhya-yoga philosophy, and has therefore borrowed many important philosophical ideas from that old school of philosophy, which originated in the Upaniṣads and prevailed in the Purāṇas. Much of the phraseology of the Bhāgavata philosophy is identical with that in the Sāṅkhya-yoga system. We shall see that the term "Bhagavat" was also primarily a term belonging to

¹ *Ibid* p. 3, Dr. Grierson's "Nārāyaṇīyam" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1909).

the Yoga Śāstra. In the Bhāṣya on the *Yogasūtra*, iii, 45, we find the expression न च शक्तोऽपि पदार्थविपर्यासं करोति । कस्मात् । अन्यस्य यत्रकामावसायिनः पूर्वसिद्धस्य तथा भूतेषु संकल्पात् । (Bālarāma's ed. of the *Yogadarśana*, p. 259, ll. 3-6). Now Vācaspatimiśra does not paraphrase यत्रकामावसायिनः, but paraphrases पूर्वसिद्धस्य by तत्रभगवतः परमेश्वरस्य (Bālarāma's ed., p. 259, l. 18). This gives us a clue to the original sense of the term "Bhagavat".¹

That Vācaspatimiśra has very accurately rendered the term *śiddha* by "Bhagavat", and that his rendering has the approval of the Bhāgavatas, is shown by the two important stanzas from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*—

ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य वीर्यस्य यशसः श्रियः ।

ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षष्ठां भग इतीङ्गना ॥ (vi, 5, 74)

and

ज्ञानशक्तिबलैश्वर्यवीर्यतेजांस्यशेषतः ।

भगवच्छब्दवाच्यानि विना हेयैर्गुणादिभिः ॥ (vi, 5, 79).

The gist of the conception of "Bhagavat" by the Bhāgavatas can be therefore briefly expressed by स्वभावत एव निरस्तनिखिलदोषगन्धं समस्तकल्याणगुणात्मकम्, as it has been happily phrased by Rāmānuja in his *Sribhāṣya* on the first sūtra of the Vedānta (p. 102, l. 6, Abhyāṅkarasāstrin's ed. of the *Ātmasūtrī*). Rāmānuja is never tired of repeating this and several similar terms when speaking of Brāhman. The long epithets that are found to qualify परं ब्रह्म पुरुषोत्तमो नारायणः like श्रियः पतिः निखिलहेयप्रत्यनीककल्याणैकतानानन्तज्ञानानन्दैकस्वरूपः स्वाभाविकानवधिकातिशयज्ञानबलैश्वर्यवीर्यशक्तितेजःप्रभृत्यसंख्येयकल्याणगुणगणमहोदधिः, and so forth, at the beginning of Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, is nothing but an amplification of the same idea. Hence, if we are to indicate in one word the idea of "Bhagavat" in the light of Yoga and Bhāgavata philosophy about the Supreme Being, we cannot do better

¹ But the other editions at least read तत्रभवतः, not तत्रभगवतः.—Ed.

than render it by "PERFECT". This word does, I think, accurately express the idea as conveyed by the Yoga equivalent सिद्ध and by the Bhāgavata expression स्वभावत एव निरस्तनिखिलदोषगन्धं समस्तकल्याणगुणात्मकम् ।

The etymology of the word "Bhagavat" points to the same conclusion. *Bhaga* is derived from *bhaj*, "to divide," "to distribute," and therefore means "a share", "what falls to one's lot". That *bhaga* means "merit" or "quality" can be seen from the word *subhaga*, meaning "beautiful".¹ If we understand the possessive मतुप् in the sense of प्राप्स्य, then "Bhagavat" would mean "one endowed with praiseworthy qualities or attributes". "Bhagavat" can therefore easily mean "endowed with all good attributes (and nothing else)". In short, it can mean "a perfect being", which is also the sense of *siddha*.

In the Upaniṣads we find the word used as an epithet or a term of address to a spiritual teacher, e.g. भृगुर्वै वारुणिर्वरुणं पितरमुपससार । अधीहि भगवो ब्रह्मेति । (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, *Bhṛgyuvallī*), or to great adepts in spiritual science, e.g. अथ हैनं यजमान उवाच भगवन्तं वा अहं विविदिषाणीत्युषस्त्रिरस्त्रि चाक्रायण इति होवाच ॥ (*Chāndogyā Upaniṣad*, i, 11, first passage). The rendering "perfect" can well fit in here.

It will not be uninteresting to note the uses of this word by Vācaspati, the author of the *Yogabhāṣya*, and his commentator, held in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* to be an authority in the *Yogadarśana*. I have noted down the pages and lines of the excellent edition of the *Yogabhāṣya* by Udāsīna Bālarāma. In the following I should be supposed to refer to Vācaspati's commentary as having its own numbering of lines independent of the numbering of the lines in the *Yogabhāṣya*.

"Bhagavat" is an epithet of Patañjali in Vācaspati on i, 1 (p. 3, l. 1): ii. 46 (p. 185, l. 12). In Vācaspati on ii, 13

¹ This seems questionable.—Ed.

(p. 128, l. 2) it qualifies the Yogabhāṣyakāra. In Vācaspati on iv, 30 (p. 314, l. 4) it qualifies Akṣapāda or Gotama, the expounder of the Nyāya philosophy. In Vācaspati on ii, 35 (p. 180, l. 8) and on ii, 36 (p. 180, l. 5) it qualifies *yogī* understood. In Vācaspati on iii, 51 (p. 266, l. 7) and on iv, 22 (p. 306, l. 14) "Bhagavat" qualifies चरमदेहजीवन्मुक्त योगिन, i.e. "a *yogin* who is living like a mortal apparently, although really emancipated, and who is wearing his last body". In Vācaspati on ii, 15 (p. 133, l. 5) "Bhagavat" qualifies the author of the *Gītā*, who is called योगेश्वर in the last stanza of the *Bhagavadgītā*, otherwise styled *Yogaśāstra*. In Vācaspati on i, 24 (p. 56, l. 11; p. 57, l. 3; p. 58, l. 10), on i, 26 (p. 63, l. 1), on i, 27 (p. 64, l. 11), on i, 38 (p. 83, l. 12), on iii, 1 (p. 194, l. 12), on iii, 6 (p. 197, l. 7), and on iii, 45 (p. 259, l. 12), "Bhagavat" is an epithet of ईश्वर or "God". The *Yogabhāṣya* always uses ईश्वर for God (see i, 24; i, 26; i, 27, etc.), and only in commenting on iii, 45 has it used the word पूर्वसिद्ध as an equivalent to God.

From Vācaspati's use of the term "Bhagavat" it appears that it is possible to trace the history of the word. First it was used of great spiritual teachers and inquirers, as we find in the Upaniṣad. Then it came to be used as an epithet to those persons who had acquired spiritual powers. Then it came to be used of the emancipated souls, and then of God. The last sense is seen clearly in the use of the term for Buddha, the great teacher of Buddhist faith. "Bhagavat" has come to be used as equivalent for Buddha, and this shows that the rendering "Perfect" suits very well here also, for Buddha means "the enlightened one". It is quite true that in the Bhāgavata scriptures "Bhagavat" can very well be translated by "Adorable", but then that rendering would be good in that limited sphere alone, while "Perfect" is applicable everywhere. "Adorability" is only a corollary to the idea of "Perfection". It can easily be seen that this idea of

perfection is in the case of God the main idea in Yoga and Bhāgavata scriptures, if we compare the Yoga ideas of God as given in the *Yogabhāṣya* on the Sūtras, i, 24-8, and as expressed very concisely by the term पूर्वसिद्धि in भाष्य on iii, 45 (p. 259), with the ideas about God at the opening of Rāmānuja's *Bhāṣya* on the *Gītā*. This cumulative evidence makes it quite clear that "Bhagavat" means "Perfect" even according to the Bhāgavatas, who are followers of Bhagavat (= Kṛiṣṇa) called योगेश्वर at the end of the *Gītā* itself.

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March 31, 1910.

MAHISMATĪ, THE KAVERI, AND MAHESWAR

A few remarks may be offered in support of Dr. Fleet's article on Mahishamaṇḍala and Māhishmatī (p. 425 *ante*).

In the earliest times Māhishmatī was the capital of a vigorous kingdom, comprising a large stretch of the Narbadā valley, and continued to be so till the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.¹ At some later period it fell under and within Avanti, as shown by the passage cited by Dr. Fleet (p. 447) from the Digha-Nikāya and the statement in the late Tīrtha-yātrā-parvan that the Narmadā was among the Avantis.² Its absorption into Avanti would have lowered its position, and no doubt led to its extinction; thus it is not mentioned (as far as I know) in the Narmadā-māhātmyas in the Purāṇas. Such was its position in Kālidāsa's time, and his description of it and its king in the Raghuvamśa, which Dr. Fleet quotes (p. 444), shows incidentally that in portraying ancient times he did not follow the political geography of his day, but threw his mind back into ancient conditions with very considerable antiquarian knowledge.

¹ The authorities are cited at pp. 35-6 *ante*, and JRAS., 1908, p. 313.

² *MBh.*, iii, 89, 8354-5.

Dr. Fleet further says (p. 442, note 7), "the Indian Atlas shows a 'Cavery R.' flowing into the Narbadā from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhishmatī," that is, Mandhātā. There were two Kāveris, as mentioned expressly in the Matsya Purāṇa, namely, the large river in the south and a second northern Kāverī.¹ This second Kāverī was a well-known tributary of the Narmadā, and its confluence was a famous tirtha called Kāverī-saṅgama, which is generally extolled in the Narmadā-māhātmyas. It is described almost in the same terms in the *Matsya* and *Padma*.² They say—The junction of the Kāverī and Narmadā is famed throughout the world; it destroys all sin; one should bathe there because the Kāverī is very sacred and the Narmadā is a great river; whatever benefit a man may gain between the Ganges and Yamunā (that is, at Prayāga), the same accrues to him when he bathes at the Kāverī-saṅgama; he obtains at the Kāverī-saṅgama merit which destroys all sin. The *Kūrma* also notices two Kāveris, the southern river first,³ and then this stream thus—The famous river Kāverī destroys guilt; one should bathe and worship Śiva there; at its confluence with the Narmadā one is exalted in Rudra's world.⁴ The *Agni*⁵ mentions the "sacred Kāverī-saṅgama", which is probably the same tirtha, though the reference is so brief that one cannot be sure it may not refer to the southern Kāverī.

A suggestion may be made regarding the claim of Maheswar to be Māhishmatī. In the Narmadā-māhātmyas Māhishmatī is not alluded to, because no doubt it had fallen into ruin and oblivion⁶; the Kāverī-saṅgama (which is close to it) is highly extolled; and Māheśvara-sthāna is mentioned, not as having any connexion with Māhishmatī,

¹ 22, 46 and 64.

² *Matsya*, Ānandāśrama ed., 189; Calc. ed., 188. *Padma*, i, 16. Its sanctity is supported there with a legend about Kuvera.

³ ii, 37, 16 and 22.

⁴ ii, 39, 40-1.

⁵ 113, 3.

⁶ See Hunter. *Imp. Gaz.*, "Mandhātā."

but as the place where Śiva devised how to destroy Tripura and where he fixed (or stayed) his arrow.¹ We see then that, when these mātātmyas were composed, Māhiṣmatī (Mandhātā) had been forgotten locally and Maheśvara claimed sanctity only on the ground of a brief legendary connexion with Śiva. We may well conjecture, therefore, that the brahmans of Maheswar, finding afterwards that the ancient glory of Māhiṣmatī was not located at or utilized by any place on the Narbadā, claimed it for their town on the strength of a similarity in the two names, and in the absence of any counter-claimant succeeded in appropriating it.

Mahiṣa-maṇḍala appears to be a Buddhist appellation. It does not (as far as I know) occur in the Epics or Purāṇas, nor is it mentioned in Monier-Williams' or Bohtlingk and Roth's Dictionary.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE IN INDIAN VERNACULARS

Mr. Lesný's note (pp. 481-4 of the Journal for April) on the use of the genitive for the accusative in Marāṭhi will interest students of other vernaculars. His explanation is that the genitive is used in the case of living beings to avoid ambiguity, where there is no special termination to distinguish nominative from accusative. In Bengali the ambiguity only arises in the case of *inanimate* things, since living things have a dative-accusative termination in *-ke*. In using the double accusative, this ambiguity is avoided by boldly giving the accusative termination to the (inanimate) direct object. For instance, "tini rātri-ke din, din-ke rātri karite pāren" (he can make night day, and day night).

¹ *Maṭṣya*, Ānandāśrama ed., 188, 1-2 and 82 (Calc. ed., 187). *Padma*, i, 15, 1-2 and 71. These two accounts are very closely alike. The word *sthāna* is noteworthy and significant. It could hardly be applied to an ancient city, but rather suggests a new place.

But (and this is my excuse for writing) the genitive is often used in poetry and in common talk for the dative or accusative of plural nouns signifying rational beings. Thus, it is permissible to say “ai bālak-der dāo” (give to those boys), or “yāhārā e kāj kariyāche, tāhāder mārā” (chastise those who have done these things).

In the singular number, an alternative to the dative-accusative termination in *-ke* is used. This only differs from the genitive in form in having an *-e* added to it. Thus, in familiar talk, you may say “āmā-re dāo” for “āmā-ke dāo” (give to me), or “tini āmā-re dekhilen” (he saw me), for “tini āmā-ke dekhilen”.

There can be here no question of avoiding ambiguity. May I make the purely tentative suggestion that the original termination for genitive, dative, and accusative was that which is now reserved for the genitive, and that the *-ke*, which now marks dative and accusative, was borrowed? In Kachāri (a Tibeto-Burmese language which was once the native tongue of many who now speak Bengali or Assamese) the genitive in *-nī* occurs in cognate dialects which have not come into contact with Indo-European languages, whereas the Kachāri dative-accusative in *-ko* or *-kho* was probably borrowed.

Generally, the case terminations are used by Bengalis in a way that seems somewhat loose to the European, a fact that adds to the idiomatic flexibility and picturesqueness of their language. This too may be due to borrowing.

J. D. A.

“GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE” CONSTRUCTION IN MARATHI

In support of Professor Thomson's theory as regards the origin of the genitive construction, Dr. Lesný has quoted a few sentences from Marāṭhī reading-books and shown that the construction in question has been “the outcome of nothing else than a desire to avoid ambiguity”.

Dr. Lesný seems to have misunderstood the Marāṭhī construction, which he calls the genitive-accusative. There is no genitive construction in Marāṭhī, and the rule, too, quoted by him from the Rev. G. R. Navalkar's grammar, regarding the use of what he (Dr. Lesný) calls the genitive case with reference to living beings, is not accurate.

As in Sanskrit, there are seven distinct cases in Marāṭhī. Some terminations have been taken, it seems, from Mahārāṣṭrī, the parent dialect, and others from Sanskrit and other sources. The accusative terminations are, really, **स, ला, ते** in the singular and **स, ला, ना, ते** in the plural, i.e. identical with those of the dative, and they have to be distinguished from them by their use in the sentence. Thus, in the sentences (1) **पोरास घेऊन जा** and (2) **रामास रूपये दे**, the first form, **पोरास**, is in the accusative because it is the object of **घेऊन**: the second form, **रामास**, is in the dative because **रूपये** is the object. On some occasions the terminations of the accusative are not used (as in the case of inanimate objects), but *not always*. The Rev. G. R. Navalkar has departed from the older grammarians in giving the rule quoted by Dr. Lesný about the use of the inflected accusative (which Dr. Lesný calls genitive) with reference to the living objects. That rule is inaccurate. We can say either **पोरास घेऊन जा** or **पोर घेऊन जा**. In the case of inanimate objects also we frequently find the supposed rule violated. Thus—

ते वेळीं विश्वस्वप्नासहितं । कोण अन्यधामती नित्तेति ।

सांभाळीं नुरेचि जेथें । मायाराती ॥

(ज्ञानेश्वरी, अध्याय १६ ओवी ११).

“At that time (i.e. when the supreme unity of Ātman and Brahman is realized) who retains (lit. protects) the sleep of false knowledge together with the dream of the world? Then (lit. where) the night of ignorance (माया) undoubtedly does not exist.”

Here **निद्रेंति**, though an inanimate object, is used in the inflected accusative.

जया पुरुषांचे मन । सांडोनि गेले मोह मान ।

वर्षांतों जैसे घन । आकाशति ॥ (ज्ञा० अ० १५ ओ० २८५).

“The man whose mind (lit. the mind of which man) ignorance and pride have left, as clouds leave the sky after rain.”

Here, in the same verse, the verbs **सांडोनि गेले** and **सांडोनि जातात** govern the inanimate objects **मन** and **आकाशति**, one in the uninflected and the other in the inflected accusative. Such instances, both in ancient and in modern Marāṭhī, are common, though in some cases the inflected accusative gives a different meaning or makes it ambiguous. As, for instance, **तो वाघ मारतो** = “he kills a tiger”, but **तो रामास मारतो** is ambiguous. It may mean either “he kills Rāma” or “he beats Rāma”, more often the latter. Here the difference in meaning is due most probably to the association of ideas. The idea of “killing” goes well with the idea of “tiger”, but not so well with the idea of “Rāma”. Thus it is clear that no hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the use of the inflected and uninflected accusative case.

As regards the genitive proper in Marāṭhī, we have the termination **चा** in the singular and **चा** with a nasal on the preceding syllable in the plural, which is most probably derived from the Sanskrit **स्य**, the intermediate stage being **झ**, which is found both in Mahārāṣṭrī and in Marāṭhī (as in **तुझा**). The terminations of the inflected accusative, **स**, **ना**, are derived by the Rev. G. R. Navalkar (whom Dr. Lesný has followed) from the Sanskrit **स्य** and **नाम्**. But the remaining two terminations **ला** and **ते** cannot thus be derived from any Sanskrit terminations. The termination **ला** has come from the postposition **लागों**, and so **स** also might have come from another postposition

साठों, which does appear in that sense very frequently.¹ Perhaps this स has nothing to do with the Sanskrit स्य from which we have झ and च through Mahārāṣṭrī. There is also another and better derivation possible. The difference between the singular and plural terminations in Marāṭhī is of a nasal in most cases. Thus रामाचा = "of Rāma" and रामांचा = "of Rāmas". Now the accusative plural termination, which was originally *ams* अंस in Sanskrit, was probably modified and taken into Marāṭhī as अंस (*amsa*) or स with a nasal on the preceding syllable. Thus, from राम we get रामांस as the accusative plural, from which by simply dropping the nasal we get the singular form रामास. As regards the omission of terminations altogether, or, in other words, the uninflected accusative, the parallel in Sanskrit pointed out by the Rev. G. R. Navalkar and other grammarians in the neuter nouns like वारि and मधु is a good one, and the only thing that can be said about it is that the influence had no universal effect in Marāṭhī. Thus, as far back as we can go, from the time of ज्ञानेश्वर in the thirteenth century to this day, Marāṭhī does not betray any genitive construction as is mentioned by Dr. Lesný.

T. K. LADDU.

June 1, 1910.

BHŪ WITH THE ACCUSATIVE

In confirmation of the view which I have expressed² as to the apparent cases in which the root *bhū* is construed with the accusative, it may be worth while to quote a few cases which illustrate the view of the construction as really nominative. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³ it is said: *yaśo bhavati ya eraṇa vidvān ādhatte*, "he becomes

¹ [These etymologies seem doubtful. As regards the general question it is perhaps worth while to remark that the "genitive" in question is syntactically a dative: see the Linguistic Survey, vol. vii, p. 24.—F.W.T.]

² JRAS., 1910, p. 525.

³ ii, 2, 3, 1; iv, 2, 4, 9. etc.

glorious who knowing thus," etc. That *yaśas* is a nominative, the abstract for the concrete, seems to me certain, and the probability is increased by the fact that the Kāṇva recension¹ in one place has *yaśasvī* for *yaśas*. Then, again, the same work² has *yaśah syāma*, where an accusative is impossible.

My view is also confirmed by the fact that it is the view taken, without recognition of any possible alternative, by Geldner.³ He cites as a parallel to a passage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁴ (*ṛṣṇa ha vai jāyate yo 'sti*) a verse of the *Atharvaveda*⁵: *apamītyam āpratītham yād āsmi*. It is true that Ludwig⁶ and Whitney⁷ alike amend *āsmi* to *ādmi*, but I do not think that this is either desirable or necessary.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

ANOTHER PARALLEL TO THE STORY OF CANDRAHĀSA

The Jaina version of the story of Candrahāsa will be found in my translation of the *Kathākośa* (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series (6)). In the note on p. 172 I have given one or two parallels, and referred to my paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1881 (vol. x, pp. 190-1). Dr. Gaster seems to be aware that the story of Fulgentius is found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* of Somadeva. In this connexion I may perhaps be permitted to refer to the note in vol. i of my translation, p. 162, and to a supplementary note on p. 630 of vol. ii.

C. H. TAWNEY.

ORIGINALITY IN MUGHAL PAINTING

We find the following statements made by well-known writers, some of whom perhaps merely echo each other:

¹ Eggeling, SBE. xxvi, 303, n. 3.

² xiv, 1, 1, 3.

³ *Vedische Studien*, iii, 133, n. 2.

⁴ i, 7, 2, 1.

⁵ vi, 117, 1.

⁶ *Der Rigveda*, iii, 444.

⁷ Translation of the Atharvaveda, p. 366.

The Mughal paintings are merely "debased Persian"¹; "Persian painting dies away in India"²: "except as regards the costume of the persons represented, they have nothing to do with Indian art. All are purely Persian."³ Another writer, after quoting a passage from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, remarks: "This interesting passage proves that the Mughal school of painting was inspired by European as well as Persian models. The comprehensiveness of the scheme of colour in the Fatehpur Sikri frescoes is clearly a result of the study of European art. Although the imitative Hindus attained conspicuous skill in the assimilation of foreign methods, no genuine school of painting was founded by Akbar's well-meant efforts. India has never produced an artist of original genius in either painting or sculpture."⁴

One would scarcely have thought that the very last words of the quotation, which is stated to prove foreign inspiration, were these: "This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them." Mr. Havell, on the other hand, somewhat depreciates Persian painting, and considers that the Mughal style shows that the true spirit of Indian art triumphed over the stiffness and mannerisms of contemporary Persian schools.⁵

A just critique of the Indian painting is due to M. Gaston Migeon: "The Indian painters strove to express something individual, tending to approach painting rather than illumination. . . . Everywhere the landscapes, penetrated by a quite modern feeling for nature, present to us beautiful representations of light. In other cases the

¹ Roger Fry, *Quarterly Review*, January, 1910.

² L. Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, p. 158.

³ Maindron, *L'Art Indien*, p. 154. In Frilley's *L'Inde* the Mughal paintings are frankly labelled "Miniatures Persanes"!

⁴ Vincent Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii. 131.

⁵ Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 190.

artist has studied the human figure, to produce a portrait : the keenness of his observation, the mastery of his drawing, the firm line so well adapted to emphasize the special characteristics of a figure, have combined to produce works which equal the most beautiful miniatures of our Western schools.”¹

In discussing the originality of Mughal painting, it is easy to see a parallel in the question of originality in Mughal culture as a whole. Everyone knows that Mughal culture exhibits a combination of Persian and Indian elements. Yet the now too rare type of cultivated mind, exemplified in Akbar himself, nourished alike by the streams of Persian and Indian religious thought, romance, and art, was as truly original as could well be looked for. Akbar's genius consisted not in his opposition to the real spirit of the age, but in the fact that he embodied in himself its highest ideals and more or less unconscious tendencies, developed to their fullest extent. The mind of the age which found its truest expression in such a man was essentially synthetic, and not merely eclectic. In other words, its culture is original, inasmuch as it expresses its own character. To take a specific parallel, we find that in the time of Akbar there came into being a new architecture, combining two completely different styles, to produce what has been called an “improved third style”;² and this architecture, as remarked by Von Garbe, is “entirely original.”³ It is exactly the same with painting: the style of the Mughal miniatures is a new style, whether improved or not may be a matter of opinion, but certainly original.

At the same time it must be recognized that this new style was not fully evolved in the time of Akbar himself. Scarcely one of Akbar's own painters produced any work

¹ Migeon, *L'Art Musulman*, ii, 56.

² A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii, 386.

³ Von Garbe, *Akbar, Emperor of India*, p. 25.

of real importance, because of the very fact that they were so largely occupied in imitating Persian mannerisms. Mughal painting as an independent style belongs to the seventeenth and not to the sixteenth century. The true Mughal style developed very rapidly after about 1600 A.D. The term "Indo-Persian" is only properly applicable to the early Mughal style: it does not rightly describe the later Mughal work, still less the painting of the Rājput schools.

I take it that originality in art means that the said art is an organic development, not superimposed as a mere fashion: that it is essentially a product of its own time and place: and that it expresses without affectation the real thoughts and feelings of its producers. Excellence in art means a capacity for giving noble and definite expression to whatever passion informs a given image (every work of the imagination is an "image"), and has nothing to do with science, as of perspective or proportion, except in so far as these contribute directly to the end in view. And style, as in literature, "is the man himself," or, in traditional art, the race. "*L'art, mes enfants, c'est d'être absolument soi-même.*" Judged by these standards, originality and greatness cannot be denied to Mughal paintings.

It is difficult to understand the position of those who are unable to distinguish between Indian and Persian work. Typical examples of each style at least are easily recognized. It is rarely a matter of doubt as to whether a given drawing has been executed in India or in Persia. It is by comparing a large number of examples of Indian work with a large number of examples of purely Persian drawing that one can best gather what the fully developed Mughal style owes to Persian (and Central Asian), and what is due to indigenous tradition. That this has not hitherto been done is shown by the fact that in most collections the Indian drawings are described as Persian. The indigenous element in Mughal painting and the work

of contemporary Hindū schools afford the best evidence available as to the character of Indian painting in pre-Mughal times.

A vital interest in contemporary life, and a renewed and intimate study of nature, alike in the drawing of human beings, animals, flowers, and landscape, distinguish the Mughal from the more formal Persian style. The Mughal art has less mannerism and is more directly concerned with the expression of character than the Persian. This applies as much to the drawing of animals as to the representation of human beings; in Persian art the wild animals are rarely sympathetically drawn, but in the Indian drawings they are, as we might expect, much more affectionately and intimately studied.

The styles are also distinguishable in their failings. Inferior Persian work is trivial or brutal. Inferior Indian painting becomes theatrical.

Another point to be observed is that the Persian art is essentially an art of book illustration; the Mughal paintings are separate pictures, sometimes grouped in a series, but quite as often independent. The Persian paintings are properly described as illuminations: the Mughal paintings are more pictorial, characterized by a reduction in intensity of colour, which is replaced by a wonderful tenderness of tone and a frequent suggestion of atmospheric effect. There is clear evidence, in some of the earlier work, of European influence. The method of mounting, too, generally with an equal margin on both sides, in place of the asymmetrical border of a book illustration, corresponds to the different way in which the paintings were preserved; those in the collections of the Mughal courtiers (after the time of Akbar) being kept loose in portfolios, or if bound together, rather as picture-books than as illustrated manuscripts.

It is not, however, sufficient to realize that the Persian and Mughal styles are easily distinguished; we have also

to recognize the existence of well-defined local schools of painting in India itself, and to learn to know them easily. It is perhaps hardly yet possible to assign a given work always with certainty to its proper district; but no one who cannot recognize the fact of the existence of the different local schools can have studied the Mughal work very deeply. The centre of interest for research is, in fact, already tending to shift from the question of the relation of Mughal to Persian painting to the more subtle matter of the differentiation of the Indian schools amongst themselves. Of distinctively Mughal work, i.e. work showing a combination of Persian, Central Asian, and Indian tradition, and done mainly for aristocratic patrons connected with the Mughal courts (though not necessarily excluding Hindū subjects), the Agra and Delhi, Benares, Lahore, Deccan, and other schools are probably distinguished, while of purely Hindū work, the Kāngra Valley, Jaipur, and Tanjore schools are quite distinct. In the present note I do not refer to these contemporary Hindū schools, except to propose for them the general designation of "Rājput", in place of the less suitable term "mediaeval Hindū". The work of these schools is probably nearly equal in amount to the work which is properly called Mughal, and has the additional interest of being entirely unaffected by Persian or other foreign influences. The Rājput paintings are characterized by a greater range of subject, a greater seriousness of content, brighter colouring, less interest in portraiture, and generally more idealistic treatment. They have been entirely ignored by almost all writers, though even from a purely archaeological point of view their importance is great as representing the continuation of the true "mediaeval Hindū" traditions.

It may be remarked that the influence of Turkestan on Indian art, so little referred to hitherto, must have been important. The Mughals themselves originated near

Samarqand, and there was for a long period constant communication between Samarqand and India. We need not doubt that, as M. Migeon remarks, "*les grands Moguls de Delhi continuaient à faire venir du Turkestan ces livres à vives enluminures.*" But we have in some portraits preserved in the British Museum positive proof that artists from Turkestan actually worked at the Mughal courts in India as late as the seventeenth century. In MS. Add. 18,801, entitled "Portraits of Hindu Princes and Chiefs" (included like all the other Indian picture-books in the Persian catalogue), there are a number of very beautiful drawings, mostly portraits, signed by the artists. A number of the best are signed by "Muhammad Nādir of Samarqand"; they include a portrait study from life, several more formal portraits and copies of portraits, and an exquisite small drawing of a hawk. A number of other signed drawings are perhaps by pupils or companions of Muhammad Nādir. These drawings are very masterly in their delineation of character, and seem to represent one of the elements producing the great change which came over the Persian style when transplanted to Indian soil. I should be inclined to regard the Turkestan element in Mughal art as of equal importance with the Persian. The indigenous element, however, in the developed Mughal style is probably more important than the influence of the Persian and Central Asian styles together: this is of course the case if we include in "Mughal art" the contemporary Hindū (Rājput) schools.

Some stress has been laid upon other influences traceable in Mughal art, particularly European and Chinese. These influences affected India largely at second-hand, through Persian art, but are quite unmistakable, and the result is sometimes quite charming. They may, however, be very easily exaggerated. The influence of Raphael (a name traditionally honoured in Persia), for

instance, must have been in India infinitely less than the influence of Japanese colour-prints on modern European art, and not improbably much less than the influence of Oriental art upon Italian at an earlier period. The Indian imitations of European paintings are not often of much interest as works of art. In point of fact, what most strikes us in Indian work of the Mughal period is the way in which it continually recalls *pre*-Raphaelite early Italian painting. We are constantly reminded of Giotto, Benozzo Gozzoli, Botticelli, Francesco Francia, and the earlier Italian woodcutters. We find expressed in both arts the same childlike purity of soul, the same gentle wonder at the beauty of flowers and animals, the same mysterious sweet serenity in the faces of women, the same worship of humanity as a symbol of the divine. And this is due not to borrowing but to similarity of impulse. For the human spirit is not so constructed that it can borrow a nobility of expression without possessing that nobility within itself.

It is not difficult to recognize historic causes making possible this similarity of sentiment. Just as the faint dawn of the Renaissance preoccupation with man and all his works combined with the Gothic spirit of devotion to produce the great art of the Italian primitives, so the exaltation of humanity characteristic of Islam,¹ touched by the spirit of Sufi and Vedantic mysticism, made possible the efflorescence of a new art in the time of the Great Mughals.

This art, I maintain, is in the truest sense original, and exhibits the highest qualities of art, both in its informing spirit and in the perfection of its technique.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

CAMPDEN.

March, 1910.

¹ See Burton, *Arabian Nights*, viii, pp. 5, 44.

AN OBSCURE PASSAGE IN BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS

There is a sentence in the first chapter of Bābar's¹ Memoirs which must have given his translators a good deal of trouble. Speaking of his father, 'Umar Shaikh, Bābar says, according to the accepted reading, "He was of a singular disposition (*yatim shawār*) (and) had many marks of branding on his person." Neither Erskine nor Pavet de Courteille has translated the last clause of this sentence. Erskine (or Leyden) has merely the words "He was a humane man", and Pavet de Courteille has "C'était un homme unique en son genre". I submit that *yatim* (يَتِيم) is a wrong reading, and that it has misled the translators and prevented them from understanding the rest of the sentence. For *yatim* (يَتِيم) I would read *mutayyam* (مُتَيَّم), i.e. enslaved (by Love). The two words are very much alike in Oriental writing, and in the Haidarābād copy, p. 7^b (three lines from the foot), the word looks just as like *mutayyam* as *yatim*. The same may be said of the word as it occurs in the India Office copy of the early Persian translation by Pāyanda Moghul. Further, it is very unlikely that Bābar would apply such an epithet as *yatim* to his father, for he twice uses it as an expression of contempt. On p. 43^a of the Haidarābād ed. (second last line) he calls the Samarkand rabble *shahr yatimlār*, and again, at p. 91^b, l. 4, he speaks of the same populace as the *ūbāsh u yatimlār*, "the idle and worthless rabble" of Erskine. Reading *mutayyam* the passage about 'Umar Shaikh may be translated, "He was of an amorous disposition (and) bore on his person many marks of branding." The connexion between the two statements will be clear from the following passage in Chardin's "Travels", vol. ii, p. 253, of Rouen edition of 1723 :—

"On connoit ces esclaves d'Amour à des brûlures qu'ils portent sur le corps, et particulièrement aux bras. Ils

¹ The proper spelling of the name is undoubtedly Bābur, but in deference to usage I have spelt it Bābar.

le font avec un fer rouge, qu'ils se mettent sur la chair si fort, que la brûlure enfonce l'épaisseur d'une pièce de trente sols, ce qu'ils font au tems que leur passion est la plus ardente, pour témoigner à leur Maitresse que le feu de leur amour les rend insensibles au feu même. Plus on se fait de ces marques, plus on passe pour amoureux. Il y a des gens que s'en font en tous les endroits du corps, particulièrement aux reins."

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE LANGUAGE OF EGYPT

Mr. G. Robb, of the Education Department, Cairo, and a member of the Society, has had published, by Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., an interesting article on the language of Egypt. Among the foreign languages prevalent in the country he gives the first place to French, at the same time pointing out that English at present runs French very close. With regard to the native speech, he divides the Arabic in use into three classes—the Arabic of the common people, that of the educated classes, and the Arabic of the newspapers. The last closely approximates to the classical style, and there has been during the past six years a movement for the extension of classical Arabic. The present-day problem is whether the Arabic language is capable of serving as the medium of instruction in modern subjects. One may agree with the conclusion that there need be no difficulty on that score, as soon as a sufficient number of well-educated Egyptians shall have covered the higher fields of science in Europe, so as to enable them to treat of these subjects in their own native tongue. To the writer the idea that it is necessary to wait for the improvement of the education of the masses until the alphabet has become Europeanized and the spoken language replaces the literary language, has always appeared to be an

empty dream; and if improvement were to have to be deferred until a change had been made so foreign to the whole spirit of the country, the prospect would indeed be hopeless. Mr. Robb's opinion on this subject appears to be entirely sound, and it does not seem to be open to question that the Arabic language properly handled is an adequate instrument to convey any thought that is capable of being put into words by human intelligence.

THE STUDY OF THE CHINESE CLASSICS

The Board of Education has notified us that the Chinese Government has made arrangements to admit foreigners on equal terms with Chinese students to the course of lectures on the Oriental Chinese Classics in the University at Peking. This concession will no doubt be highly appreciated by Europeans residing in China who wish to study the ancient literature of that country and the various topics connected with it.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE IRSHĀD AL-'ARĪB ILA MA'RIFAT AL-ADĪB, OR DICTIONARY OF LEARNED MEN OF YĀQŪT. Edited by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. Vol. iii, pt. i, containing part of the letter ح. pp. xv + 219. Leyden, Brill : London, Luzac & Co. : 1910.

We see with pleasure the second volume of Professor Margoliouth's work followed, at scarcely a year's interval from our notice of it in the JRAS., 1909, pp. 773-81, by the first part of the third volume, which, in regard to variety of interest, in no way falls short of its predecessors. In its compass, which covers the letter H down to and including the notice of al-Hasan b. Maimūn al-Naṣrī, the author has found occasion to give biographical notices of great importance, which provide, and that more copiously than do the works of previous writers, data of surpassing interest for the intellectual history of Islam. The earlier portions of the work made us aware of the wealth of material which Yāqūt was enabled to utilize by reason of his wide travel and his habit of getting into personal touch with his informants (see p. 65, l. 1). In the portion of the work now before us we find him availing himself of biographical material derived directly from informants, and frequently relying for his quotations on copies in the actual hand of their authors (pp. 12, 12; 14, 4; 19, 3; 58, 8; 131, *infra*; 169. 12); on p. 54, 9 ff., are recorded various autograph Simā'. He often gives us a scientific estimate of the nature of the material he has before him; if his copy be not wholly correct, he does not ignore the fact (p. 22, 2), nor does he maintain through thick and thin

the trustworthiness of his sources, but points out critically their deficiencies; and he expressly tells us when a work he cites from is not before him, but is quoted from recollection only (p. 85, 10).

Numerous biographies of noted philologists occur in the volume, e.g. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, the two 'Askarī, Abū Nizār the "Monarch of Grammarians", Abu-l-'Alā al-Hamadhānī, etc.; but its *pièce de résistance* is the notice, amounting to a monograph, on Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfi (pp. 84-125). Here Yāqūt again makes copious drafts on Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, from whose lost works so much valuable information was given in the preceding volumes, as we incidentally pointed out in reviewing vol. ii. In the present volume (p. 86, 4 a.f.) we again meet the Eulogy of Djāhīz (نقريط عمرو بن بحر), quoted already in vol. i, p. 141, l. 12, in an extract from it taken by Yāqūt from an autograph by its author. The material drawn from Abū Ḥayyān for the notice of al-Sīrāfi—valuable in the extreme as giving us an insight into al-Sīrāfi's relations with his colleagues, and thus into the general intercourse of the learned world of the period—is taken from his محاضرة العلماء (passim) and from his كتاب الامتاع (p. 92, 2). Especially are we indebted to Yāqūt for having preserved to us in this notice an account of the philosophic discussion which took place A.H. 320 at the court of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt at Baghdad between Sīrāfi and the philosopher Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus in the presence of a large assemblage of learned and eminent persons. It is a strong testimony to that development of a philosophic method (اقامة اللسان على المنطق) in the domain of Arab philology which has been already treated by the reviewer in the ZDMG., 1877, vol. xxxi, pp. 545-9. In this discussion Sīrāfi sets out, as against his opponent, the reasons for not attempting to regard linguistic

matters from the point of view of a system of logic, and it was in a very similar spirit that Aḥmad b. al-Tayyib al-Sarachi (ob. A.H. 286), a pupil of al-Kindi, at an earlier date composed his *كتاب الفرق بين نحو العرب والمنطق* (Ibn abi Uṣaibia, i, p. 215). The discussion as recorded by Abū Hayyān has been independently edited by Professor Margoliouth in the pages of this Journal, 1905, pp. 79-129, with text based on that of Yāqūt, a translation, and an illuminating introduction to which I would add this, that the discussion is also recorded in a brief and summarized form in the *Mukābasāt* of Abū Hayyān, No. 22 (ed. Bombay, p. 21).

The biographical notices disclose many particulars of interest on Islamic questions, and to some of them I will draw attention. The story derived from Ibn Zūlāk, p. 8, i ff., of the application of a Hadith to the career of the Jewish convert Yaḳūb b. Killis, the favourite and vizier of the Fatimide Caliph 'Azīz, is a marked contribution to the character of that remarkable man, and supplements very happily the portrait given of him in Ibn al-Qalānisi (ed. Amedroz, p. 32). Again, bearing in mind what we were told in vol. ii of the boundless conceit of the Ṣāḥib ibn 'Abbād, it is peculiarly curious to find here this very vain personage requesting a correspondent, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisi, and that in decided contradiction to the contemporary practice so vividly depicted by Hilāl al-Sābi (ed. Amedroz, p. 148 ff.), to refrain in his case from using the customary exaggerated and inflated styles of address, and to restrict himself to the minimum possible. And it must have been a matter of rare occurrence for a born Moslem to be so familiar with Hebrew, as we are told was the case with the Egyptian philologer, al-Ḥasan b. al-Zīr (ob. A.H. 598), that a learned Jew should assert on oath that he would be taken to be a Rabbi (حبر). It is indeed recorded of many Moslem theologians, amongst others of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi, that they were well acquainted with the Taurāt

(ZDMG., vol. xxxii, p. 360: ZATW., vol. xiii, p. 315; cf. also Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 757, de Sl. Eng., iii, p. 468, who says of Abu-l-Faṭḥ al-Mausilī, ob. A.H. 639, that he expounded to Jews the Taurāt), yet no complete knowledge of the Hebrew language should therefore be assumed in these persons, for their knowledge of the Hebrew Bible can be accounted for by Arabic translations. Certain it is, however, that the Hebraic linguistic ability of al-Ḥasan b. al-Zi'r was considered in Moslem circles to be a phenomenal exception.

A very welcome addition to the information I was able to put together on the dogmatic Madhhab of the *سالمية* (ZDMG., vol. lxi, p. 73 ff.) occurs in this volume, p. 153, 3 a.f.; it tells us of the gross anthropomorphic conception which they formed of the Deity; and a representative of the Madhhab, Abū 'Alī al-Ahwāzī (ob. A.H. 446, in Damascus), is shown engaged in forming a special collection of ḥadīth-sentences with a view to the propagation of false traditions calculated to further the coarse and materialistic conception.

Among passages of special interest in the volume may be instanced on pp. 169 ff. an exchange of satirical letters between Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān and Rashīd Waṭwāṭ, the former accusing the latter of having wrongfully appropriated and plagiarized his works—an accusation which is repelled by Rashīd Waṭwāṭ so cleverly as to form a masterpiece of epistolary skill. It were an easy matter to go on noting details of interest—and indeed Sirāfi's digression on the treatment in law of nabīdh (p. 94) must not be passed over wholly unnoticed—but to continue thus would lead us too far away from the scope of this review.

Readers of the two earlier volumes will bear in mind the severe difficulties which beset the edition of the text, and the carefuhness with which Professor Margoliouth assailed the imperfections of his MS., hitherto his sole material for this important work. These difficulties he has again

had to face in this volume. and he has been at pains, and with success, to correct in foot-notes with critical acumen many weak points of his text. In many cases he has very happily emended inadmissible readings, although in some few cases I should be disposed to retain those that yield an intelligible meaning. Such cases are: p. 19, n. 3: p. 109, n. 5: and p. 157, n. 1, where the phrase *انه لم يكن فيه بذاك* is identical with that occurring in vol. ii, 276, 6, as amended by me, JRAS., 1909, p. 779, *فيه* referring to *الشعر*.

On the following passages I submit to the editor certain emendations, some in amplification of his own, and some expressing dissent therefrom. In some places it may be only a question of printers' errors.

PAGE LINE

- 5 4 العذار (Margol العذار), read العذار.
- 7 1 Inasmuch as both the hemistichs terminate in نازح ,
the last word of the first should perhaps read نازح .
- 14 5 والفُرس , read والفُرش , "hangings." more appropriate to
the context.
- 19 12 لأنّ , read لأنّ .
- 27 4 ترد has no meaning. The context requires some such
word as تبارى , which, although remote from the
reading of the MS., is nevertheless possibly right
having regard to its apparent condition
- 30 penult. في رغبة. read رغبة.
- 33 4 مهدياً .. مَجْرًا , "riding camel."
- 39 6 a.f. مربع .. مربعًا .
- 62 13 التتال , read التتال . Cf. my *Muh. Studien*, i, 122.
- 63 4 التتال ,
- 70 10 الى , read ابي in apposition to الشيخ .
- 77 9 After ومات insert ابن .

PAGE LINE

- 103 13 إِمْوَاهُ, read فَوَى .
- 105 7 إلى رقة ., في دق .
- 106 10 التقيام ,, التقياس (perhaps التقياس as 81, ult).
- 107 2 والاحتجاب ,, والاحتجاب .
- 114 5 الشقيق .. الشقيق . "this hair-splitting." Cf. Muḥṣad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 98, الذين يشققون الكلام تشقيق الشعر; also, of artificial mode of speech, ib. ii, 94, تشقيق الكلام من الشيطان; and cf. Ibn Sa'd, v. 64, 21, تكلموا وإيتاى وتشقيق الكلام .
- 118 4 بَيْنَ . read بَيْنَ .
- 119 12 عَلَيْكُمْ .. عَلَيْكُمْ . Cf. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüst. Fasc. iv. 40, No. 326, and ed. Būlāk, i, 330, 8 a f, where we are told of the philologist in question, Abu-l-'Abbās al-Nāshī ibn Shīrshīr كان نقود علم الكلام فد نقض على الحركات metre and his application thereto of "Kalām", cf. W.Z.K.M. 1903, p. 188, a passage which must be borne in mind for the due understanding of the point of view of Nāshī here dwelt on.
- 125 1 فَوَادِك, read فَوَادِك .
- 127 10 العلوم ,, العيون .
- 133 penult. النعش .. النعش . "a litter."
- 135 12 اَوْضَاعِهِم gives no plausible meaning; I conjecture اَوْضَاعِهِم, "these two were the vilest of them," i.e. of the poets who repaid their Mæcenas' favours with lampoons.
- 134 5 a.f. { In this metrically faulty hemistich we have the
- 135 2 { Saoshyant of the Zoroastrians in the form of شوثن . This is assuredly not the right reading, and the word occurs in a yet more corrupt form in

the Cairo edition of Djāhiz' *Ḥayawān*, vi. 162, 3 a.f. **سومين**, and ib. vii. 78, 6. **سرفين**. with, in the first passage, the added explanation, at variance with that in this text: **يخرج على بقرة ذات فرون . وسعه سبعون رجلاً عليهم جلود الثور**. An examination of good MSS. of Djāhiz might produce the correct reading.

139 6 a.f. **دون المنقول** . read **مقولته** . in opposition to **دون المنقول**.

148 10 **نعمه بن قتر** . **نعمه بن قتر** . the highest link in Hirmāz' pedigree

156 6 a.f. **أبراهيم عليه** . read **أبراهيم عليه** .

166 7 **استغاثت** .. **استغاثت** .

170 12 **الاجداث** .. **الاجداث** .

172 5 a.f. **التركائب** .. **التركائب** .

With the volume now before me the contents of the Bodleian MS. used up to this point by Professor Margoliouth are exhausted. He will now give a sigh of relief, for in the further prosecution of his work he will not be restricted to this irksome subject-matter, but will have better and more trustworthy material at his disposal. The text will not proceed continuously: a gap will now occur extending to the notice of 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad, at which point Professor Margoliouth will enter on a volume to be numbered V. For this part of the work he has had a good MS. placed at his disposal by Professor Muḥammad 'Abbās of Bombay, and we may therefore confidently expect that the further portions of this valuable source of history, by the publication of which the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial are rendering us in our studies a very material service, will at no distant date be placed within our reach by Professor Margoliouth.

THE ĀITAREYA ĀRAṆYAKA, edited from the Manuscripts in the India Office and the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes, and an Appendix containing the portion hitherto unpublished of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, Part IX.) Oxford, 1909.

THE ŚĀṆKHĀYANA ĀRAṆYAKA, with an Appendix on the Mahāvrata. By the same. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XVIII.) London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1908.

In these works, the second of which is intended to be supplementary to the first, Mr. Keith deals comprehensively and exhaustively with the Āraṇyakas or "Forest-portions" attached to the two Brāhmaṇas of the Rig-Veda — the Āitareya and the Śāṅkhāyana or Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas. He has edited with great skill and judgment the text of the whole of the Āitareya Āraṇyaka and of all that portion of the Śāṅkhāyana which was previously unpublished. viz. adhyāyas vii–xv, while he has fully translated and most carefully elucidated both of these obscure and difficult treatises. The task which he has thus successfully accomplished was one which demanded a combination of profound learning with critical ability, and also, it may be added, an unusual degree of patience.

In regard to the definition of the term "Āraṇyaka" and the original purport of the compositions so styled, two somewhat different views are held by scholars. Some, like Mr. Keith, suppose that the Āraṇyakas were intended to teach that mystical interpretation of the sacrificial ritual which, being regarded as too sacred for the common ear, was communicated to the elect in the solitude of the jungle (*araṇye*). Other scholars, like Professor Deussen, hold that the Āraṇyakas were specially designed for the Brāhman in the third stage of his spiritual advancement,

when, after having fulfilled the duties of student and householder, he became a recluse (*aranyaka-vāsīn* or *vāṇaprastha*) as a preparation for the fourth stage, in which, abandoning all contact with the world and with the religion of works, he devoted the remainder of his life solely to contemplation on the Supreme Soul, the Ātman. That the treatises, which specially deal with the doctrine of the Ātman, and are, therefore, particularly appropriate to this final stage, are the Upaniṣads, all authorities agree. The only debatable question is whether or not the Āranyakas properly so called and the Upaniṣads, which are usually embedded in them or appended to them, were definitely intended for two distinct classes of Brāhmins in two distinct stages of religious progress. If so, we must admit that these two classes of documents differ essentially in kind, and we must conclude that a less advanced philosophical position in any particular Āranyaka is not necessarily a sign of its earlier date when compared with any particular Upaniṣad. If not, we may readily assent to the guiding principle which Mr. Keith lays down, viz., that, in comparing these documents generally, we must take them as we find them, apart from any prepossessions of our own as to their character, and apart also from the manifest prepossessions of the commentators, Śaṅkara and the others. "All that can be done now," he says (Ait. Ār., p. 40), "is to take the Upaniṣads [a term which he uses to include a work which some other scholars would call an Āranyaka] and endeavour to extract what seems to be the most natural meaning from the actual words."

Here the fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish between an Āranyaka and an Upaniṣad—between a work which is predominantly occupied with the mystic significance of the ritual and one which is predominantly purely theosophic in character; and this difficulty is explained by another fact, viz. that

the third stage of a Brāhman's career was in its very nature transitional—it was especially intended to bridge over the gulf which separates a religion of works (*karma*) from a religion of pure knowledge (*jñāna*). As Mr. Keith well remarks (Ait. Ār., p. 15), “No doubt the tendency was for the secret explanation to grow independent of the ritual until the stage is reached where the Āraṇyaka passes into the Upaniṣad.”

Now in the Aitareya and Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyakas there are included certain treatises which are universally regarded as Upaniṣads. Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii, 4–6, constitutes the Aitareya Upaniṣad. Adhyāyas iii–vi of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka form the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, while adhyāya ix consists of a portion of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. The title Upaniṣad is also given to a mystical work on the Saṃhitā, Pada, and Krama texts of the Rig-Veda—the so-called Saṃhitopaniṣad—which appears in different versions both in the Aitareya, book iii, and in the Śāṅkhāyana, adhyāyas vii and viii. There remains a section of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii, 1–3, which Mr. Keith, in this respect following Max Müller, classes as an Upaniṣad, but which Professor Deussen regards as “ein wirkliches Āraṇyakam, bestimmt, den im Walde nicht mehr ausführbaren Kultus durch die Meditation über denselben zu ersetzen” (*Sechzig Upanishad's*, p. 13). This difference of opinion involves a completely different attitude on the part of these two authorities in regard to the position which this document (Ait. Ār., ii, 1–3) should be supposed to occupy in the history of Indian thought. Comparing its tenets with those of the Aitareya Upaniṣad (= Ār., ii, 4–6), which immediately follows it, and with those of other Upaniṣads, Mr. Keith shows that they contain no trace of certain doctrines concerning the Ātman which are characteristic of the earlier Upaniṣads, and therefore has no hesitation in concluding that “Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii, 1–3, which forms

a unity. is the oldest Upanisad extant " (Ait. Ār., p. 43). At the same time, he fully admits that it "is intended in some degree to supersede sacrifice, or rather while assuming sacrifice to explain it mystically, the mystic meaning being the essential part", a fact which led Professor Deussen to classify it definitely as an Āraṇyaka, and therefore to put it out of comparison, so far as any consideration of philosophical standpoint is concerned, with Upaniṣads strictly so called.

For the present, then, opinions will remain divided as to the validity of Mr. Keith's views in regard to this particular point. His main conclusions as to the relative dates of the two great divisions of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, viz. books i-iii and iv, v, and of the two Āraṇyakas generally when compared with each other, will probably meet with fuller acceptance. He gives good reasons for believing that on the whole the Aitareya is earlier than the Śāṅkhāyana, and that the first three books of the Aitareya are considerably older than the last two. As concerns this latter question, his careful examination of the evidence afforded by the language and the employment of the tenses is particularly interesting and satisfactory. After a thoroughly well-informed discussion of the chronological questions connected with this period of Sanskrit literature, he comes to the conclusion that the first three books of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka must date from the period between 700 B.C. and 550 B.C., and that there is no reason to doubt the traditional attribution of books iv and v respectively to Āśvalāyana and Śaunaka, both of whom probably flourished about 500 or 450 B.C.

The contents of these two Āraṇyakas, as is the case, indeed, with the literature of this period generally, are of the most varied character and of the most unequal value. They are characterized by a simplicity which is sometimes beautiful but more often puerile, combined with a mysticism which occasionally seems to reflect the

awe felt by early thinkers in the presence of the Unknown, but which more frequently appears to us utterly perverse and irrational. For example, we find in Ait. Ār., ii, 3, 3, a passage beginning *Sa eṣa puruṣaḥ samudraḥ*, which compares man to the ocean, that eternal emblem of unsatisfied desire, and in a few short sentences describes his restless ambition in a somewhat striking manner—"whatsoever he gaineth, beyond that doth he strive," etc.: but the section in which this passage occurs is immediately followed by one which Mr. Keith, with some justice, stigmatizes as "unusually foolish" (Ait. Ār., p. 218, n. 1). Again, the observation that "A child when it first speaks utters the word of one or two syllables, *tata* or *tāta*", may be generally true; but that it does so because Prajāpati "uttered this as the first word" is the statement of a mystic, while the asserted connexion of this early form of speech with the Sanskrit pronoun *tad*, "this," is that of a primitive philologist (Ait. Ār., i, 3, 3, p. 181). In the same way it may be that "in sleep a man breathes *bhūr bhūh*"; but it does not necessarily follow that he does so because he is thus reproducing the Sanskrit root-noun which signifies "being" (ibid., i, 8, p. 210); although, in regard to this question, it must be remembered that in quite modern times certain of those philosophers who seek to pierce beyond the phenomena of language in their quest to discover its sources have seriously maintained that the root *bhū-* may have been intended originally to represent the actual sound of breathing.

Ait. Ār., ii, 3, 8, contains certain *tristubh* verses which appear to summarize the substance of the preceding prose portions, after the manner of the *gāthās* in many Pali works. Mr. Keith is probably correct in supposing that, like the *gāthās*, these verses are older than the corresponding prose, which should thus be regarded as an amplification of their subject-matter. These verses are, as Mr. Keith points out, somewhat irregular and decidedly

ancient in their form. It may be observed, however, that one of the supposed irregularities (v. p. 223, n. 1) disappears on examination. The last line of verse 4 is printed as

svargam lokam apiyeti vidvān.

but when read in accordance with the ordinary principles of Vedic prosody it would be

svargam lokam apieti vidvān.

a *tristubh* of normal form. The other irregularity referred to in the same note (on the assumption that "1" in "the first verse of 1" is a misprint for "3") is

yad vāca om iti yacca neti.

a ten-syllable line as it stands. This irregularity must probably be accepted, unless, indeed, we may suppose that the syllable *om*, which is undoubtedly *pluta* in the Brāhmaṇas, can be scanned as a dissyllable—

yad vāca ā3um iti yacca neti.

The historical importance of the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad, which has already been mentioned as occurring in both Āraṇyakas, lies chiefly in the fact that, as Max Müller first pointed out in his edition of the Rig-Veda Prātiśākhya, it presupposes at this early date (700–550 B.C.) a familiar acquaintance with the three *pāṭhas* of the Rig-Veda. It also contains incidentally some interesting glimpses of the progress of early grammatical study. But as for its contents—surely they must plumb the very lowest abyss of human imbecility! The text of this production, as it appears in the Śāṅkhāyana especially, is in many places corrupt, and the sense—if, indeed, one may use the word at all in this connexion—is often obscure. If the Saṃhitā "Upaniṣad" is thus irksome and wearisome to the reader, what, indeed, must it have been to the editor and translator!

Another subject which occupies considerable portions of both Āraṇyakas (Ait., books i and v; Śāṅkh., adhyāyas i, ii)

is the Mahāvratā ceremonial, which is interesting as preserving, long after they had ceased to be significant, many traces of a primitive nature-worship which find their counterparts in the folk-lore and the observances of uncivilized man in very diverse parts of the world. To the discussion and explanation of this ceremonial Mr. Keith devotes the appendix added to his translation of the Śāṅkhāyana. He concludes that, in its origin, "the Mahāvratā is a ritual of the Winter solstice, and that it combines within itself the characteristics of a spell to produce the heat of the sun and the fall of rain, so as to bring about fertility for the land, while more directly still it is designed to stimulate human and animal productiveness" (Śāṅkh. Ār., p. 85).

Mr. Keith's volumes suggest so many points of interest that it is difficult for a reviewer to know where to stop. But this notice, long as it is, must not conclude without mention of what many scholars will regard as the most characteristic and the most important feature of Mr. Keith's work—the extraordinarily full notes which accompany his translation of the Aitareya. In these the subject-matter and the language of the two Āraṇyakas are illustrated and elucidated with a profusion of varied learning which is truly marvellous. Some of these notes deal with special points almost in the manner of an excursus, and sum up all the evidence which can be brought to bear on difficult questions in a concise form which makes them exceedingly valuable for reference. Many of the difficulties which fill later Vedic works of this kind must remain unsolved or only partly solved for the present; and after the scholar has done his best with the material at his disposal, he must often conclude with Mr. Keith, "This may be correct, but it is very obscure" (Ait. Ār., p. 184, n. 1). It would certainly not be easy to name anyone in recent years who has done more to dispel this obscurity than Mr. Keith: and if he has not always

succeeded, he may solace himself with a text taken from Aitareya Āraṇyaka. ii. 4. 3—*Parokṣapriyā iva hi devāḥ*. "For the gods love mystery."

EDWARD J. RAPSON.

RESEARCHES ON PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF EASTERN ASIA (FURTHER INDIA AND INDO-MALAY PENINSULA).

By Colonel G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S. London: Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Geographical Society, 1909.

It is impossible, within the limits of space here available, to do full justice to a work of nearly one thousand pages teeming with innumerable matters of detail. Colonel Gerini's monograph, besides discussing the Ptolemaic geography of the region specified in the title, deals at great length with a number of problems of its historical geography. It contains a vast amount of material drawn from the most diverse sources many of which are quite inaccessible to the ordinary reader, and will therefore be of great utility as a work of reference and a storehouse of learning on the matters to which it refers. In this respect its usefulness is much enhanced by the excellent index which has been provided. Indeed, without the index we should have considerable difficulty in finding our way through the book, the more so as it includes a long list of Addenda and Corrigenda containing much important material that has been made available during the several years that elapsed while the work was passing through the press.

Any criticisms that I may venture to offer must therefore be read as subject to what has just been said. The book, as is but natural in a work of its kind, offers an immense number of points for criticism. Indeed, one would like to see a series of articles dealing *seriatim* with all the many different issues that it raises. I cannot, of course, attempt anything of the sort: and I am somewhat

apprehensive lest in singling out particular matters for mention here I may seem to be doing less than justice to the author's extensive scheme of work. For the painstaking labour, original research, and wide reading which the book displays on every page there can be nothing but commendation. But in appraising the actual results I confess that I have been frequently dissatisfied and unconvinced. No doubt much of this feeling of inconclusiveness is inevitably due to the nature of the subject: many of the results are bound, at best, to be more or less matters of opinion. But in a great many cases Colonel Gerini's hypotheses appear to me to be too bold. It is his business to seek for explanations, and he is apt to be satisfied with plausible conjectures and inferences of very doubtful validity. In particular, his etymologies are often of the wildest character: in fact, he frequently offers us three or four to choose from, leaving the impression that any one of them is as good as any other. The critical inference in such cases must necessarily be that none of them can be accepted with any degree of confidence. The matter is made worse when an inference (which may or may not be right) is stated as if it were an indubitable fact. These seem to me to be very serious faults of method.

Let me give a few typical instances. The etymology of place-names is very generally, for obvious reasons, a matter of some doubt; I therefore select a few cases, of no special importance in themselves, where it is possible to come to a pretty definite issue. On p. 403 (in the note) the author tells us that *bārat*, the ordinary Malay word for "west", is "the mere Malay corruption" of the Mon (Talaing) equivalent *palāt* or *palait*. Now the Malay word is an old Malayo-Polynesian word found in numerous languages of the Archipelago with various meanings which point back to its having originally denoted the south-west monsoon or a storm from that

quarter: and there is not the slightest ground for connecting it etymologically with the Mon word, which is derived from a verb meaning "to extinguish", and refers therefore to the setting of the sun. On p. 261 (note) the author suggests that the term *rākṣasa* may perhaps survive in a corrupted form in the name of the Rayat Utan or Jakan (it should, by the way, be Jakun) tribes of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula and in the name of the Rochor River at Singapore. He ought to know that *rayat* is an Arabic word (رَجَبَة), and cannot therefore have anything to do with *rākṣasa*. As for the river-name, there seems to be no reason why it should be connected with it either. The word *rākṣasa* appears in Malay as *raḥsasa*, not *rochor*. In discussing the etymology of the place-name Perimula Colonel Gerini (p. 110) suggests as possible a derivation from the Sanskrit *pulina*, "sand-bank," through a supposed compound *pulina-māla*, which he thinks might mean a long succession or accumulation of sand-banks. As to this I am in no position to offer an opinion. But when he goes on to surmise that his hypothetical *pulina-māla* is the origin of the Malay word *permatang* (*pĕrmutang* is the usual spelling) one must really cry a halt. By no conceivable process can the latter word be derived from the former, even assuming that *pulina-māla* had a real existence. Sanskrit words in Malay do not suffer such violent changes; and *pĕrmutang* is a native Malay word for which it would be useless to seek a Sanskrit origin. (Favre and Wilkinson are probably right in connecting it with *batang*: see their respective dictionaries.) I cannot think that such etymological speculations as these are of any scientific value. Again, if it be true (as stated on p. 80) that the Shelaheth sea of the Arab geographers and navigators is merely a transliteration of the Śrī-lohita of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, then clearly the former cannot be etymologically identified with the Malay *sĕlat*,

“strait.” For this last is a native Malay word derived from a Malayo-Polynesian root, and so ancient in the language that it appears to be the origin of the Malay *sĕlatan*, “south.” I am not prepared to say whether the Indian or the Malay term (or neither) is the original of the Arabic one; but it is impossible that both should be. For the place-name Bēsynga the author (pp. 75 seq., 509 n. 2, 729, 750) has suggested various etymologies, eventually giving the preference to one which would derive it from a Mon expression *hī cīn*, meaning “elephant-river”, and identify it with the Irawadi, apparently on the ground (*inter alia*) that Indra’s elephant was named Airāvata. One would like to have some evidence that the Irawadi was in fact ever called “elephant-river”. Besides, Airāvati was a river-name in Northern India, from which country so many of the place-names of Indo-China have been bodily transferred. Surely the most that can be said for the suggested derivation is that it is not impossible. On the other hand, I note that the Mon name of the Salwin River is Bi Sanlon, which is just as likely to have been the original of Ptolemy’s Bēsynga, and agrees somewhat more closely with it in geographical position (though that is not a point I should be disposed to make very much of).

I have mentioned these cases of what appears to me to be rash etymology because they are to a certain extent representative and constitute an unsatisfactory side of the author’s treatment of his subject. Hypothetical identifications are a favourite topic of his. Let me now turn to matters in connexion with which I consider his work really valuable. Here, among much else that is good, I would especially draw attention to the useful compilations which he gives of the historical and geographical data relating to various places that have been mentioned by different ancient authorities. The data relating to Palembang and Samudra, for example, have been collected

in chronological order and are presented in a form which is eminently convenient for reference and gives a great deal of useful information in a small compass. The same has been done for several other places, and all this is good work which will be of great assistance to further research. No doubt there may in certain cases be differences of opinion as to Colonel Gerini's novel views on some of the places which he deals with in this manner. I am not prepared to accept offhand his contention that Java in the old authors never means Java and that Malayu is always the Malay Peninsula. After all, Java has a very ancient civilization of Hindu origin, and if the island remained unknown to the old Arab navigators the circumstance is very remarkable, for with its superior soil and higher culture it would surely have been a better mart for them than Sumatra, which they knew so well. Malayu, in the fourteenth century Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, certainly means Sumatra and nothing else: I do not think Colonel Gerini mentions this fact, which is a material piece of evidence. However, these matters are arguable, and there is a good deal to be said on both sides.

A much more fundamental point is the question which has been raised by Professor Barth (and others) as to the author's whole method of dealing with the Ptolemaic data. It has been said, quite truly, that even in regions much nearer home, where the information at the old geographer's disposal must have been much superior to that which was available from Further India, Ptolemy's maps exhibit the most extraordinary distortions of the actual shape of continents. How, then, can a method of correction be sound which in some cases reduces such glaring errors to within a few minutes of latitude and longitude? The verdict *ingeniosius quam verius* is a natural one under the circumstances. Yet I think it is mistaken. Ptolemy's data were plainly of varying

degrees of accuracy. He endeavoured to combine them into a consistent whole. In doing so he was unfortunately influenced by certain preconceived ideas (as, for instance, that the coast of China ran southwards from the Gulf of Tongking), which introduced additional errors into his picture. The result is that his maps are much distorted. Nevertheless, if anyone will draw up, as I have done in order to test the point, a map of Further India based purely on Ptolemy's statements, he will see that the main points of the coastline are perfectly recognizable. The same may be seen on Colonel Gerini's map, though there the numerous details tend to make the recognition more difficult; but there can be no doubt as to the leading features of the outline. That being so, it only remains to be seen how far the intermediate stations partake of the general errors of distortion which in varying degrees affect the whole plan. If, for example, the south-eastern point of Indo-China is clearly discernible on Ptolemy's map and likewise the Gulf of Tongking, it follows that places on the coast of Annam must be looked for somewhere between these two points.

That is what Colonel Gerini has done all over the field: and he has succeeded in several cases in showing that the places mentioned by Ptolemy do in fact (when allowance has been made for his errors of reckoning) coincide quite closely with actual ancient sites. He infers (in my judgment quite correctly) that some at least of the Ptolemaic data are based on accurate observations, astronomical it may be, which in those cases would have given results approximating very closely to the truth if Ptolemy had not modified them so as to fit them into his general scheme. In other words, if we had Ptolemy's data instead of his conclusions, we should be able to construct from them a much more correct map of Indo-China than he has done himself. Surely there is nothing antecedently improbable in this view; and when we find that in

reconstructing the Ptolemaic map on these lines Colonel Gerini has in fact found that well-known ancient sites do actually fit into the positions which we know they ought to have occupied in the Ptolemaic map, it follows that his method is in its main lines at any rate a sound one. There remain, of course, a number of places with regard to which the data were less accurate, and no doubt there is a possibility of error in such cases. I cannot, for instance, understand why Colonel Gerini does not accept Ptolemy's Sabana as being situated on the extreme southern point of the Malay Peninsula (or some closely adjacent island, such as Singapore) instead of looking for it somewhere on the west coast of the Peninsula. Surely, if the trade-route ran round the Peninsula, Sabana would represent the point where ships going to the Far East turned into the China Sea, which would be the natural spot for a trading station. These are matters of detail in regard to which I conceive there is room for much difference of opinion. But they do not seriously affect the main lines of Colonel Gerini's work of reconstruction.

This notice will have served its purpose if it draws the attention of students to a work which in several respects is of great importance and deserves to be critically studied. Probably very few readers will be prepared to accept all the author's conclusions: but no one who reads the book in a discriminating spirit can fail to gain much valuable information from it.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

WURZEL UND WORT IN DEN INDONESISCHEN SPRACHEN.
 Von RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. Luzern: Buchhandlung
 Haag, 1910.

This little monograph deals in Dr. Brandstetter's characteristically accurate and systematic manner with the roots and stem-words of the Malayo-Polynesian

languages. The essence of the matter is this. The normal type of an "uncompounded" word, actually used as such, in this family is dissyllabic. These dissyllabic words are, broadly speaking, the atoms of speech, for they cannot be split up into smaller portions capable of being used. But they are not really atoms, but rather molecules. For on comparing a series of them we find in many cases that a common syllable runs through the series, while the other syllable differs in each word. Thus in Old Javanese there is a series *siṅgul*, *aṅgul*, *taṅgul*, and *agul*, all words bearing more or less allied meanings. The natural inference is that these are all built up from a root **gul*. Speaking generally, that is the subject-matter of the work. It deals with the extraction of these roots from the actual stem-words, describes the nature of the roots, shows how they are built up into stem-words, and describes the stem-words which are thus constructed.

The matter is not so simple as it looks. Although scholars are now agreed that the Malayo-Polynesian languages were in fact constructed originally from monosyllabic roots, there is still some difference of opinion as to the precise nature of the process by which these roots have been formed into the dissyllabic stem-words which are the normal type of these languages as we know them. Recently a view has been put forward that two processes have chiefly to be considered, viz. (1) the amalgamation or juxtaposition of two roots, e.g. (I take it arbitrarily as an illustration, not as an actual instance) that *siṅgul* is the product of two roots **siṅ* and **gul*, and (2) that the root has become dissyllabic by doubling its middle vowel and intercalating a semi-vowel, or some similar process, so that from root **taṅ* one would have words like **tayaṅ*, **tawañ*, and so forth. This is not the "orthodox" view, it is a recent theory, and it remains to be seen whether it can stand the process of investigation, and how much of the ground, if any, it can cover. The established view is

that the usual morphological process has been of a different kind, viz. that from the monosyllabic roots stem-words have been built up by means of formative syllables, usually prefixes, sometimes infixes, more rarely suffixes. Such formative syllables, though they are also in a sense roots, differ from what Dr. Brandstetter calls roots in that they cannot perform the functions of the latter: they are not capable of becoming the nuclei of words of substance. But they are sometimes identical in form with the agglutinated affixes which in the modern stage of these languages express grammatical relation or differentiate parts of speech.

It is no part of my business here to appraise the relative importance of the different modes of formation that have been suggested. I note that Dr. Brandstetter, while apparently not taking into account the supposed process of internal doubling of the vowel, etc., which has just been alluded to, recognises that the root is sometimes itself doubled and occasionally joined to another root to form a stem-word. But he lays the chief stress on the method of construction by formative syllables, especially prefixes. To that extent he is at one with the established view. The fundamental difficulty, of course, which one must face, is that on this theory the number of different formative syllables so used is very large, and it is very difficult to attach definite functions or meanings to them. What is really certain is that, whatever their ultimate origin, they had in many cases already become attached to the roots they now affect at a very remote period, in fact, in the common Malayo-Polynesian mother tongue from which the hundreds of existing languages of the family have branched off.

Another great difficulty lies in the nature of the roots themselves, using the word root here as the author does. Not only do we find roots which, while apparently identical in meaning, vary somewhat in form, e.g. in the

vowel or in the initial or final consonant, but we have the converse case of absolute identity of form combined with entire difference in meaning. All these circumstances make the analysis of Malayo-Polynesian words a very difficult matter.

I have said that as a rule the simple words in actual use in these languages are for practical purposes irreducible dissyllables. But there are certain exceptions. In particular, in some languages more than others, interjections are apt to be monosyllabic. Dr. Brandstetter makes considerable use of these, and treats them as if they necessarily displayed the crude form of the root. It is, of course, quite possible that in many cases they really may have preserved actual ancient roots unchanged. But one is tempted to ask whether in some instances, at any rate, these modern monosyllables may not after all be nothing but abbreviations of stem-words and their monosyllabism a secondary phenomenon. I should be inclined to answer this, at least theoretically, in the affirmative; and it is about the only point on which I am not prepared to accept implicitly the conclusions Dr. Brandstetter has arrived at.

For the rest, this monograph (like all Dr. Brandstetter's work) is a model of careful, scientific research, and marks a step in advance in the study of his subject. Both for the new facts it gives and for the illustration of method which it affords all students of comparative philology should be grateful to its author.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE BRAHUI LANGUAGE. Part I: Introduction and Grammar. By DENYS DE S. BRAY, I.C.S. Calcutta, 1909.

The Brāhūis have long been a puzzle alike to ethnologists and to students of language. Having their home in the

heart of Baluchistan, and possessors of a physical type which Sir Herbert Risley¹ characterizes as Turko-Eranian, their language nevertheless shows clear evidence of relationship with that of the Dravidian nationalities of Southern India. Their origin is a mystery. They themselves believe that they came originally from Aleppo, but this is a mere tradition with nothing to support it. Little can be gathered from their general physical type, for few peoples have undergone so great racial intermixture as they. Inter-marriages with Pathāns, Balōches, Persians, and Jatts have all contributed their quotas to the turbid stream, and but few tribes even pretend to a pure descent from their original forefathers who migrated (as they say) into Baluchistan from the far North-West. So mixed is the race that every Brāhūi is at least bilingual. The present Khan of Kalat, for instance, when a child used to talk Brāhūi with his mother and Balōch with his father and brothers, and some of the tribes hardly speak Brāhūi at all. Thus, the Mirwaris, true Brāhūis though they are by repute, speak Balōch almost to a man.²

Leaving the ethnological question to one side, as hardly relevant to the matter in hand, we may assert that the Brāhūi language has been discussed with more success. Lassen³ was, so far as I am aware, the first to class Brāhūi as Dravidian, but Caldwell,⁴ though admitting an infusion of Dravidian forms and words, hesitated to follow him to his conclusions. On the other hand, Trumpp,⁵ writing in 1881, said decisively that in his opinion "there can no longer be any doubt about Brāhūi being a Dravidian language". In spite, however, of the authority of Lassen

¹ *Report of the Census of India, 1901*, vol. 1, p. 500.

² Mr. Bray, in the work under review, p. 6.

³ *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1844, v, pp. 337 ff., and *IA*, I², p. 462.

⁴ *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 1st ed., p. 11.

⁵ *Grammatische Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Brāhūis*, Munich, 1881, p. 5.

and Trumpp, ethnologists have always shown an unwillingness to accept a classification that runs so counter to the physical characteristics of the tribe, and accordingly, in preparing the fourth volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Dr. Konow and myself took up the question *ab initio*. The result of our inquiries will be found detailed by Dr. Konow on p. 627 of that volume. The linguistic evidence compelled us to follow in the steps of Lassen and Trumpp, while we have ventured to advance a little further in the same direction by pointing out that the points of agreement are strongest between Brāhūi and the Dravidian languages spoken in Northern India—Kuruḡ and Malto. The framework of the *Linguistic Survey* does not admit of prolonged philological discussions, and the brief summary of reasons for which space was found has not received the assent of all scholars.¹ We can therefore the more cordially welcome the appearance of Mr. Bray's excellent work.

Hitherto the materials for the study of Brāhūi have been scanty enough. That mighty linguist, Leech, gave a short epitome of the grammar in 1830.² Bellew, in an Appendix to his *From the Indus to the Tigris*,³ also provided a short grammar and vocabulary. Alla Bux's *Handbook*⁴ and a reading-book by Captain Nicolson,⁵ both appearing in 1877, marked a considerable advance, but their usefulness is impaired by the employment of the Persian character, with a minimum of vowel points, for representing the Brāhūi words. Finally, in 1881, Trumpp published his *Grammatische Untersuchungen* already mentioned. His work, though most valuable, did not profess to be based upon original materials. It was

¹ e.g. Professor Vinson, in the *Revue de Linguistique*, 1907, xl, p. 201.

² JASB., vii, 538 ff.

³ London, 1874.

⁴ *Handbook of the Birouhi Language*, Karachi, 1877.

⁵ *Meanees, etc., being a Compilation of Extracts from Napier's Conquest of Scinde, Grant Duff's Mahratta History, etc., etc., translated into the Birouhi Language*, Karachi, 1877.

a summary of the information collected by his predecessors, and a discussion of the linguistic problems revealed by it. The brief sketch in the *Linguistic Survey* lays no claim for credit on the score of furnishing new facts, and it has been quickly followed by Mr. Bray's book published in 1909. Here we have, for the first time in connexion with Brāhūī, the inestimable advantage of first-hand observation combined with trained scholarship.

Mr. Bray spent four years in Baluchistan amongst the Brāhūīs, and has thus been able to pursue the study of their language independently of the work of his predecessors. He devotes most of his Introduction to the consideration of the linguistic affiliation of Brāhūī, and it seems to me that the proofs which he now brings forward must convince even the most sceptical among previous critics of the Dravidian theory. Its Dravidian relationship, in the light of the facts collected and collated by Mr. Bray, stares one in the face. Whether we consider phonetics, number, case-relation numerals, pronouns, conjugation, the formation of negative and causal bases, or even vocabulary, there can be only one verdict. As he says, "The Brāhūī language is sprung from the same source as the Dravidian language-group: it has freely absorbed the alien vocabulary of Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi, and other neighbouring languages, but in spite of their inroads its grammatical system has preserved its sturdy existence."

The book under review is labelled "Part I", and contains the Introduction and Grammar. Part II, it is understood, will consist of a full vocabulary. This will supply a real want which is much felt by students in the bypaths of philology. The Grammar is a great advance on anything that has hitherto been published regarding the language. So far as it is possible for anyone, except Mr. Bray himself, to judge, it is most complete. Specially important is the section devoted to phonetics, which

exhibits considerable care and discrimination. The transliteration follows the usual Indian system and is consistent throughout. Brāhūi phonology has peculiarities of its own that merit study. Not the least noteworthy, if it really exists, is the insertion of a euphonic *γain*, to prevent a hiatus between vowels, and of similar euphonic *n* and *ṭ* between certain nominal forms ending in a vowel and the verb substantive. If the *γain* is really euphonic, we may compare the reverse change of *gh* to *y* in the modern pronunciation of Irish words. As, for instance, the name of the town of Drogheda, called by the local people "Droyeda", where the *y* corresponds to the euphonic *y* between vowels in Prakrit. I have not sufficient knowledge of Brāhūi to say that Mr. Bray is wrong in classing these letters as euphonic, but the presence of the *γain* (used, as it is, only with substantives and adjectives) suggests to me the influence of Eranian forms of speech, in which the pleonastic nominal suffix *ka* has often developed into this letter. Compare, for instance, Avesta *kaufi* (*-ka*), Pahlavī *kōf* or *kōfi*-*k*, a hill, with the Persian *kōh*, a hill, and the Balōch *k'ofa*-*γ*, a shoulder. The *n* and the *ṭ* might also be similarly explained as pleonastic suffixes.

After the discussion of the phonetics of the language, accidence and syntax are dealt with together, and not separately, each part of speech being treated with a fulness and completeness that leave nothing to be desired. Mr. Bray's book will be useful, not only to students of language, but also to those whose official duties take them into Baluchistan, for it is built on eminently practical lines. It adds one more to the list of philological works that have been composed by members of the Indian Civil Service, and have been liberally and wisely printed and published by the Indian Government. All that remains is to express the hope that it will soon be followed by the Vocabulary which is intended to form the second gathering of the fruits of Mr. Bray's studies. G. A. GRIERSON.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE. By F. VON
WENCKSTERN. 2 vols.

To the student of Japanese literature, as well as to all interested in "things Japanese", these monumental volumes are absolutely indispensable. The first is a bibliography of Japan from 1859 to 1893, with a facsimile reprint of Léon Pagès' famous *Bibliographie Japonaise depuis le XVI^e siècle jusqu'à 1859*; the second continues the work down to the middle of 1906, with additions and corrections, and a very valuable supplement to the *Bibliographie*. The whole work is a marvel of patient industry and accurate presentation. Not merely the books published on Japanese subjects are fully catalogued, but the periodical literature on Japan is given as well. This latter portion of the task must have entailed immense research, and, as far as my examination goes, is thoroughly accomplished. I find, indeed, articles of my own authorship enumerated of which I had completely forgotten the existence, nor have I found a single omission of any contribution, of which I am aware, due to the pen of any writer on Japan known to me. The entries are arranged under categories of subjects, and include works by Japanese authors in European languages on subjects not relating to Japan in particular—a most useful and interesting section—lists of periodical and official publications in foreign languages printed in Japan, of Western periodicals dealing with Japanese subjects, lists of Japanese works of which texts or translations are published in the West, an index of authors, and a special catalogue of Swedish literature on Japan from the Middle Ages to the present day, by Miss Palmgren of the Royal Library in Stockholm. In a word, the two volumes form a complete presentation of all the literature on Japan accessible to the Western reader from the sixteenth century to 1906. It needs only to be supplemented by a translation of the *Gunsho Ichiran* and its last complement to give a view of the whole of the literature of and on Japan, and I trust

the author of these volumes may be induced to undertake a task peculiarly within his province, and one of no great difficulty. I ought to add that in the second volume will be found a most valuable and interesting—indeed, unique—descriptive catalogue of the art relics of old Japan from the earliest times to the end of the Tokuyawa period, preserved in the great Buddhist temples of Nara and Kyōto.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA. By E. THURSTON, C.I.E. Madras Government Press, 1909.

Mr. Thurston's long and honourable career as Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum eminently fitted him to be entrusted with the charge of the ethnographic survey sanctioned by the Government of India in 1901. His daily experience in the Museum had for many years familiarized him with the racial and tribal life of the peoples of South India in all ages, from the urn-burials, dolmens, and pottery of the far-off Iron Age to the caste customs of the present; while he had already for seven years carried out for his own purposes systematic anthropological investigations amongst the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris, and had instituted researches into the religion and practices of the various classes inhabiting the city of Madras. It was only natural, therefore, that upon him should be conferred the responsibility of conducting the new survey. In this work he was ably assisted by Mr. Rangāchārī, M.A., of the Government Museum.

The work thus begun and steadily carried on has resulted in the publication of seven bulky volumes, replete with valuable information and accompanied by a large number of photographic reproductions. With regard to the latter it must be said that in many cases they leave much to be desired, and that it is hardly creditable to our

Government that at the present day a standard work of reference should have been illustrated in any style but the very best.

Topinard's definition of anthropology and its allied sciences may be summed up thus—Anthropology is the general study of *man*; ethnography the study of particular aggregations of *men*; and ethnology proper the study in combination of all aggregations of *men*: the term "ethnology" combining in itself the two last. The survey conducted by Mr. Thurston was professedly ethnographic, and we should not therefore expect in these volumes any such generalizations or comparisons as belong more especially to the province of ethnology proper: it is necessary to call attention to this point lest anyone should be disappointed in not being able to obtain from them information wider than that which was embraced in the scope of the survey. There is, however, a certain amount of anthropology and a little ethnology in the Introduction, a table of head-measurements being given with a short discussion on prevailing types.

The subjects are treated separately and in alphabetical order—a convenient arrangement for ordinary reference, but one which will hardly satisfy those who desire to compare the customs of different tribes, or to trace the prevalence of some one custom amongst the scattered masses of the population of the Madras Presidency. A carefully prepared index would afford much assistance in this direction. At present there is none.

A good specimen of the contents of these volumes will be found in the notice of the Kurumba and Kuruba tribes. It has long been a subject for dispute whether these two are branches of the same tribe or whether they belong to two totally different ones. At the present day they are sharply differentiated from one another, the former being dwellers in the forests, hunters, gatherers of wild honey, uncivilized and undomesticated, while the latter are a part

of the ordinary agricultural population of the country, cultivators, shepherds, weavers, stonemasons, and the like, living with the rest in villages and towns. The author of the Madras Census Report of 1901 supported the theory advanced by some writers that these tribes are all really one, that "Kurumba" is the Tamil and "Kuruba" the Telugu and Kanarese form of the same name, and that in the name alone exists the difference, members of the same original tribe being civilized when they came to live amongst the rest of the people, and uncivilized when they clung to the forests. Mr. Thurston, however, holds a different opinion, and in proof of his correctness appeals to the results of his anthropological examination of a large number of individuals of both tribes, especially in the matter of their stature and nasal index. From this point of view he points out that the domesticated Kurubas who are found in the villages of Mysore, Bellary, and Kurnool are physically different from the jungle Kurumbas of the Nîlgiri Hills, who, he considers, are allied to the Kādîrs¹ of the Ānaimallai Hills, the Paniyans of Malabar, and the Mala Vēdāns or Hill Vēdāns of Travancore. He believes that the jungle Kurumbas are the remnant of the primitive Dravidian tribes of the south, driven into the hills long before the seventh century A.D.; while the civilized Kurubas belong to a totally different race. These last claim to be a branch of the agricultural Kāpus or Reddis, the largest and most influential caste in the villages of South India, cultivators, farmers, and landholders. It is curious, however, to notice that the practice of erecting stone dolmens over their graves still exists among some classes of Kurubas.

According to some authorities the Kurubas are the descendants of those agriculturists that formed the bulk

¹ Why "Kādîr"? Surely the spelling should be "Kādar", from *kāḍu-var*, "forest-folk."

of the rural population under the Pallava kings, a dynasty that was in great power from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., and by whom the aboriginal Dravidians, their descendants being the Kurumbas, were driven into the hills.

Mr. Thurston enumerates and describes the divisions, subdivisions, and exogamous septs of these tribes, and enters into a full description of their customs and religion; but he refrains, as he appears habitually to do, from any attempt at generalization.

Proper names throughout this work are of course spelt in the manner now authorized by the Government, but it is sad to see that some relics of bygone barbarism still remain. Take, for instance, the name of the River Krishnā. Nothing could be easier than to retain for ordinary use the correct spelling, though without the diacritical marks. This is a form that was in common use among Europeans, and was well established, until the Government of the day commanded a reversion to the antiquated anglicism "Kistna"—in the spirit apparently of those who thought it well to write "Cow-door" for Kāvudūru, or "Shore-coat" for Shorkōt. Did anyone ever hear of an avatāra of Vishṇu in the form of "Kistna"?

A few misprints have naturally crept in, but they are not numerous.

Mr. Thurston and Mr. Rangāchārī are to be congratulated on the successful completion of their task. Perhaps the former will favour us before long with a short general treatise on the ethnology of South India.

R. SEWELL.

[Copies of this work can be obtained from Messrs. Fisher Unwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace, W.C., the officially appointed agents for publications of the Indian Government.]

THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES. By L. K. ANANTHA
KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

The first volume of this work now published forms a valuable addition to the ethnographic series of South India. Mr. Thurston's seven volumes cover most of the ground, but Mr. Krishna Iyer's contribution to our knowledge is especially useful, inasmuch as it consists of a study of tribes and castes spread over a small area by a resident of the country peculiarly fitted by his birth and position to deal with the subject. As Mr. Beddoe in his Preface remarks, "He has had several great advantages. Thus, in the first place, he belongs to India by race and nativity; and had he not been so, it is hardly conceivable that he should have acquired such a vast mass of information on subjects which natives are usually very unwilling to discuss with Europeans." The high order of his English scholarship is manifest in every page of this work. Cochin and Travancore are tracts exceedingly interesting to the ethnologist, including as they do amongst the mass of the population a number of castes unknown in other parts of India, with customs, habits of dress, and social life peculiar to themselves. From early ages mountain barriers and wide-spreading forests have cut off the inhabitants of this region from the rest of the Peninsula; and their history is in a manner unique and often has to be studied apart from that of their neighbours. A future volume will no doubt deal with the higher castes, the Brahmans and the Nairs: the present one treats of the lowest tribes inhabiting the forests and plains—the Kādars, Malayans, Parayans, fishing castes, and the like—and in some respects these are the most interesting because the most primitive. Mr. Keane's remarks in his introductory note are much to the point: ethnographic work has been begun none too soon, since "Hinduism is steadily invading the haunts of the jungle peoples and thus gradually effacing many of the most

characteristic traits in the life of the childhood of mankind". It is in the persistence to the present day of so many of these primitive types, doomed no doubt to disappearance, and that perhaps in the near future, that the great value of such records as these consist.

Mr. Krishna Iyer's volume contains a number of excellent photographs, mostly taken by himself, generally showing the racial types but occasionally giving us views of the scenery of the hills, rivers, and villages; and with regard to these we may express our regret that in comparison with them Mr. Thurston's illustrations are often so poor.

We select for notice a few of the author's articles. The inhabitants of the hills, Kādars and Malayans, are described as wild and inoffensive tribes, shy, with no savage cruelty of disposition. The Kādars are evidently dying out, for at the last census they numbered only 310. They are essentially hunters, trackers, and honey-gatherers. The women make good wives and are models of constancy. The men are polygamous, but polyandry is unknown in the tribe. The son succeeds to the property of the father, and in this the Kādars differ from many of the other west coast castes. Their religion is a rude animism. Their dead are buried, and though dolmens, menhirs, and stone circles are found in the hills of Cochin the Kādars of to-day never erect any monument over their deceased relatives. They are extraordinarily expert in tree-climbing and fearless in their descents over precipices in the hunt for honey, wonderful trackers and daring elephant-catchers. They seem altogether to be a very attractive people, "quite simple, unsophisticated, and utter aliens to vice and trickery. They are plain and straightforward in their dealings, never tell a lie, and never deceive one another." They never shirk work, are quiet, submissive, "obeying the slightest

expression of a wish, and very grateful for any assistance or attention.¹

The Malayans are divided into two sub-tribes—Nāttu Malayans, probably the original inhabitants of the hills, and Konga Malayans, who seem to have immigrated from forests further east. In some places their huts are built above ground, a number of bamboos being cut to an even height, and the flooring constructed on their stumps. They are divided into clans. Among the Nāttu Malayans a nephew succeeds to the property of his maternal uncle, as with many other peoples of the west coast; but among the Konga Malayans the son inherits his father's possessions.

The Parayans have by some writers been classed as members of a hill-tribe, but Mr. Krishna Iyer holds to the opinion that this is not the case, but that, on the contrary, they have from a remote period been exclusively agricultural labourers. Though now outcasts from every caste, the Parayans preserve and cherish the memory of former greatness, regarding themselves as descendants of the original owners of the soil; and this may well be the case.² The author's description of the black magic and Oti cult of the Parayans (pp. 76–81) are interesting and valuable, but he goes rather too far in his assertion that the Parayans of the Tamil Districts "adore Śiva and Viṣṇu". Setting aside the more highly educated of this tribe it would be safe to assert that the ideas of the masses regarding the supernatural are still confined to belief in the powers for good or ill of a multitude of local deities, village goddesses, and malignant demons. The Parayans are complete outcasts, and in Cochin, as in other parts of India, their near presence is a pollution to any

¹ The author evidently considers that this description is a truly apt one, for he repeats the same words three pages later.

² Mr. Thurston (vi, 81 ff.) gives many good reasons for supposing that this belief is not without foundation.

caste - men : but, as might be expected from the geographical position of this tract, this pollution carries further than in the rest of the Madras Presidency. In Cochin it appears that a Parayan may not approach within half a furlong of a caste-man. British administration, with its strong tendency to extend justice to all alike, has to a large extent broken down these deep-rooted prejudices, and even Brahmans have to submit to the presence of Parayans within a few yards of their persons in our courts and offices.

The author's account of the manners and customs of the fishing castes and their devices for catching fish is very interesting, and the illustrations are excellent.

Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer's next volume will be welcomed, not only by ethnologists, but also by the general public; for apart from the scientific results obtainable from the present one it contains much that without exaggeration may be classed as good reading.

R. SEWELL.

DER RIGVEDA IM AUSWAHL. (ERSTER TEIL. GLOSSAR : ZWEITER TEIL, KOMMENTAR.) By KARL F. GELDNER. Stuttgart, 1907 and 1909.

It need hardly be said that anything from Professor Geldner's pen dealing with the *Rigveda* is of the highest value to Vedic studies, and the selection of hymns which he has chosen for study includes many of the most interesting and important of the hymns of the *Saṃhitā*, while the glossary not merely covers the uses of the words noted which occur in the hymns included in the selection, but in many cases extends to the whole of the *Rigveda*, and includes notices of other texts, such as the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*.

It must, however, be regretted that imperative considerations of space have prevented the discussion of the

views of other scholars on the hymns of which Professor Geldner treats. The *Rgveda* is on the whole a most difficult and obscure work, and progress to its adequate interpretation must needs in large measure be through careful enumeration and criticism of opposing views, just as the elucidation of classical works has been effected through constant critical work. Of course Professor Geldner in arriving at his own results has tested the renderings of others, and we must regard what he gives us as his deliberate opinion of what is the true sense of the passage. But no reasons are given for his decisions, and we miss the statement of grounds which might enable us to dismiss for good as impossible a variant interpretation. Moreover, though no doubt students of the selection may be expected to have the *Vedische Studien* available, some needless trouble might have been saved by brief references, both in the glossary and the commentary, to the relevant passages in the *Vedische Studien*.

A good example of the disadvantages of this method is seen in Professor Geldner's comment on *Rgveda*, x, 33. 34. He accepts the version of the *Anukramanī* that these hymns are by Kavaṣa, and he ingeniously shows that the reference in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹ to Kavaṣa as a *kitava*, "gambler," is supported by the dicing hymn, x, 34, where Kavaṣa, in his opinion, bemoans his fate. But he rejects the view of the *Anukramanī* that in x, 33, Kavaṣa consoles the prince Upamaśravas for the death of Mitrāthithi, his grandfather, and instead explains the hymn as a lament of Kavaṣa because he had fallen into disgrace with his master Upamaśravas, and had been cast like Trita² into a pit by him, and he considers that the true story had early been forgotten. Now what ground is there to accept the mention of Kavaṣa as author of the hymns as correct? It is not early: on the contrary, as

¹ ii, 19. This point is not found in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, xii, 3.

² Compare x, 33, 2. 3, with i, 105, 8.

the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* does not recognize him as author of x, 34, it may safely be said that the attribution is late and improbable. Nor is the evidence better for the authorship of x, 33. It is true that a Kavaṣa appears in the battle of the ten kings,¹ but it is not certain that he was a priest: he may have been a king, as Hopkins² thinks, and the most that can be said for any connexion between a Kavaṣa and Kuruśravaṇa is that the latter was a descendant of Trasadasyu, who was a Pūru king,³ and the Pūrus were on the same side as Kavaṣa in the battle of the ten kings, which, however, must be regarded as long anterior to the date of Kuruśravaṇa. It seems clear that we must give up the name Kavaṣa as that of the author, and it is also clear that the new Itihāsa invented by Professor Geldner has no sure foundation. The hymn seems certainly elegiac in tone, but instead of being inconsistent with the account of it given in the *Anukramaṇī* that fact is surely a confirmation of the notice. It seems from the first part of the hymn that the death of Kuruśravaṇa took place in circumstances of disaster, and in consoling Upamaśravas the poet may well have had little on which he could dwell with satisfaction. Nor is there any reference to a pit in which the singer was cast; it is true that the Nirukta⁴ treats the word *parśavah* in RV. i, 105, 8 as meaning the sides of a hollow, but the sense is not probable nor necessary, nor does Geldner⁵ himself accept it. The poet is sorely afflicted, but the death of his master and the defeat of his people are adequate to account for all that is stated in the hymn.

¹ RV. vii, 18. 12.

² JAOS. xv, 260 seq. Mr. Pargiter (JRAS. 1910, p. 50) takes Kavaṣa as a Rṣi, and identifies him with the father of Tura, who consecrated, according to one version, Janamejaya. The conjecture is not a probable one, if only on chronological grounds, and in thinking (p. 49) that the Bharatas were enemies of Sudās Mr. Pargiter is following an improbable and now practically antiquated view of the relationship of Sudās and the Bharatas.

³ RV. iv, 38, 1 seq.

⁴ iv, 6.

⁵ *Vedische Studien*, ii, 184, n. 3.

Professor Geldner suggests a new interpretation of the well-known crux, RV. x, 18, 14. He thinks that the verse is to be considered as the thought of the dead man : "the gods shall place me on a day to come (i.e. on rebirth in a mother's womb) like the feather of the arrow in the shaft." The idea is ingenious, but I do not think that it can be said to be more than that, and it is open to the objection that it assumes that the idea of rebirth is to be found in the *Rgveda*.¹ This is extremely doubtful, though, if we consider that the verse is a later addition, as is in all probability the case, this objection is not fatal, but the version has the capital defect of being less convincing even than the ordinary interpretation.²

Very clever is Professor Geldner's attempt to make sense of RV. iii, 31. Following the confused notice of Yāska,³ he thinks that the beginning of the hymn contains a double metaphor from Indian family law. The father who makes his daughter a Putrikā, i.e. one whose son is appointed to perform the obsequies of his maternal grandfather,⁴ profits by the arrangement, but the son-in-law loses : or again, if the father has a son, the daughter and her husband have no share in the inheritance ; similarly, the priest carries out all the toilsome part of the sacrificial ritual, but the patron alone profits by the offering, a broad hint for the latter not to forget the Dakṣiṇā for the priest. But unhappily the interpretation breaks down on the actual wording of the hymn, and it is probably best to admit—as does, in fact, Oldenberg⁵—that we have, as too often, a passage the sense of which will always remain doubtful. It is worth noticing that while Professor Geldner accepts here a line of

¹ As to this cf. my remarks, JRAS. 1909, p. 375, and see Oldenberg, *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 303.

² Cf. Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 386.

³ iii, 4. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, iv, 110.

⁴ Cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 72 ; *Die Adoption in Indien*, pp. 16, 17.

⁵ *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 239 seq.

interpretation based on Yāska. he deliberately rejects that authority's interpretation of RV. i, 124. 7, as also referring to the Putrikā. He may well be right in doing so, and in that case the Putrikā may be dismissed from the *Rgveda*. As a matter of fact the practice has a somewhat modern and artificial character, and it is at least noteworthy that it is not found mentioned in any certain passage in the literature before Yāska, the *Bṛhaddeśatā* and the Dharma Sūtras.¹

Another addition, and not a very probable one, is made to the list of animals named in the *Rgveda* in the shape of the bull Daśadyu, called *śvaitreya* as the offspring of a *śvitrā* cow, which was used in battle and secured the victory.² It is idle to deny that the reference to Daśadyu is quite inadequate to determine who he was—he has been with some probability identified³ with Bhujyu because of the appearance of the word *tugriyāsu* in the passage and the fact that Bhujyu was the son of Tugra, and is called Tugrya—but the theory of a fighting bull is not made even probable by the quotation of a story of a fight between two bulls created by the gods and Asuras in the *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*,⁴ and the native tradition, for what it is worth, takes Śvaitreya as the metronymic of a man, not of a bull.

On the other hand, Professor Geldner is not apparently anxious to accept the view that the thirty-four lights referred to in the *Rgveda*⁵ are the five planets and the Nakṣatras, and he recognizes that the poetical description of the moon as *vidhūṃ dadrāṇaṃ samane bahūnām*

¹ e.g. *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, xxviii, 20; *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, xvii, 17; and see Jolly, *Recht und Sitt.*, p. 73.

² RV. i, 33, 14. 15.

³ Cf. Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, iii, 11; Baunack, KZ. xxxv, 527; Ludwig, RV. v, 472.

⁴ xiii, 4. (Geldner's mode of citation by page and line is regrettably inadequate, though the citation by book and chapter is also unsatisfactory.)

⁵ x, 55.

has nothing to do with the path of the moon through the Nakṣatras, which are unknown to all save the latest parts of the *Rgveda*, such as the wedding hymn of Sūryā.

On the other hand, Professor Geldner desires to assimilate the ancient chariot to the modern cart of Bihar described by Dr. Grierson in his standard work on the customs of that province,¹ and he therefore identifies the somewhat mysterious *āṇi* of the *Rgveda*² with the wooden support of the frame of the chariot which was fastened to the axle outside the wheel. This is no doubt conceivable, but the evidence is strongly in favour of the *āṇi* being the lynch-pin or something similar.³ Nor is it probable that the technical expressions of politics, *udāsīna* and *pārṣṇigrāha*, applied in the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra*⁴ to denote a king who is a neutral between two hostile kings, really serve to explain *madhyamaśi* in the *Rgveda*, where the sense "arbitrator" seems at once plausible and adequate.

The selection, fortunately, includes some of the most interesting of the historical hymns of the *Rgveda*, and the series of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha hymns⁵ is satisfactorily explained, due recognition being given to Hopkins'⁶ clear proof that in RV. vii, 18 there is a deliberate allusion to Viśvāmitra by his successful rival. The only unsatisfactory part of the treatment of the hymns is the maintenance of the view that RV. iii, 53, 21. 24 contain a reference to Śakti's murder by the Viśvāmitras.⁷ It is also quite probable that Geldner's view of RV. vi, 27, which sees in Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Śrījaya Daivavāta allies, not one prince, is preferable to the usual identification of both men which Zimmer⁸ urges, and it is satisfactory that Geldner adheres steadily to the view

¹ *Bihār Peasant Life*, § 167.

² Cf. my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 237.

³ RV. iii, 33. 53; vii, 18. 33.

⁴ Cf. Oldenberg, *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 254.

⁵ RV. i, 35. 6.

⁶ vii, 158. 207.

⁷ JAOS. xv, 262.

⁸ *Altindisches Leben*, p. 133.

that neither Persian (*Parśu*)¹ nor Parthian (*Pārthava*)² is found in the *Samhitā*. Nor does he accept Hillebrandt's³ theory of the reference to the burning of the widow with her husband in the *Rgveda*⁴ as an interpolation from the ritual of the *Puruṣamedha*, or human sacrifice. As he well puts it, the widow shows, by approaching the dead body of her husband and lying beside it, that she is prepared to die with him, but she does not actually immolate herself: the Vedic age no longer practised the burning of widows, but the forms of the custom remained. And, again, he is probably right in accepting the hymn vii, 103 as a satire⁵ on a Brahmin school: probably the *Vasiṣṭhas* were making fun of the *Viśvāmitras*, for the verse vii, 103, 10^d does seem to repeat directly iii, 53, 7^d (*sahasrasāvē prā tiranta āyukḥ*), and he accepts in that hymn the meaning of *drādaśa* as "the year", no doubt deliberately rejecting Jacobi's view that *drādaśa* means the twelfth month.

In grammatical questions Professor Geldner shows the same boldness which he has evinced in the *Vedische Studien*. One general objection may be made, perhaps, to the principle which he adopts: it is no doubt true that grammatical irregularities are found in the *Rgveda*, but it is surely a matter of principle never to assume such irregularities when a reasonable sense can be made on the basis of the ordinary syntactical usages. For example, in RV. i, 50, 2, *āpa tyé tāyāro yathā náksatrū yanti*, he says that *tye* is attracted to the gender of the object compared, and he compares RV. i, 191, 5 for the comparison. But though *náksatrū* is given in the *Padapātha*, and though Oldenberg⁶ is inclined to agree with the

¹ RV. x, 33, 2.

² RV. vi, 27, 8.

³ ZDMG. xl, 701.

⁴ x, 18, 8.

⁵ See Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 495, and cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 151.

⁶ *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 48.

Padupāṭha, it seems to me that Geldner was better advised in his *Glossar* in giving *nákṣatra* as both neuter and masculine. RV. vi, 67, 6 presents clearly a masculine *nákṣatra*, and when it is remembered that the Nakṣatras have some of them masculine names it is really not unnatural that *nákṣatra* should be found as a masculine, and the evidence for the neuter gender of *nákṣatra* is not R̥gvedic.¹ Of course such an attraction is not impossible,² but to assume it because of the interpretation put on a form by the *Padupāṭha* is hardly desirable.

In some passages³ Professor Geldner sees the use of the participle as a finite verb: but in none of the cases cited can it possibly be said that the construction must necessarily be accepted, and unless some better examples can be adduced the construction must be considered to be doubtful. Professor Geldner himself does not accept the view in the case of *jaganrān* in *R̥gveda*, x, 10, 1, and Professor Oldenberg,⁴ who is willing to accept the construction, does not quote any of the passages cited by Geldner in his list of examples of the usage. Or, again, is it really necessary to see a double relative in either RV. x. 52, 1 or iii, 32, 14? In the former passage we have *vísre devāḥ śāstāna mā yáthehá hótā r̥ptó manávai yán niśádyā*. But is the construction really *yáthā-yád* as Professor Geldner supposes? Surely it is rather *yáthā-manávai yán niśádyā* (*manávai*). There are two quite distinct sentences, the second of which may either be taken as parallel to the first: "how being chosen as Hotṛ I shall be minded, what I shall think when I sit down," or as a temporal clause, "how I shall be minded. when sitting down I think"; in neither case any double relative really

¹ Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakṣatra*, ii, 268.

² Cf. *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 1, with my note.

³ RV. i, 116, 2 (*śāśadānā*); ii, 38, 8 (*jārbhurāpāḥ*); iv, 7, 10 (*dhātṛśānam*); vii, 18, 12 (*erpānāḥ*). See Pāṇini, iii. 2. 106, and compare my remarks. JDMG. lxiii, 346; JRAS. 1910, 227.

⁴ *R̥gveda-Noten*, i, 428.

occurring. In iii, 32, 14 the need to recognize a double relative is still less great, as Oldenberg's note amply shows. Similarly, while the singular verb with a "neuter plural" is a possible phenomenon,¹ it is surely needless to find it in RV. x, 10, 2: *salakṣmā yad viśurūpā bhavāti*, where the obvious sense is given by the feminine. It is true that the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*² has *salakṣmā* and *viśurūpam*, the *Padapāṭha* explaining *salakṣmā* as meant.³ But the correctness of the *Padapāṭha* is far from being beyond doubt, and the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*⁴ has *salakṣmānah* and *viśurūpāh*, which conclusively supports the possibility of the feminine, for *salakṣmā* as a feminine is open to no substantial objection. Or, again, to assume, as Geldner does, attraction of the instrumental into the accusative in i, 147, 3 = iv, 4, 13, is hardly legitimate: the passage runs *yé pāyāvo Māmateyāṃ te agne páśyanto andhāṃ duritād árakṣan | rarákṣa tām sukrto viśváredā dípsanta úd ripāvo náha debhuh ||* The sense is surely satisfactory that the guards themselves are guarded by the god; the instrumental rendering would weaken, not confirm, the force of the passage, and Oldenberg⁵ has abandoned his doubts⁶ as to the possibility of the rendering.

It would be easy to multiply indefinitely the points of

¹ See e.g. i, 81, 2; 162, 8, cited by Geldner: Delbruck, *Vergl. Synt.* iii, 230.

² vi, 20.

³ It is rather curious that Geldner should not simply take *salakṣmā* as a masculine form used for a neuter as he does, *Kommentar*, p. 72, n. 2, in the case of *rakṣohā*, vii, 8, 6; *amitrakā*, x, 170, 2; *eghāra*, iv, 24, 8; and cf. *ojasrī*, *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, iv, 3, 8. But the examples are all dubious; the nominative of *han* in the neuter is difficult to form (cf. Oldenberg, op. cit., i, 419; Lanman in Whitney's translation of the *Atharvaveda*, p. 968), and if *ojasrī* and *tejasrī* in the *Maitrāyaṇī* are not merely slips, due to *ojasrīni* and *tejasrīni* immediately preceding, there remains the obvious possibility of rendering them as nominatives, "the man who has the instruments (i.e. the *ratnīnah*) becomes powerful as regards his kingdom," *tal* not matching *yasya* but being adverbial, which is perfectly legitimate.

⁴ i, 3, 10, 1 (the words are there in reverse order).

⁵ *Rigveda-Noten*, i, 147.

⁶ SBE. xlv, 171.

interest raised by this valuable commentary, but it must suffice to note that Geldner offers a new but not very probable¹ version of the crux in iv, 24, 9, about Vāmadeva's sale of Indra; that he thinks that the order of the hymn containing the conversation of Agastya, the Maruts, and Indra is i, 170, 166, 171, and not as Sieg² takes them, and that he corrects tacitly but certainly rightly his former attribution to Sāyana's brother of the remarks of Mādhava cited by Sāyana on *Rgveda*, x, 10; it is quite certain that the older Mādhava Bhaṭṭa is meant in that passage.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THEODOR BENFEY. ZUM ANDENKEN FÜR SEINE KINDER
UND ENKEL. Von META BENFEY.

Benfey has, perhaps, hardly received the recognition in this country due to his great merits as a philologist and as a Sanskrit scholar. Philology, indeed, is not a study in which a scholar can hope to reap the full reward of his labours: its progress is so rapid, and it is so impossible to effect any work in it which can be said to be really permanent, that a philologist must expect to be superseded at an early date and to become little more than a name. It is not, then, wonderful that Benfey's Sanskrit Grammar, and his numerous lesser contributions to Vedic grammar, which were to have formed part of a complete Vedic Grammar, historic and comparative, should remain known mainly to scholars, but it is somewhat surprising that his great merits as a Vedic and Indian scholar should have been to some degree ignored. His edition of the *Sāmaveda* in 1848 was the first scientific edition of a Vedic Saṃhitā, and the work is still a model of editing. It was accompanied by much critical matter, by a translation, and

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, p. 419.

² *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, pp. 108 seq.

a glossary of a merit which is still absolutely very high, and which, in view of the date of publication, must be deemed to vindicate beyond question Benfey's claim to be reckoned one of the greatest Vedic scholars of Germany. His article on India in Ersch & Gruber's Encyclopædia had appeared eight years earlier, and though, like all articles in Encyclopædias, it never exerted the influence to which it was entitled, it has always been regarded by competent judges as of the greatest value and interest. It is impossible to doubt that his reputation would have stood much higher had he devoted himself to Indian studies, but no doubt philology would have been the loser.

His daughter's volume is one of great interest and excellence. It depicts a life of untiring industry and devotion to learning, based on the motto which he wrote in the album of his daughter Theodore—*Etsi nihil habet in se gloria cur expetatur, tamen virtutem tanquam umbra sequitur*. The letters to his wife, née Fanny Wallenstein, who survived him for twenty years, dying in 1902, reveal a nature of singular kindness, simplicity, generosity, and uprightness, and his letters to his brother Rudolf display a wealth of tenderness and affection not unworthy of the man who readily sacrificed his slender patrimony to render possible the early marriage of his sister.

Benfey died in 1882 of an internal malady: happily his last days were free from pain, and his faculties were unclouded, though it was with regret that he left a life in which he felt that there yet remained for him useful work to do. But he had accomplished much; he had materially affected the studies which he loved, and he was sure of a recognition of his work and talents, which his daughter's biography, written with much dignity and simplicity, will unquestionably enhance.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

AUS DEM ALTEN INDIEN. By H. OLDENBERG. Berlin, 1910.

This little book adds another to the many valuable volumes published in Germany dealing at once in a popular and a scientific manner with questions of Oriental study. Their appearance testifies to the existence of a wider and more discriminating interest in matters Oriental than is to be found in England, an interest which renders it worth the while of so accomplished a scholar as Professor Oldenberg to cater for its needs.

Of the three essays here collected the first is a refutation of the thesis, put forward by the late Professor Pischel in his *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, that *metta* in Buddhism corresponds to and plays the part of love in Christianity. The matter is in great measure one of terminology, but so far as there is a real difference in the views of the two scholars the opinion of Oldenberg certainly seems preferable. *Metta*, as he shows from the evidence of the canon, is not one of the most prominent of the qualities to which Buddhism attached importance, and the *metta* which is exhibited is the feeling of friendship to the whole of existing things, a state of calm affection, not the active exertion of good will. It is, indeed, a mental condition not far removed from the indifference to the universe which was the aim of the Vedāntin, and it betrays an unmistakable resemblance to its source, the Yoga of the Brahmin ascetic. It is not, of course, to be denied or doubted that the Buddhist texts know the frame of mind which is parallel to the love of the Christian, but it does seem certain that such love was not the Buddhist ideal end, and after all it would be idle to expect that this could be the case. There is no correspondence between the Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa and the doctrine that God is love.

The second essay deals with the *Sutta Nipāta* as evidence for the thought of primitive Buddhism. Professor

Oldenberg¹ still holds that this collection is of very old date, and that part of it may approach nearly the time of the death of the Buddha himself, while he recognizes in it two passages referred to by Aśoka. It is hardly probable that this view is correct: at least the evidence for it is of remarkable paucity and far from being cogent. But at any rate the text is of great interest and of some beauty, though it may be doubted whether anything in the Suttas equals in depth of thought and felicity of expression the stanzas scattered through the Upaniṣads, which form the model for the verses of the *Sutta Nipāta*. But in Professor Oldenberg they find a sympathetic interpreter and a most skilled translator, and as a brief exposition of the Buddhist life in the early centuries before the Christian era it would be difficult to praise too highly this brief essay.

Not the least interesting of the essays is the last, a sketch of historical literature in India. It is true that the times have changed since it could be said that there was no history in India, but despite a considerable amount of historical information it is clearer than ever that India has never possessed an historian. The best part of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is no more than a mere chronicle, relieved from dreariness only by the not inconsiderable poetic skill of the author, and raised above the rank of the European mediaeval chronicles mainly by the noble language which serves as the medium of expression. It is perhaps impossible even with absolute accuracy to ascertain the causes of the phenomenon, but Professor Oldenberg rightly emphasizes the necessity of a great national life for the writing of great history. India has never been a nation, and India has never had an historian of the first rank.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ pp. 26, 69, where he attributes the oldest form of the Buddhist texts to about 400 B.C.

DAS VAITĀNASŪTRA DES ATHARVAVEDA. Translated by
W. CALAND. Amsterdam, 1910.

It is now thirty-two years since Garbe's text and translation of the *Vaitāna Sūtra* were published, and the mass of work done on the *Atharvaveda* and the ritual literature generally fully justifies the new version which Professor Caland presents to Vedic scholars. But it is right to note that the comparison of the new with the older work brings out clearly the great ability shown by Garbe in his version, the defects of which were due not to deficiencies in his scholarship, but to the imperfect means at his disposal. Nor does Professor Caland seem justified (p. iv) in his view that Garbe considered the *Sūtra* as an independent description of the Śrauta ritual for an Atharvavedin : at least, I cannot find any such view in Garbe's preface to the text or translation, and it is not consistent with the remarks on pp. v, vi of the former work.

Professor Caland repeats and enforces his thesis that the *Vaitāna Sūtra* is not, as Professor Bloomfield¹ thinks, later than the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. I have already on other grounds² stated my objections to Bloomfield's ingenious but unconvincing argument. It is clear that the *Vaitāna Sūtra* in two passages³ refers to the *Brāhmaṇa*. In the first of these passages the Anubrāhmaṇins are mentioned : it is not certain what is meant ; Garbe leaves the word untranslated, and Caland renders it as those who recognize the "secundare *Brāhmaṇa*" as an authority, without explaining what the secondary *Brāhmaṇa* is. It would seem reasonable to render Anubrāhmaṇin by "those who follow the *Brāhmaṇa*,"⁴ which would of course be

¹ JAOS. xix. 1 seqq. ; *Atharvaveda*, pp. 102 seqq.

² *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 25, 26.

³ xvii, 11 ; xxxi, 1. The passages referred to are *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 5, 12-14 ; i, 4, 1-6, respectively.

⁴ Pāṇini, vi, 2, 42, is the source of the view that Anubrāhmaṇa means a secondary *Brāhmaṇa*.

a recognition that the Sūtra did not regard the Brāhmaṇa as the only authority. Bloomfield¹ adduces as an argument for the derivation of the *Gopatha* from the *Vaitāna* the fact that the former text² refers to two classes of plants in the words *ātharraṇibhiś cāṅgirasibhiś ca* without specifying either, while the former class is defined in the *Kaṇṣika Sūtra*³ and the latter in the *Vaitāna Sūtra*.⁴ But this argument has no cogency: the Brāhmaṇas frequently refer to matters only explained in the Sūtras, without it being reasonable or possible to deduce that the Brāhmaṇa is borrowing from the Sūtra. Similarly, no stress can be laid on the argument from the citation of Pratikas: it is true that the *Gopatha* sometimes cites by Pratika verses found in the *Vaitāna in extenso*, but it is fairly clear that the mechanical argument is dangerous and unsatisfactory in this as in other cases.⁵ Nor, again, do I see that *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 2, 18, is based on *Vaitāna Sūtra*, v, 10, any more than vice versa. Moreover, Professor Caland seems to be right in referring the frequent use of the optative⁶ in the Sūtra as opposed to the more normal indicative to borrowing from a Brāhmaṇa, when the ritual is not described, but the optative is used in the directions which are given by the Brāhmaṇa. Again, in the Sūtra, xvi, 5, the expression *purā prācuritoḥ* is found: it is impossible not to recognize in this "a borrowing" from a Brāhmaṇa: the Sūtras do not independently exhibit in Sūtra passages like this such a construction.

Professor Caland is somewhat unfortunate in his treatment of the last book of the *Atharvaveda*. He twice asserts (pp. v, vi) that the book consists entirely of

¹ *Atharvaveda*, p. 105.

² i, 2, 18.

³ viii, 16.

⁴ v, 10.

⁵ Cf. Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxx. 4-8, 249; *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1907, p. 224, n. I, with Knauer, *Das Gobhilaṅghyasūtra*, ii, 22 seq.; *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 61-4; Winternitz, *Mantrapāṭha*, pp. xxx seq.

⁶ Cf. *Vaitāna Sūtra*, xx, 21, with *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 4, 10.

verses from the *Rgveda*, though he, of course, knows that this is not the case.¹ Nor is it quite accurate to say that none of *Atharvaveda*, xx, is found in the Paippalāda recension; Lanman² gives the true facts. Nor is it fair to treat Whitney's³ reference to the *Atharvaveda*, xx, as incorrect. All that he said was that book xx "stands in no conceivable relation to the rest of the *Atharvaveda*, and when and why it was added thereto is a matter for conjecture". Both statements are perfectly true: it is indeed now—as it was long ago⁴—an accepted theory that this book is a *Samhitā* for the Brāhmaṇacchamsin priest, but that is merely a conjecture, and it is nowhere stated. Nor does the theory place the book in any real relation to the rest of the *Atharvaveda*; the connexion is a formal and external one, and this is no doubt what Whitney was referring to. Moreover, it must be noted that the ritual of the Brāhmaṇacchamsin as described in the *Sūtra* does not wholly agree with the notices of the *Rgveda Sūtras*, and it is hardly very helpful to refer (p. vi) to the possibility of the ritual of a lost *Rgveda Śākhā* finding place for the twentieth book of the *Atharvaveda*.

Professor Caland doubts whether it is proved that the twentieth book of the *Atharvaveda* was known to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. But the doubt seems quite needless. It is true that in one passage⁵ the Brāhmaṇa refers to a hymn of the *Atharvaveda*,⁶ which has seven verses, as *ṣaḍream*, "consisting of six verses," this being the number it has in the *Rgveda*.⁷ But not only is it quite possible that the statement is merely a quotation from the

¹ For the facts, see Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, pp. 95 seqq.

² In Whitney's translation of the *Atharvaveda*, p. 1009.

³ Op. cit., p. cxli.

⁴ See Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 96, n. 3, for the older views, and Garbe's text of the *Taitāna Sūtra*, p. viii.

⁵ ii. 6, 2.

⁶ xx, 12 (misprinted xx, 22 on p. vii).

⁷ vii, 23.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,¹ but, as Caland himself points out, the last verse of the hymn in the *Atharvaveda* is a Yājñā verse, and such verses are regularly not held to be part of the hymns proper.² On the other hand there are two cases where the Atharvan form of a Ṛc verse is cited.³ and it is gratuitous to suggest that possibly the citation is from a lost recension of the *Rgveda*. Moreover, Caland overlooks the clear reference in the *Gopatha*,⁴ pointed out by Bloomfield,⁵ to the twenty books of the *Atharvaveda*, which really decides the question once for all. It is important to note this fact, as one of the most certain things about the Atharvan literatures.⁶

It is needless to say that the translation displays a great mastery of the technique of the ritual, and in many places shows an advance on the work of Garbe. Here and there Professor Caland seems needlessly anxious to alter the text: for example, in xxxviii, 2 he wishes to read *methute* for *methane*, but the latter word is quite adequate in sense and the conjecture is needless. In xxxviii, 6 he suggests *pratipraśnāt* for *pratipraśne*, but this alteration is most improbable and unnecessary. In xviii, 17 he wishes to omit the word *yajamānaḥ* from the text because the parallel passage in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*⁷ has it not, and according to other sources the Yajamāna has his place west, not south, of the Brahman, but these reasons are far from conclusive. In xvii, 4 he conjectures *māpogāyatu* for *māpogāyā*,

¹ vi, 20, 11.

² e.g. in the *Vaitāna Sūtra*, xxv, 11, *Atharvaveda*, xx, 17, 11, is called the last verse, though v, 12 is recognized *ibid*.

³ See *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 6, 4 and 12 (RV. x, 131; AV. xx, 125); ii, 6, 15 (AV. xx, 136; cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, p. 99).

⁴ i, 1, 5.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 107, n. 7.

⁶ Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 109, 131, seems to think that *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 1, 26, contains a citation from the *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. i, p. 96, ed. Kielhorn), viz. the Kārikā defining *aryaya*. But it is needless to say that the Kārikā is no doubt older than the *Mahābhāṣya*.

⁷ i, 2, 19.

followed by *tanūpāt sāmnaḥ*, and renders "von den Leben-enthaltenden Re weicht beim Singen nicht ab, (nicht) vom Körperschirmenden Sāman". But this is harsh: the supplying of *mā* is not indeed impossible, but it is not by any means probable, nor is the plural necessary, for the parallel in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*¹ has the plural in a different context and has no cogency for the *Vaitāna* passage. Or, again, in xvi, 17 it is useless to "conjecture" *yas te drapsaḥ patito 'sti* for the *drapsaḥ patito 'ty asi* of the text. We have here a case—like those indicated by Winternitz in the *Mantrapāṭha*—in which the traditional text has been hopelessly corrupted before the Sūtra was produced. One can replace, if desired, what should be the proper text, but it is not reproducing the text of the Sūtra. Nor is it possible to see any useful purpose served by a conjecture like *prajāś* for *prajāṃ* in *prajāṃ jinva*² in xxv, 1. Again, in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 4, 8, *yud kusīdam* is so obviously a Pratika that the suggestion (p. 70) to take it as an object of *yātayeran* is quite out of the question. In xx, 6, on the other hand, the reading *ṛtupātram* for *ṛtupātre* is palæographically quite possible, but the locative cannot be said not to be possible, for the draught partaken of was in the beaker. On the other hand, in xxxvii, 15 no note is taken of *ācakṣate* following in the apodosis on *yudī-prapudyeta*: possibly *ācakṣeta* may be read, but much more probable is that we have an example of an irregularity³ which I have elsewhere exemplified. In ix, 12 Professor Caland reads *āsīta* for *āsīda*: the correction is an easy one, but not cogent, for the nominative *brahmā* may easily be defended by parallel cases which are found elsewhere.⁴

¹ ii, 2, 14; cf. also Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 120.

² Cf. Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance*, p. 609.

³ JRAS. 1909. pp. 152, 755.

⁴ Ibid. 1908, pp. 1124 seq.

In ix, 18 the conjecture *yajamānāryajanāḥ* is possible, but hardly necessary.¹

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

AMURRU, THE HOME OF THE NORTHERN SEMITES, a Study showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are not of Babylonian Origin. By ALBERT T. CLAY, Ph.D. Philadelphia: the Sunday School Times Company, 1909.

Much has been said about pan-Babylonism—the doctrine first started by Professor Fried. Delitzsch, which teaches us that all Israelitish civilization, and all the beliefs of the people, were of Babylonian origin. Naturally this has aroused much opposition, and the more moderate Assyriologists have done their best to combat it, and bring about what they consider to be a saner view of the case. At the same time there is, it must be admitted, much to be said in favour of the pan-Babylonian view, though other explanations of the circumstances involved are possible. The Semitic nations, including the Babylonians and the Israelites, must have come from a common stock, and therefore, in all probability, had the same beliefs and legends. How many of these are their common property, and how many originated in Babylonia and spread thence into the districts around, is naturally a matter of considerable uncertainty, though careful study of the circumstances in which they were probably evolved may furnish solutions of the difficulties.

¹ I take this opportunity of saying that I regret to hear from Professor Caland that I have done him an injustice in thinking that he was responsible for the absence of punctuation in the *Kāthaka Samhitā* (see JRAS. 1910, p. 518), which must be attributed to von Schroeder alone. But I still think that the plan adopted by Professor Caland in his edition of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (see vol. i, pp. xii, xiii) is unfortunate and of little value.

The explanation of the opinions held by Winckler, Zimmern, Jensen, Jeremias, and others, which Professor Clay gives in his introductory remarks, are exceedingly interesting. In Winckler's opinion the earth was, with the Babylonians, a reflection of the heavens, whose influence, reacting upon its counterpart, revealed the past, present, and future to those who could read the signs. Astrology, therefore, was the great test and foreshadower of ancient Semitic history, and was practised by Israel, as by all the other Semitic nations. All the patriarchs and leaders in Israel, moreover, resolve themselves into solar and lunar mythological personages. Zimmern, the author points out, pays more attention to analogies and to the Old Testament stories which have parallels in Babylonian literature. Even Christianity is indebted to Babylonia for its events in the life of Christ. The birth of the Saviour had its origin in the fabled birth of Merodach, and in His regal origin as well as His passion parallels are found. His death is suggested by that of Merodach and of Tammuz, and the idea of His descent into Hades comes from that of Ištar, the spouse of Tammuz,¹ etc.

It is against these exceedingly attractive but often improbable theories that Professor Clay's book is directed. Treating of the Creation-story, he points out that Biblical cosmology places Eden in an alluvial plain, recognizing, however, the water of the sea as the primeval element—conceptions similar to those found among the Sumerians and other peoples. Nothing is said, moreover, in the Sumerian version of the Creation-story² concerning the fight between Merodach and Tiawath, the chief theme of the Semitic Babylonian Creation-myth.

¹ This might with much greater probability be regarded as taken from the legend of Merodach, who descended into the place of the departed to comfort the rebellious gods in prison (Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1908, pp. 60 ff., 77 ff.).

² See JRAS., 1891, p. 398.

This, the "Merodach-Tiawath" myth, which belonged to the library of Aššur-banī-āpli (c. 650 B.C.), Professor Clay regards as a late and elaborate attempt to explain the origin of things. Such is practically the opinion expressed some years ago by Sir Henry Howorth at the Society of Biblical Archæology, and is supported by the fact that no copies of the legend earlier than that date have as yet been found. It is therefore probable that it originated with the Assyrians, though to that the objection might justly be made that the great hero of the legend is Merodach, the chief of the later Babylonian pantheon. Moreover, it is also to be noted that negative evidence is not always trustworthy, and the finding of no earlier copies of the legend than those of the time of Aššur-banī-āpli may only be due to the fact that we have not been lucky enough to light upon them. That the hero of the legend is Merodach would only suggest that it was composed during the period of the dynasty of Babylon, when that city, of which he was patron, assumed the position of capital of the Babylonian empire.

In the chapter upon the Antediluvian Patriarchs, as given by Eusebius, Professor Clay rightly criticizes the comparisons which have been made by various scholars between the forms of their names as quoted by that author and those found in the Babylonian legends. It is doubtful, however, whether the comparisons with similar Phœnician names are to any great extent more satisfactory. The identification of Evedoreschos with the Sumerian Enweduranki may be regarded as satisfactory, and there is every probability that Otiartes, for Opartes,¹ is rightly identified with Ubar-Tutu or Umbara-Tutu, especially as Xisuthros is undoubtedly the Atra-hasis of the Babylonian inscriptions. This would seem to suggest Babylonian (Semitic and non-Semitic) etymologies for

¹ Ὀττιαρτης for Ὀπαρτης, the π having been separated into τι.

them all—in any case, I am inclined to withhold judgment until we have more light.

Naturally, it is the Flood-story which would seem to furnish the greatest proof of the ancient connexion of Babylonia with the western Semitic states, on account of its close resemblance. All the events are to be found in the two accounts, and in the same order. Babylonia, as the land of the two great rivers, with their interlacing and interconnecting canals, was also the land of floods, and many an inscription speaks of “the great waters”, which from time to time brought destruction in their train from the mountains whence the rivers flow. Professor Clay acknowledges that it is difficult to say whether the Flood-story travelled from Babylonia to Palestine or the reverse. He points out that the Bible version has some distinctively Palestinian traits, such as the olive-leaf (the olive being a tree of that country) and the fact that the vessel is called an “ark” instead of a ship. It is certainly a curious thing that the hero of the flood in Genesis is Noah, whilst in Babylonia he was called Ut(a)-napištim and Atra-ḥasisc—names containing the element *Nûh* occur in Assyro-Babylonian, why should the Babylonian patriarch’s name differ from that found in the Hebrew version?

Concerning the comparison of Yahwah with Addu or Adad many interesting things are noted. The name Yahweh, Professor Clay says, is found on a tablet said to have come from Kish, and now in the Morgan Library Collection, and also on a tablet belonging to Professor Fried. Delitzsch, in both cases in the oath-formula. The form it there takes is *Ya-wu-um*. Though I should like to believe that this is the long-sought Yahwah (Yahweh), I should expect rather some such form as *Ya-wa-um* or *Ya'-wa'-um*. *Yawum* is apparently simply another form of *Yaum*, the Hebrew Jah.

That Yah was the god of Canaan or Palestine, and

likewise Addu or Hadad, are also facts which can be substantiated. Dr. Hayes Ward has contended that there was some connexion, not between the two names, but between the two deities, and Professor Clay quotes the well-known Biblical text in which the Syrians say that their (the Hebrews') god is the god of the hills, thus again connecting Yahwah and Hadad. As god of the country of Amurru he was also called Amurru (or, as the Aramaic dockets published by Clay show, אַמְרִי, i.e. Awurru). He also gives good reason for believing that the name became shortened to *Ūru*, and is found not only in *Uri* (Akkad), but also in *Uru-salim* (Jerusalem) and *Uru-milki*. "Uru is my king." And this brings me to a point touched upon by Professor Clay, namely, that Abraham dwelt in Ur-Kasdim, "Ur of the Chaldees." Was this *Amurru* (*Awurru*, *Ūru*) of the Chaldees? It would seem to be very probable, and in that case Babylonian influence in Palestine would be reduced to that of any other state, and no more. To all appearance, however, Professor Clay does not go so far as this, but merely argues that Ur of the Chaldees is simply the district called *Amurru* (*Awurru*) in the neighbourhood of Sippar (see JRAS., 1897, pp. 595 and 597, ll. 2 and 3 of the translation). I have already spoken of the possibility of the non-Semitic *Uri* (i.e. Akkad) being Ur-Kasdim, in answer to objections by my friend Mr. Rassam against its identification with Mugheir. He would prefer the old identification with Urfa or Edessa.

The identification of the Amurru or Awurru in Babylonia with Ur of the Chaldees leads Professor Clay to suggest that the name read by many as *Šargani šar ali* should in reality be *Šargani šar Uri*, the sign for "city" (*ālu*) having likewise that reading. Sargon of Agadé therefore called himself "Sargon, king of Ur". This is in strange concord with Eusebius as quoted by Eupolemus, who speaks of Abraham as having lived in "a city of

Babylonia called Camarina, which, by name, is called the city of Urie, and which signifyeth a city of the Chaldeans". Camarina suggests that Eusebius identified Urie with Uriwa (=Ur, now Mugheir), but it is *Uru*, as represented by the sign for "city", which would signify especially "a city" in Babylonian, the language of the Chaldeans, as that author implies.

It is a book full of interesting suggestions, and will probably attract much attention.

T. G. PINCHES.

LE STYLE ADMINISTRATIF CHEZ LES ASSYRIENS: Choix de Lettres assyriennes et babyloniennes, Transcrites, traduites et accompagnées de notes, avec 39 planches. Par MAURICE ZEITLIN. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1910.

This little work, which is dedicated to M. Edmond de Rothschild, Founder of the Chair of Assyriology at the Séminaire Israélite de France, consists of 13 pages of introduction, followed by six sections consisting of translations and texts. Three letters refer to "Justice"; two to foreign affairs; five to home administration; six to public works; five to religion; and seven to astronomy and astrology.

All who have had to do with texts of this class, which are written in the vernacular, know how difficult it is in many cases to get the right sense. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Assyriologist should find in this work different renderings from those to which he had been accustomed. This is exhibited by the very first document, in which the words *égirtu ša tušlimāti* are translated "Lettre de grâce". The following is the author's rendering and translation:—

1. E-gir-tu ša taš-li-ma-a-ti
2. ša šarru be-li u-šal-lim-u-ni
3. ša ana al Ab-ai-u u-še-ša-an-ni
4. at-ta-na-šu us-sa-hi-ir us-si-ri-ba
5. lu-še-šu-u-ni lid-di-nu-ni
6. ina pu-u-ti taš-li-ma-a-ti lu-šal-lim.

“La lettre de grâce que le roi, mon maître, a eu la bonté de m'accorder afin que l'on m'autorise à sortir de la ville d'Abaiu, je l'ai remise, je l'ai fait circuler, je l'ai présentée. Qu'on me libère, qu'on me laisse libre, conformément à sa teneur, que je sois sain et sauf.”

Many years have passed since the present writer translated this inscription, but he did not venture (perhaps wrongly) to publish it, on account of the doubt attaching to some of the words. *Tušlimāti* to all appearance meant state of being safe and sound, and the rendering which the context suggested was “safe-conduct”. But was this correct? For the sake of comparison I copy, with modifications, from the notes which I then made.

“Letter of safe-conduct, which the king my lord has vouchsafed, which Êšâau¹ has delivered. I may be helped, may go about, may be received; let them cause to come forth, let them give (? = ‘let them buy from, let them sell to (me)’). By the right of (this) safe-conduct let me be held safe.”

In all probability M. Zeitlin's rendering is, in some respects, better than that here given as an alternative, the latter having been made when much less was known of the language than at present.

The texts concerning foreign affairs refer to espionage, and a frontier incident. The former is from Bêl-iddina, who sends news concerning Urṭâa (Uṛarṭâa), the “Araratites”,

¹ ¶ 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *m.âlu Êš-a-a-u*, cf. *Cuneiform Texts*, xix, 42, 9 cd. I at first thought that the third character was 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, in which case the name would have been *Arkâau* (“the Erechite”), but there are no traces of the interior wedges to be seen.

brought by the Andiites and the Zikirites. It is an inscription of such unusual forms as *iqitibáni* (for *iqitibáni*), *i-iq-ti-bi* (for *iqitibi*), and *ital* possibly for *élu* (so the author seems to read), though it is not improbable that sense might be obtained by reading *iri*, possible in consequence of the polyphony of the Assyro-Babylonian syllabary. The second text of this section refers to the same district, and the writer announces to the Assyrian king that he had sent the prefect who was under his orders to Ararat, with a message to the following effect: "Now we are peacefully inclined—as for you, you capture our fortresses, and what am I to do? Suppose I on my side did harm within your boundaries and in your fortresses!"

Besides the letters described above, perhaps the "Protests of the Governors" (*Protestations des syndics*) is the most interesting. These were officials in the city Milkia, to whom the king had given the order: "As far as the mountains," apparently meaning that they were to proceed thither. They were willing to perform the service required of them, though it was very difficult (*dana udanniš*). Away from "pioneers" and "lavandiers", however, they could only do it if the king gave them *šumna gabra*, which the author translates by "l'huile fortifiante". but whatever may be the precise meaning, it probably refers to their pay, which they desired to receive when entering their country.

On the whole, the texts are correctly given and transcribed, but the glossary would have been more serviceable if it had been ordered under roots, and not under the initial of each word as it appears in the inscriptions. The meanings also might have been added, with references to the texts where the words occur.

M. Zeitlin's renderings make, on the whole, very fair sense, and show that he has a great future before him as an Assyriologist.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE TŪZUK-I-JAHĀNGĪRĪ. OR MEMOIRS OF JAHĀNGĪR.
Translated by ALEXANDER ROGERS, I.C.S. (retired);
edited by HENRY BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (retired).
Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XIX,
1909.

We are indebted to Mr. Rogers and Mr. Beveridge for a valuable contribution to the history of the Mogul Empire in India; and it is to be hoped that the remainder of the work, completing Jahāngīr's reign (1617-27), will follow at an early date. If this were done, we might hope soon to have an uninterrupted series of original authorities for that period. We already possess two versions of Bābar's Memoirs (1526-30): Humāyūn (1530-55) is represented by C. Stewart's *Memoirs of Jouher, Aftabchi*: Mr. Beveridge's translation of the *Alkhar-nāmah* (1555-1605) is completed, at any rate in manuscript: twelve years of Jahāngīr's reign (1605-17) are dealt with in the work before us: Professor Jadunāth Sarkar has long been working at Aurangzeb's letters, and has begun, we hear, a formal history of Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707). I myself have collated and put in order the materials for the years 1707-38, and of this compilation the portion covering the years 1712-21 has been published. Shāhjahān (1627-58) will soon be the only emperor of whose reign there will be no detailed account in English, a total neglect for which it is hard to account, as his reign was the most magnificent and one of the most interesting of the whole dynasty.

In his Preface Mr. Beveridge touches briefly on the curious literary problem connected with the Memoirs of Jahāngīr. I cannot say that he, any more than his predecessors, Sir H. M. Elliot and Mr. Dowson, has given a satisfactory solution. The subject is gone into at greater length in Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, vol. vi. pp. 251-5, 256-64, 276-83. Major David Price, in his *Memoirs of Jahangeer*, 1829, 4to, reproduced the more or less spurious version: the present translation, founded on

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's edition of the text, gives us what seem the real Memoirs as written down or dictated by Jahāngīr.

Jahāngīr evidently takes as his model the autobiography of his great-grandfather, Bābar, and he could not have chosen one more worthy of his emulation. Of a record which is so multifarious in its contents, it is impossible in our narrow space to give any satisfactory summary, and I must confine myself to a mention of the general impression left by perusal of the book. For instance, it is greatly to the credit of his sense of candour that Jahāngīr avows his responsibility for the murder of Abū'l-Faẓl, his father's wazīr. He also admits that he drank sometimes to excess, and allows us to see that he was much of a free-thinker, sceptical and rationalistic after the modern fashion, in his attitude to all miraculous stories; and at times cruel and vindictive, qualities of which Akbar was not entirely devoid. In spite of the Jesuits' dreams that Jahāngīr was a Christian in all but name, we may be certain that he was as far from Christian belief as his father Akbar had been. At the same time he was not a good Muslim; perhaps, if it be true that he was never circumcised, not a Mohammedan at all, strictly speaking. As symptoms of his unorthodoxy we may refer to the non-Mohammedan practice of dating the years of his reign from the vernal equinox, the use of the old Persian solar months, and the practice of being weighed twice a year on his lunar and solar birthdays.

Jahāngīr was ardently devoted to the chase and an admirable shot; his prowess as a tiger-slayer is frequently and lovingly detailed. He had also a fine taste in jewels, of which he often speaks. One very pleasing feature of this record is that Jahāngīr, in writing of his father, is invariably respectful and sometimes tender, and we like him for it. On the whole he reveals himself as a man of strong character, a vigorous and successful ruler, not

so wise a statesman or so great a soldier as his father, Akbar, nor so attractive a human being as his great-grandfather, Bābar. Quite early in these Memoirs we learn how he suppressed the rebellion of his son Khusrū, when he certainly acted with the greatest vigour; but it is to be regretted that he weakly placed that unfortunate prince in the hands of his brother Khurram, who connived, to say the least, at his death by poison. Von Poser, the German traveller, who was in India at the time, says: "But who can approve his (Khurram's) hideous fratricide of Chosroe? Certainly it is a saying that whoever is ready to use force against right, will do so for the sake of a crown. But can any crown stay firmly on a head which has within it neither honesty nor trustworthiness?"

At the time this volume brings us to (1617), Khurram (Shāhjahān) was in high favour and being loaded with honours and costly presents. Jahāngīr was intensely gratified by his son's successes against the Rānā of Udhepur, and could hardly reward them sufficiently. If the continuation is published, we shall see the favourite of 1617 turned into "The Wretch" of 1622, a fugitive from his father's wrath, and seeking shelter in the kingdom of Bijāpur. Such are the vicissitudes of greatness in the East!

Having read this book as if I were a corrector of the press, naturally I have found many discrepaneies in transliteration, sometimes on the same page, and some positive errors, as for instance *ghari* (p. 2) for the Hindī word *gharī*, a measure of time, which is correctly spelt on pp. 83 and 85. We also find "Kharakpur" (pp. 146, 175) for "Kharakpur". I need not pursue the subject further. Such defects as these seem inevitable in all work of this sort, and do not detract substantially from its value. Perhaps it will not be out of place, however, if I devote the remainder of my space to the more salient

points which have struck me during the perusal of the book.

On p. 67 Jahāngīr speaks of a *bullī*, a boat-pole, and the editor in his Errata, p. 447, proposed to read *luggī*. This latter word is, no doubt, used east of Allāhābād; but *ballī* is quite a common and well-known word further west (Platts. *Dictionary*, p. 166). In the *Maʿāṣir-ul-umarā*, ii, 172, Rāwal Sāl Darbārī (p. 17) is styled Rājah Rāe Sāl Darbārī, and this would seem preferable. An explanatory note on the duties of a *Buyutātī*, translated "Master of Works" (pp. 22, 45), seems needed. He belonged to the *Khānsūmān*'s or Lord Steward's department, had charge of Crown buildings and Government town lands (*nuzāl*), he prepared *bāzār* price-lists, kept the Lord Steward's accounts, took possession of confiscated property and escheats, and was collector of the *jizyah* or poll-tax. Of the Patr Dās (Rājah Bikramājīt), on p. 23, there is a biography in the *Maʿāṣir-ul-umarā*, ii, 139; the fact might have been noted. With reference to the description of the *kurkarāq-khānah* on p. 45, n. 3, I would throw out the suggestion that it was the storehouse for velvet in the piece, and not made up: see the *Dastār-ul-inshā* of Yār Muḥammad (Calcutta, 1270 H., 1853 A.D.), p. 231, where we have *Toshah-khānah* (*jamī' parchahāe az har qism*), followed by *karkaraq-khānah* (*Makhmal, qatā'-i-parchahā*). On p. 79 the Manjholi referred to must be the Salempur Majhauri in the south-east of the Gorakhpur district, the head-quarters of the Bisen Rājputs, one of whom, on becoming a Mohammedan, founded Salempur on one side of the Gandak, while the Hindū rājah continued to live on the other side in Majhaurī, the ancient capital. The phrase on p. 82, "certain opposition and disloyalty on rough land," is correct literally for *mukhālīfathā wa nā-daulat-khwāhīhā dar zamīn-i-nā-hamwār*, but hardly seems to express the obvious sense. Who are the "Khatur" tribe (p. 100) settled between Ḥasan Abdāl and Aṭak?

The *Khar o Dalah-rāk* of the text (p. 48) is equally unsatisfactory.¹ The word *chaukandī* (text, p. 65; trans., p. 137) seems a Hindī word meaning in itself "four-cornered", although Jahāngir adds the adjective *murabba'*, "quadrangular." It occurs to me as probable that Jahāngir meant to say *chaukhambī*, "four-pillared."

For "Bhoj-hāra" (p. 140, l. 14) I would suggest "Bhoj, Hādā", the second word being the tribal name of the Rājputs who hold Būndī and Koṭah; there are biographies of Rāo Bhoj of Būndī and his son Ratan in the *Ma'āşir-ul-umara*, ii, 141, 208. The Ujjainiya of p. 173 is more precisely the modern district of Shāhābād, the home of the Ujjainiyah Rājputs, whose chief representative is the Rajah of Durnāon. The hunting preserve Somonagar of p. 202 may be identical with the Samūgarh, renamed Fatḥābād, the site of Aurangzeb's victory over Dārā Shukoh in 1658. Should not Siwistān (p. 203, n. 2) be identified rather with Sibī at the mouth of the Bolān Pass than with Sihwān? A passage in the *Ā'in-i-Akbārī* seems to be accepted by Jarrett, ii, 337, n. 4, as supporting this view. If so, Sibī is hardly in Sind and certainly not on the Indus. Although the text (p. 101) has Dā'ūd, Karānī (translation, p. 207), yet should it not be Karārānī? This is the name of the Afghān tribe to which the man belonged, and it is so given on his coins; see H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, 1907, vol. ii, p. 182.

Although *qutās* (p. 218) means the yak, would it not be more appropriate to the surroundings to read "yaks' tails"? On p. 224, l. 3 from the foot, I would propose to read "Qannauj", the actual pronunciation, in place of "Qanuj"; and were not "I'tiqād Khān, Yamīn-ud-daulah" rather the *titles* than the *names* of Abū'l-Ḥasan (p. 224,

¹ Possibly کھتر (*khatur*) is a misprint for کھکار (*khakar*, i.e. *ghakar*).

n. 2)? With reference to the meaning of "jewels" given to *tūrāh* on p. 225, I would call Mr. Beveridge's attention to the *Bādshāh-nāmāh* of 'Abd-ul-ḥamīd, Lāhorī, ii, 258, where a gift of a *turāh* to the widows of Yamīn-ud-daulah is explained as "nine pieces of unsewn clothing", and Platts, *Dict.*, p. 342, says the word is used in India for presents of food and so forth. I would point out the discrepancy between p. 218 and p. 227 about the name of the Rajah of Kumāon; in the one place he is called Lakhmī Chand and in the other Tek Chand: which is correct? Mr. Beveridge, on p. 239, n. 2, questions the reading *birādarī* of the text; but this seems to me a possible reading, in the not unusual meaning of a *mansabdār's* troops recruited from his own tribe or clan. I consider that this is the meaning intended in this passage.

If I mistake not, the true name of the sect referred to on p. 253, n. 1, was Raushānī, possibly because its founder was from the country of Raushān. The form *Raushan* (The Enlightened) was Akbar's perversion of the word, in order to give point to his scoff that they were the *Tūrīkīs* (The Benighted). As for the suggestion referred to on p. 451 of reading *puṭṭā-bāzī* instead of *pūltā-bāzī* (p. 285), I withdraw it so far as I am concerned. I believe now that *pūltā-bāzī* is correct, from *پلُٹ*, *pluti*, springing in the air, capering (Platts, *Dict.*, p. 267). The passage on p. 279, where Jahāngīr states the large extent of land he had given away, would be more satisfactory if *qulbah* (plough) and *kharwār* (ass-load) could be taken as terms of land measurement. It seems a little ridiculous to boast of having given away twenty-six "ploughs", articles costing a rupee or so each; and it should be noted that the text itself (p. 137, l. 1) has *qulbah-i-zirā'at*, "ploughs of cultivation," which could be rendered "plough-areas of land for cultivation". I am nearly certain that "plough" is used somewhere in India

for the area of land which can be cultivated by a man with one plough; persons of wide experience whom I have consulted are of the same opinion, but I have not been able to find any recorded authority. In the case of *kharwār* I have been more fortunate. Sir Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, p. 243, tells us that "Land measures are calculated, not by the length and breadth, but by the amount of seed required by certain areas of rice cultivation. It has been found that the *kharwār* corresponds exactly to four British acres".

Is not the word *chentze* used by Olearius (p. 294, n. 3) intended as the equivalent of خنجر, *khunjar*, a sword, our word "hanger". On p. 297, l. 24, the word *phup* has a query attached to it, and n. 2 suggests the substitution of *phāl*. But *phup* is also a good Hindī word for a flower: see Platts, *Dict.*, p. 283, पड़प, *pathup*, *phup*, from Sanskrit *pushpa*. The words "head butler" seem hardly an adequate indication of the position of a *Mīrsāmān* (also called *Khānsāmān*), the fourth or fifth in dignity of the great officers of state; and the word designates not a "rank" but an "office". "Lord Steward" would be a better equivalent than "head butler". The verses on p. 322 from the Introduction to Sa'di, Shīrāzī's *Gulistān*, seem to represent the original somewhat inadequately—

Az dast o zabān kih bar-āyad
Kīz 'uhdah-i-shukr-ash ba-dar-āyad.

This I take to mean—

"Who can succeed with hand and tongue
In paying his debt of thanks to God?"

Also see J. T. Platts. *Gulistān* (1873), p. v, to the same effect.

The words *khālīṣah-i-sharīfah* are rendered on p. 350 by "private domains". Is that correct? As I understand

the matter all lands not granted for *jāgīrs* or other allowances belonged to the *khālīshah* or imperial fisc. In other words, all lands under direct management and collection were *khālīshah* (H. H. Wilson, *Glossary*, p. 275). The word *kaulā* on the same page is a Hindī word for a kind of orange (Platts, *Dict.*, p. 849, *kamlā*, *kaulā*, *kaulā*). To make the sense clear, *kaulā* ought to be preceded by , (*wa*), "and," as in the text, p. 173, l. 9.

The tradition of milk flowing in the River Sipra at Ujjain, as mentioned by Abū'l-Faẓl in the *Ā'in-i-Akbārī* (Jarrett, ii, 196), and by Jahāngīr in these *Memoirs* (p. 355), is also reported by the German traveller Heinrich von Poser, who was at Ujjain for three days in July, 1622. He was told that in Rajah Bikramājīt's time the phenomenon happened twice a month, but the miracle ceased after a scavenger had washed his inferior parts in the stream. The miracle, so von Poser was assured, had been renewed from 1614 during the government of Daryā Khān, Afghān. Similarly, von Poser gives the story of the grass-cutter's spud turned into gold, which appears here on p. 364, and mentions the recluse Jadrūp of p. 355. The traveller says: "In another direction is a house cut out of the side of a hill, in which the still living Tschatrub Gussera [Jadrūp, Gusāin] dies to the world. This man is a Baniyā recluse, who endures the severest poverty by the power of devotion, so much so that during one day and one night he does not consume more grain than he can lay hold of with his five fingers."

On p. 357 *zunnār* is given as "girdle or thread"; it would be more precise to call it "Brahmanical thread", *zunnār* being the Persian equivalent of the Hindī *janeō*, just as *zunnārdār* is of "Brahman". It strikes me, and the context supports my view, that "revenue collector" for *sazāwal* (p. 373) misses the special meaning intended. A *sazāwal* was in those days a man, generally selected for

his brutal manners and foul language, who was sent to hurry the movements of a procrastinating official or secure the execution of some unpalatable order. Instances of this use of the word are numerous.

On p. 380 would not "Chief Taster" be a better rendering of *Bakāwul-begī* than "Chief Steward", his particular duty being to see that the monarch's food was not poisoned (see P. de Courteille, *Dict. Turk. Oriental*, p. 158). As to the variants (p. 419, n. 2) of "Mātar" and "Nātar" for "Bābrah", does not the alphabetical order of the *mahāls* in the *Āīn* (Jarrett, ii, 257) show that "Bābrah (Babrah)" must be correct? With reference to the queries attached to "Nabu", "Nannū", "Nanhū", on p. 429 (l. 23), the nickname of Muẓaffar Shah III of Gūjarāt, I notice that the contemporary author Abū Turāb Walī uses the form "Nanū" (edition E. D. Ross, pp. 106, 110). The events connected with the rising of Muẓaffar Shah's adherents in 992 H. (1584), their occupation of Aḥmadābād, and the defeat of the new Mogul governor, I'timād Khān, outside its walls, are fully detailed in the work just referred to (pp. 103-10).

In conclusion, it will be accepted, I trust, as a proof of the value attached by me to this work, that I should have devoted such close attention to it, and pointed out what in it seems to me to be doubtful or to require further elucidation. Such criticism, to which I have mainly confined myself, in no way implies a non-recognition of the great zeal, energy, and erudition applied by Mr. Beveridge to the execution of his task; and it will be a subject of great regret if any delay occurs in the publication of the rest of these Memoirs, with his valuable annotations.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

May 23, 1910.

LE JAPON, HISTOIRE ET CIVILISATION. Par le Marquis de la MAZELIÈRE. Avec nombreuses gravures hors texte. Tomes I-IV. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907-9.

In these four volumes, containing some 2000 pages pleasantly written and sufficiently illustrated, M. de la Mazelière has given the Western world the most complete history of Japan hitherto presented—a history which is much more than a collection or sequence of mere annals; it is a philosophical and comparative account of the people, government, literature, religions, arts, and administrative systems of Japan from the dawn of history to the restoration of the latter sixties of the last century. For a work of such magnitude the materials available to one unversed in the difficult script and language of the Dawnland are the translations and essays of men like Aston, Brinkley, Chamberlain, Satow, and members of the later school of Japanese scholars, mainly German and American, whose contributions are contained in the volumes of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, the Mittheilungen of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, and the various publications of the French school of Oriental languages. If such materials are insufficient they are at least manageable; Japanese, Chinese, and Korean sources are practically inattackable in their immensity and variety; their “voluminousness”, in the words of Professor Chamberlain, “almost negatives the possibility of any European ever properly ransacking them.” The Dai Nihonshi, compiled under the auspices of a Mito prince early in the eighteenth century, extends to a hundred volumes, and is written in as pure Chinese as the Japanese can command; and the principal modern collections, Dai Nihon Komonjo (*On the Antiquities of Japanese History*) and Dai Nihon Shiryu (*Materials for the History of Japan*), will when completed comprise more than 500 volumes. In addition there are innumerable diaries, memoirs, and biographies more or

less authentic, the endless archives of the Tokugawa Government extending over nearly three centuries, and the numerous collections of *nikki* (journals) of the 260 odd daimiates of the Bakufu regime, all awaiting even the preliminary work of classification. It may perhaps be doubted whether any history of Japan will ever be written at all comparable with Western histories in accuracy and fullness of credible detail, not merely in view of the enormous mass of unsifted material, but also in connexion with the special difficulties of decipherment of the various and varying scripts in which they are composed, and with the lack of original documents earlier than the seventeenth century. Much, however, is being done by the new school of historical investigation that has come into existence in Japan, and is beginning to appreciate European scientific method as well as to be free from the curious persecution which not many years ago caused one of the first historical authorities in Japan to be dismissed from his professorship because he expressed some doubts as to the authenticity of the accepted chronology of primitive Japan: and something has already been accomplished in the carefully written and, as far as possible, authentic history published recently under the auspices of the independent Waseda University, the creation, I believe, of the retired statesman Count Okuma. It is not too much to say of M. de Mazelière's work that it will accomplish for the European reader a notable portion of the task undertaken by the author of the Waseda history for the Japanese student of the chronicles of his country.

It cannot be said that up to the "Christian century" the history of Japan presents any particular interest or offers any warning or instruction to men. It is the record of a continuous struggle towards some sort of peace through the overlordship of one or more among a mass of ever-changing chieftains—kept together after a fashion, nevertheless, by the sanctity of the Mikadoate, notwithstanding

the adverse influence of Buddhism. The Japanese State did not result from an aggregation of states like China in the third century B.C., neither did it ever break up into separate states like the Roman Empire. A certain unity has been curiously preserved through the storms of ages, a nucleus of authority from which broke off a number of locally independent and extending powers that yet never became wholly disassociated from the primitive centre, and which in the fullness of time were to unite themselves with it in the powerful island empire of the present day. The first steps of real advance in this direction was taken by the earlier Shoguns, followed by Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu in their contemporary and successive efforts, crowned by the Tokugawa Shogunate of the last-named, which was a preface lasting two hundred and fifty years to the existing empire of the Tennô Mutsu. But the Tokugawa Shogunate was in truth an episode, though a long one; the shorter period, known as the Christian century, was a step in more regular development and anticipated the reforms of the nineteenth century. One can hardly imagine to what heights of power Japan might have risen but for the retrograde course Iyeyasu and his successors impressed upon her in the seventeenth century. All this is clearly shown by M. de Mazelière with abundant comparative illustrations from the history of the West, which after a very interesting and in large measure novel fashion connect the history of Japan with that of the rest of the world, and are interspersed with reflections that reveal the author as a learned and enlightened student of the philosophy of history, and especially of that of the Far East in particular and of the Orient generally. Japan was never a soulless despotism—local autonomy prevented that—and though the people at large were not directly taken into account the numerous body of the Samurai more or less represented the interests of the whole state

from Kagoshima to Awomori. I have not attempted in this brief notice any criticism of M. de Mazelière's work : it must suffice to say that it is an eminently readable digest of the materials at his command, well worthy the attention of Orientalists as well as of the general reader.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

DER ISLAM. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR
DES ISLAMISCHEN ORIENTS. Edited by C. H. BECKER.
Vol. I, Pt. I. Strassburg, Trübner; Hamburg, Boysen.
1910.

A hearty welcome will be extended to this latest born of Oriental reviews—Der Islam—which on May 10 last started, it may be hoped and anticipated, on a long and distinguished course. The first number opens, in due course, with an article by the editor, Professor C. H. Becker, on "Islam" as the problem to be treated in its pages—and not, as the Professor neatly puts it, "the problem of Islam." He points out the many popular uses of the term—viz., a collection of political units, a political theory, a civilization, and a creed—conceptions which both overlap and interact, and the last, although great and far-reaching in its influence, yet in Western idea largely exaggerated. For the Professor emphasizes the vast differences between a religion to be pushed on until it overcame all rivals, and the practical outcome of the idea, in Asia and in Northern Africa, of an upper stratum of colonizing believers, and, below them, a tributary native population unconverted and unmolested in their unbelief. Indeed, the force which prompted the Arab exodus was not religious but economical, and in this connexion the Professor refers to Prince Teano's recently advanced theory of *inamidimento*, with which he expresses himself as completely in accord. But although religious conviction did little more than aid

the advance of Islam, it was the eventual means of bringing the masses into its fold through the "unremitted labours of Muslim missionaries" (quoted from the *Preaching of Islam* of Professor Arnold). To the victors, however, the result of this religious success was that whilst they multiplied, the number of the tribute-paying vanquished diminished. For religion, and not race, became the badge of unity, and, when the Maula system formed a ladder from one class to the other, the marked superiority, both intellectual and material, of the ascending class made itself felt until the aristocratic Arab system became transformed under the Abbasids into an ordinary Oriental despotism where there were neither conquerors nor conquered, but all bowed alike before an absolute master. Under these altered conditions conversions proceeded apace, and political absolutism was in due course combined with a religious system equally absolute. But it was not religion which brought about political unity: it was the pre-existing civilization of the land, itself the outcome of Hellenic culture transmitted in its Aramaic form from the conquering Alexander and his successors. To regard Islamic questions of to-day rather from these points of view than from one restricted to the Koran and the Life of the Prophet is declared to be the object of this publication, and it is one well worthy of encouragement.

There follow a few interesting pages by Professor Goldziher on the origin of the title "*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*", which he traces to the story in *Kalila wa-Dimna* of the Ringed Pigeon, told in response to the royal command for a story about true brotherhood, how it arose and how it profited. Its moral, that mutual fidelity and support serves to ward off dangers, becomes, when regarded as an allegory, a symbol of the release of soul from matter, and of its rise into the region of pure spirituality. On this account the name was adopted for the brotherhood.

The remaining articles, which can only be mentioned, are: an elaborate illustrated study by E. Herzfeld on Islamic structural art, to be continued; then two short articles, one by G. Jacob on the result of Persian and Turkish influences on that art; the other by E. Littmann on the recent and apparently considerable encroachment of Islam in North Abyssinia on Christianity. The concluding article is one by M. Hartmann on the position of Germany towards Islam, its proper aims, and the means by which to attain them. This is a question on which foreigners may abstain from any expression of opinion. Incidentally the writer, in a solemn foot-note on p. 77, recalls to the memories of those fortunate enough to be present a humorous episode at the Algiers Oriental Congress of 1905, in which the protagonist was, in fact, the Cairo editor Shawish. Altogether it is a very successful first number.

SUN TZŪ ON THE ART OF WAR. Translated from the Chinese, with Introduction and Critical Notes, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. London: Luzac & Co., 1910.

Writers on military affairs have occupied rather an inconspicuous position in Chinese literature; but amongst the few works¹ coming under such a heading is one of particular moment by Sun Tzū. It is really the oldest of the class, and not only so, but also the oldest military treatise in the world. The author lived in the sixth century B.C.

During her long history China has passed through many of the stages of existence and conditions which have been experienced by us in our shorter epochs of political life. This standard work was written during China's feudal

¹ Wylie in his *Notes on Chinese Literature* gives only some fifteen or sixteen in all. Out of a total of 11,332 works by 623 authors, given in a biographical list of books in the former Han Dynasty, 790 by 53 authors are classed as military.

state. It seems fitting that this treatise on warfare should have been produced when all the little states that composed the China of that period were in strife one with the other. In this arena of constant internecine warfare Sun Tzū received his training.

It is evident that he must have been an ardent student of the principles that underlay the successful appeal to the sword, the bow and arrow, the spear and shield in ancient China. The whole book shows it to be the result of keen observation of military tactics, a methodic study of military operations, in which the author took a prominent part.

Scanty knowledge is obtainable of the life of Sun Tzū, and what is given is not always reliable. Mr. Giles has thoroughly investigated all notices of the author, subjecting the information available to a critical test of its value. An attempt to construct even an outline of Sun Tzū's life must be based almost wholly on conjecture, the resultant of which is barely a page of inferences.

There have been two former translations of Sun Tzū, one in French and the other in English. We have not seen the former, but from the specimen given of it in the introduction to the present volume it was apparently a poor affair. The latter had the advantage of being written by a military officer, who, however, unfortunately was not a Sinologue. Our present translator is most scathing in his denunciation of the omissions and mistakes and blunders which he detects. One hundred and seventeen or eighteen times in the course of 175 pages reference is made to the former translation, and nearly always to animadvert strongly on it.

The care with which the present translator does his work is most commendable. Mr. Giles has already earned his laurels in the field of translation from the Chinese, and the present work will add to his reputation. At the very beginning of the book we have a much better

rendering of the first word than has appeared in former translations—in fact the proper rendering for it—and this augurs well for what follows. It is impossible in a short notice to go through the whole, pointing out the excellencies or improvements in the translation. Two or three instances must suffice, such as towns on p. 73 for the Chinese *chéng*, the proper equivalent for *chih chung* on p. 83, and the translation on p. 159 of paragraph 22.

We can only hope that Mr. Giles will add many other Chinese standard works to his list of translations.

The day of bald renderings of Chinese originals into wooden English is fast passing away. A literal translation of one of these old Chinese classics is impossible, as Mr. Giles well says, "The Chinese is so concise and elliptical that some expansion is necessary for the proper understanding of it" (p. 170, note). At the same time the characters are so elastic that they refuse to be fettered by dictionary-made definitions, and those who have made many translations are aware that failing the definitions they require, they must be, to a certain extent, their own dictionary-makers.

Mr. Giles has wisely used the commentators to elucidate difficult passages and clear up obscurities, though at the same time he does not follow them implicitly when he believes he has reason to dissent from their views, but uses his own judgment. There have been not a few commentaries—some score or so. The romance of fiction is well exemplified in the earliest one, as the list of them is headed by the name of Ts'ao Ts'ao, one of the heroes of the famous historical novel, *The Sun Kwo Chih*. The commentaries extant at the present day are eleven in number, but they are of varying merit, the deep profundity of some requiring the more lucid notes of others; thus we have, as it were, commentaries on commentaries, "epexegetic," as a recent author terms it.

It is wonderful that this old-world book should be so modern in its ideas. Lord Roberts, in a letter to the translator, says: "Many of Sun Wu's [Sun Tzū's] maxims are perfectly applicable to the present day." Mr. Giles's notes are not only critical and exegetical, but abound with numerous instances in the wars, not only of the Chinese in former and later times, but also in ancient and modern Western warfare, which all illustrate the principles enunciated by the old Chinese general.

The list of battles thus mentioned, generals referred to, and books cited is not a short one, for we have the names appearing in these notes of Nicias, Demosthenes, Sophanes, Thucydides, Herodotus, Livy, Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, the Dictator Fabius, Cromwell, Turenne, Napoleon, Moltke, General Buller, Lord Roberts, Baden-Powell's *Aids to Scouting*, Waterloo, Marengo, Sedan, and Port Arthur, all illustrative of points in old Sun Tzū.

The notes, we may remark in passing, are enlightening and, in many cases, very suggestive. Amidst many interesting remarks interspersed through them, Mr. Giles calls attention to the analogies between the early Chinese warfare and that of the Homeric Greeks—"In each case the war-chariot was the important factor, forming, as it did, the nucleus round which was grouped a certain number of foot-soldiers" (p. 9, note).

To any fearing the Yellow Peril we would commend the careful study of this Chinese military treatise, the maxims and precepts of which have been "highly valued in China" for two thousand years or more, the book having "exercised a potent fascination over the minds of some of China's greatest men". Sun Tzū voices the feeling of the Chinaman on war; he is the exponent of the attitude of the Chinese nation towards warfare.

There is ample proof in the thirteen chapters that the sentiment of the Chinese people is opposed to militarism.

As Mr. Giles points out in his Introduction (p. xliv), the great body of this sentiment "from Lau Tzû downwards and especially as reflected in the standard literature of Confucius, has been consistently pacific and intensely opposed to militarism in any form". In the Introduction a few passages are culled from what may be called, from a Chinese standpoint, the unorthodox view of warfare. The trend of these "unorthodox views" is, however, against peace at any price and not in favour of aggrandisement and wars of conquest. Here are a few of these "unorthodox views": "Military weapons are the means used by the Sage to punish violence and cruelty, to give peace to troublous times, to remove difficulties and dangers, and to succour those who are in peril" (Ssü-ma Ch'ien). "War may be defined as punishment, which is one of the functions of Government" (Tu Mu). "Weapons are baneful and fighting perilous: and unless a general is in constant practice, he ought not to hazard other men's lives in battle" (Sun Hsing-yen).

Since the publication of Dr. Legge's *Chinese Classics* the method he employed of the translation being accompanied by the original text has apparently fallen into desuetude, and it is a pleasure to find in this book a return to the old plan which students of Chinese literature prefer to that of rendering Chinese masterpieces without the Chinese version.

The book is printed at Leyden and well printed, the type clear and distinct, both in the English and the Chinese. We could have wished, however, that the Chinese style of the notes being placed immediately after the passages to which they refer, instead of at the foot of the page, had not been followed; in fact, that the plan adopted in the Introduction had been adhered to throughout the whole book.

An improvement, should the book reach a second edition, would be to put the numbers of the chapters at

the top of the pages as well as the ordinary pagination, as it would facilitate reference.

There are two full indexes—one of the Chinese characters arranged alphabetically according to the English romanizing of the Mandarin pronunciation, and there is also an English index.

J. DYER BALL.

TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, von JOHANNES HERTEL. Erster Teil: EINLEITUNG, pp. viii + [2], 159. Zweiter Teil: ÜBERSETZUNG und ANMERKUNGEN, pp. [ii], 159 + [1]. Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1909. M. 12 (bound M. 16).

TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra. Nach den Handschriften beider Rezensionen zum ersten Male herausgegeben, von JOHANNES HERTEL. Mit einer Tafel in Lichtdruck. pp. xxvii, 186. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910. M. 24.

(Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band XII, Nro. 2.)

With these two publications Dr. Hertel crowns his long and extraordinarily laborious researches concerning the text of the *Pañcatantra*. A history of the text is to be published by him in the Harvard Oriental Series.

A complete list of Dr. Hertel's books and papers dealing with the subject might have been usefully inserted here, were it not that M. Sylvain Lévi has included such a list in his notice of the former of the two works now under consideration (*Journal Asiatique*, X, xiv, 1909, pp. 530-5). to which passage the reader may be referred. We need only mention the fact that in that list four texts are included, namely—

1. A *Tantrākhyāyika* (Über das T. die Kāśmīrische Rezension des *Pañcatantra* mit dem Texte der Handschrift Decr. Coll., viii, 145. Leipzig, 1904 : published for the Leipzig Academy).

2. A southern recension of the *Pañcatantra* (*Das Südliche Pañcatantra, Sanskrittext der Rezension β mit den Lesarten der besten HSS. der Rezension α.* Leipzig, 1906 : published for the Leipzig Academy).

3. The northern or common *Pañcatantra* in its fuller form—*textus ornatior* (*The Panchatantra . . . in the Recension, called Panchakhyānaka, and dated 1199 A.D., of the Jaina monk Purnabhadra.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1908 ; Harvard Oriental Series, No. 11).

4. The present text, a definitive edition of the *Tantrākhyāyika*.

Two other recensions of the work, the shorter *Pañcatantra*—*textus simplicior*—and the *Hitopadeśa*, are known in reliable editions. Of the Nepalese *Tantrākhyāna* a selection was published, with translation, by the late Professor Bendall (JRAS., 1888, pp. 465–501). Further, the substance of the book is included in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva and the *Bṛhatkathā* of Kṣemendra. Inasmuch as nearly all these recensions and compilations are now furnished with satisfactory translations in European languages, the Sanskrit work has become fully accessible to students of all kinds.

Needless to say, there are versions of the *Pañcatantra* in other Indian languages, from the Newārī to the Tamil. And when we take a wider view we find not only the numerous progeny of the Pahlavī version made by order of Chosroes before 570 A.D.—a group to which attention was first drawn by Sir William Jones in an address to the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1786 and then by Sir Charles Wilkins in the Preface to his translation of the *Hitopadeśa*, and which was the subject of Benfey's important study—but also Siamese, Laocian, Javanese, and perhaps other

derivatives which still require investigation. The Malay possesses, in fact, two separate versions received by curiously different routes, one having come through the Pahlavi-Syriac-Arabic-Persian and the other through the Tamil.

The existence of different recensions, even of highly artificial and polished compositions, is no rare phenomenon in Indian literature. But it may be doubted whether there is any Sanskrit text, if we except the *Veda* and the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, which in the character and extent of the transformations that it has undergone can compare with the *Pañcatantra*, or which presents a problem of equal intricacy.

It is no reflection upon Dr. Hertel's predecessors to say that he found the problem practically untouched, or rather he found some of its more important elements still wanting, since the *Tantrākhyāyika*, the most notable of them, became known only through Dr. Hertel's own researches. It was he who brought to light the Poona MS., obtained by Bühler from Kashmir, and it was owing to his inquiries that the other MSS. which form the basis of the present edition were sought and procured. To him belongs also the credit of having discovered the date and authorship of the amplified *Pañcatantra* (*textus ornatior*) and of publishing a correct edition of the southern text.

In the introductory parts of the two works now under consideration Dr. Hertel presents a solution of the critical problem in terms of no inconsiderable definiteness and precision. A genealogical table (translation, i, p. 40; text, p. xxii) provides a place for each of the recensions, including both actual MSS. and postulated archetypes and intermediates; and the discussions leading up to the table furnish details concerning both existing MSS. and those which are assumed. The precision of Dr. Hertel's statements may be exemplified by a citation (text, p. xxi)—

“In this case p^2 could not, of course, have been copied

directly from τ , since p^2 is in any case later than R , and its copyist can, of course, have had before him no complete text in places where the writer of R found already a gap. Accordingly p^2 could at the most go back to a copy derived itself earlier from τ than was R . But this also is impossible, since p^2 , although on its part very faulty, has frequently the correct or more original reading as compared with τR . Especially to be considered are the above-cited readings, which p^2 has in common with P (α), and which always relate to details, not to cases of larger divergences between α and β . At the same time, the great mass of the errors of β appears also in p^2 , so that it is clear that there has not been a correction of the archetype of p^2 in accordance with α . We must rather hold that at the time, when τ was copied by the writer of the intermediate MS. ξ which leads to R , it showed the gap as we have it in R , but that there was available a third older MS. (χ) or—compare the corrupt reading *māle* (R^1) instead of *māṅga*—a copy (χ) of such a MS., whence R^1 supplied the text wanting in R . Only thus can the variants between p^2 and R^1 be explained; and in view of the imperfection of p elsewhere, even the passages where this MS. has the correct reading in comparison with τR , and in which it exhibits the readings of α , must be traced back to the less imperfect archetype χ , whence probably τ also is mediately derived. This is confirmed by the following passages:—

It is possible that with some readers the positive tone of such statements concerning (partly) non-existent documents may react in the direction of incredulity. But those readers will be obliged in candour to take account of three facts, namely, (1) that such refinements are an inevitable outcome of modern textual criticism, in which Dr. Hertel is evidently an expert, (2) that the statements embody the results of prolonged and elaborate researches, which are open to detailed examination, and (3) that in

his present edition and translation Dr. Hertel has provided the means of controlling his conclusions by references to the decisive passages. To examine the whole question in detail would demand an amount of time comparable to that spent upon it by Dr. Hertel himself. The task can only be undertaken by some future specialist in the study of the text. It is hardly likely that such a re-examination will *fundamentally* modify conclusions so thoroughly thought out and documented. Dr. Hertel's work will always remain a landmark in the history of *Pañcatantra* criticism. The order which he has introduced into the chaos of recensions will be itself the basis of future rectifications, while upon the general student it confers the double advantage of a broad conception and a model (as he himself points out, preface to the text, pp. viii-ix) for research in other departments of Sanskrit literature.

In the *Tantrākhyaṇika* Dr. Hertel claims to have discovered the most original and earliest form of the work, closely related to, but distinct from, the common source (*K*) of the Pahlavi version and of the other Indian texts. Both archetypes belong to Kashmir. The *Tantrākhyaṇika* itself exists in two recensions, *α* and *β*, of which the former, as the more original, is selected for representation, being supplemented only where the MSS. are incomplete by extracts from the sister redaction. Needless to say, there arise numberless critical questions in detail, where the readings of other recensions must be consulted: and Dr. Hertel has provided a most elaborate and careful *apparatus criticus*, in which he has distinguished by special types the two most important classes of variants, namely, the cases where the reading of *β* has been preferred to that of *α*, and the cases where the combined authority of *α* and *β* has yielded to the weight of argument or of other authorities. The number of conjectures unsupported by MSS. which have found a place in his text is of very reasonable dimensions: a good case is generally made

out for them, and they include some really admirable suggestions both by Dr. Hertel himself and by various correspondents.

The great importance of the *Tantrākhyāyika* resides in the fact that it preserves the original prose text of the work. The differences which mark off the other redactions are of an order practically precluding textual comparison; they belong to the higher criticism, involving omissions and insertions of whole stories, dislocations of arrangement, abbreviation and expansion of narrative, in fact recasting of a drastic character. That Dr. Hertel's contention as regards the *Tantrākhyāyika*, with which the *Southern Pañcatantra* corresponds in the main, though showing considerable curtailment, is in this matter justified, will be questioned by no one who has carefully considered the parallel passages which he gives and discusses on pp. 69–98 of the introduction to his translation. We are therefore in possession of the text in the form which it wore at least as far back as 570 A.D., when the Pahlavi version was rendered into Syriac.

In regard to a further matter also, or rather to two allied matters, namely, the purpose of the work and the language in which it was composed, we are able to avow a like allegiance. The *Pañcatantra* claims to be, and is, a work on *nīti*, an *arthaśāstra*; and its speciality consists, as Dr. Hertel well observes, in a combination of the science of policy with the story or *ākhyāyikā*; and this fact is conveyed in the title *Tantrākhyāyika*, concerning which we will say a word presently. This being so, we cannot doubt that it was composed in Sanskrit. The *arthaśāstra* is one of the old Brahmanical sciences. The work ascribed to Cānakya has now been published: it is evidently a very ancient treatise, its style being similar to that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the author quotes the views of not a few earlier authorities and schools. In the *Lalita-Vistara* (ed. Lefmann, p. 156, l. 21) the *arthaśāstra*

is included in the list of sciences in which Buddha excelled, and it is also mentioned in the *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner, p. 1). As Dr. Hertel points out (introduction to trans., pp. 5-6), it was condemned by the Buddhists (Speijer, *Jātaka-mālā*, trans., p. 40, note) and the Jains, and we know it only in Sanskrit, unless some of the *nīti* books of Burma, which in any case are late, were original in Pali. No doubt the beast fable, which in all parts of the world is primitive, has always tended to convey lessons in morals or craft—we need only think of “Uncle Remus”. But the express employment of it as a vehicle for a definite science seems to have originated in India. It is a combination highly characteristic of a civilization of which the two most important features were the intellectual passion and subtlety of the Brahman schools on the one hand and the village life of a humorous people on the other.

Dr. Hertel has an interesting passage (introd. to trans., pp. 8-18) concerning the position of Sanskrit as a court language. He holds that the literary Sanskrit, as distinct from the studies of the *Mīmāṃsaka* pandits, flourished exclusively in the entourage of the Rajas, and he quotes (pp. 13-14) from that extremely amusing work the *Bhojaprabandha* a story which illustrates the distinction in a striking manner. Our concurrence here is tempered by two qualifications. In the first place, the *Bhojaprabandha* belongs to a very late period, during Muhammadan times, when the Sanskrit had drifted far from the life of the people. Secondly, we must remember that the Rajas who played the part of Mæcenæ in regard to the Kavis and Mahākavis included not only emperors and kings, but great numbers of petty rulers, zemindars, and merely rich persons, who would all have their literary dependants: further, that purely literary studies were continually prosecuted in Brahman settlements and local *sabhās*. For instance, Bāṇa speaks in the *Harṣacarita* (trans., p. 33) of his own

literary retainers and (p. 71) of the literary studies of the Brahmanical settlement where he dwells, and we can see from the plays and from such works as the *Daśakumāra-carita* that literary culture has always been a feature of Indian city life. In city and country alike the *Mahābhārata* is even to this day genuinely popular literature.

We may now advert to the arguments whereby Dr. Hertel seeks to determine the date and place of composition.

As regards the date, he has no difficulty in showing (introd. to trans., pp. 20-2) that it lies between the time of Cānakya, whom it cites, and that of the Pahlavi version, i.e. between 300 B.C. and 570 A.D. at latest. He is in favour of a time nearer to the earlier limit, and concludes (p. 22) that the *Tantrākhyāyika* is the oldest *kārya* text which has come down to us. His main reason is the relative simplicity of style; and making allowance for a few ornate passages, which are in fact, beside the verses, the chief justification for applying to the work the term *kārya*, it seems not without weight. Nevertheless we must remark that the style of the *Arthasāstra* is of a far more antique character. The *Jātakamālā*, to which Dr. Hertel refers, and the *Buddhacarita* and other works of Aśvaghoṣa, as well as such sacred texts as the *Lalitā-Vistara*, suffice to show that in the first or second century A.D. there existed a *kārya* style much more elaborate than that of the *Pañcatantra*. The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, is relatively simple. But these facts are hardly of chronological import. The style of the *Pañcatantra* may be called perfect in relation to its subject-matter, and it presents few grammatical and lexicographical peculiarities or archaisms. Perhaps something has yet to be learned from a study of the proper names and other realia mentioned in the text. On the whole, while conceding an early date, let us say at least 300 A.D., we look to the future for further light.

Quotations from the work are singularly rare in ancient texts, or at least have been seldom brought to light.

For Kashmir as the place of origin Dr. Hertel pleads earnestly (pp. 23-5), but he hardly succeeds in convincing. The fact that the oldest text is found only in Kashmir goes for little: the same might be said of the *Mahābhārata* or the *Harsacarita*. The MSS. themselves are not old, the earliest dating from about the end of the sixteenth century. Indeed, MSS. in the *Śāradā* character are not often of great age. We must, however, do justice to Dr. Hertel's contention. He claims to have proved (introd. to trans., pp. 26-7) that all the extra-Kashmirian recensions (except the *textus simplicior*) go back to a curtailed text contained in a single *Śāradā* MS. If that were the case, it would be all but conclusive. Dr. Hertel's technical arguments have been given in full: they are eminently characterized by definiteness, and they deserve the close attention of specialists. But we are hardly prepared to repose so complete a confidence in a purely critical reasoning regarding so complicated a matter. The *Śāradā* character is one of a group of northern alphabets sprung from the Gupta writing, and, according to Bühler's most mature opinion (*Indische Palaeographie*, p. 57, § 25), it cannot have branched off before the seventh century, the earliest monuments dating from about 800 A.D. The northern alphabets show a high degree of similarity,¹ and it would require delicate tests to prove that the MS. *n-w*, if we concede its existence, was written rather in the *Śāradā* than in one of its congeners. We cannot claim to have given to this matter the detailed attention which it would demand. Dr. Hertel may have proved his thesis, but at present we have scruples.

The argument from the animals mentioned or not mentioned would, even if we accepted its details, hardly

¹ For instance, the *Śāradā* *r* as prior member of a group is paralleled in Nepal.

carry us far. How can the elephant and tiger have been unknown in Kashmir, how can the camel have been unknown in other parts of India, at 300 A.D. or 100 B.C. ? It would be contrary to all experience to suppose that fables, in many cases known to us from other parts of India and of the world, should always have adapted themselves to the flora and fauna of the province where they become domesticated.¹ And this reasoning would apply with especial force to a work supposed to originate at one of the Indian courts, where imported animals have always been maintained for curiosity or amusement.

It is now time to turn more particularly to the text and translation contained in these two publications, which have issued in enviable form from the respective printing-houses of Drugulin and Teubner. Without having studied the whole of the text and compared the whole of the translation, we may say unreservedly that Dr. Hertel seems to have done his work exceedingly well. The text is constructed on scientific principles scrupulously observed, and the *apparatus criticus* is upon a most ample scale. All the readings and many of the mere errors of writing are stated, and the more important classes of them are indicated by special type. The narrative is also distinguished typographically from the incidental tales; for convenience of reference it is divided into sections. In the margins appear indications of the parallel passages in the *Southern Pāṇcatantra*, and the pages have divisional and subject headings. As we have noted above, the gaps in the main redaction *α* are filled by extracts from the second source *β*. A glossary and a list of verse-*pratīkas* complete the volume.

The German translation, which is similarly provided with conveniences for reference, aims (Preface, p. 2) at

¹ For instance, in Malay "The Unity of Zoology is no test; it is not observed in the *Hikayat Pelandok Djinaka*, where the Lion plays a part" (R. J. Wilkinson in *Papers on Malay Subjects*, ii, p. 11).

exactness rather than literary style, though, so far as a foreigner may judge, there seems to be no need for apology upon this ground, and the rendering is very readable. One of Dr. Hertel's main objects has been to provide students unacquainted with Sanskrit, and especially students of the Semitic version, with a counterpart of the original text: and his notes have in part the same purpose. So far as we have read, we can confirm the general correctness of the rendering.

A few comments on text, translation, glossary, etc., may be reserved for a second notice. No Sanskrit work is altogether easy to understand or translate, and in the *Pañcatantra* there are many difficult passages, and there is ample scope for suggestions from various branches of scholarship. Our few observations will be offered as a tribute to Dr. Hertel's work. No one acquainted with his writings will fail to echo the appreciative words of M. Sylvain Lévi in the review already mentioned. They are the outcome of hours spared from professional occupations, and have entailed heavy demands upon his strength. He renders a generous acknowledgment to those who have facilitated his researches or the publication of them, and he deserves himself to be congratulated upon the outcome of his truly German devotion, skill, and scientific method in the accomplishment of his task.

F. W. THOMAS.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA. By WILLIAM EDGAR GEIL.
London: John Murray, 1909.

This interesting but discursive book is the outcome rather than the narrative of a journey made by the author "all along the Great Wall", from Shanhaikuan on the Gulf of Pechili, to its western end 5 miles south-west of the city of Kiayükuan in the province of Kansu. Here, on a cliff 200 feet above the Big White North River, and

1145 miles (as the crow flies but not as the wall runs) from its eastern extremity, the traveller finds amid an absolute solitude its terminal point. The journey included the discovery and exploration of "The Tibetan Loop", a stretch of 200 miles of Great Wall not on our maps.

Speaking generally, however, a reader expecting a consecutive narrative or diary of Dr. Geil's explorations will be disappointed, for he will not find it; and, indeed, the amount of first-hand observation of the actual wall itself recorded in these pages is inconsiderable. We at least should have liked much more, and for it several of the present chapters might advantageously have been sacrificed. However, there is some compensation in the numerous and admirable photographs of this extraordinary barrier at many points, and of characteristic scenes upon the route. It is clear, though nowhere explicitly stated in the book, that Dr. Geil did not conduct his caravan of mules either along the top or along the base of the wall. And if he did not, it was because he could not, a physical impossibility easy to understand by anyone who has seen the actual course of this astonishing structure among the mountains. He must have followed it as far as the features of the ground allowed, and elsewhere made vexatious but necessary detours.

Dr. Geil fills a whole chapter, "The Why of the Wall," on the possible motives of the First Emperor in carrying through this colossal work, but without reaching any solid certainty. And, indeed, the common belief that it was to keep out the wild horsemen of the north is hardly enough to account for some of its remarkable features—its inexplicable and seemingly needless twistings and contortions, its almost frenzied passion for scaling heights that might have been avoided and plunging into depths easily turned. It is very true, as the author insists, that the Great Wall does not lose in inexpressiveness by familiarity, but the reverse.

We could wish that Dr. Geil would not refer to the Imperial wall-builder either as "Chin", or "The Only First". The man who came to the throne of the feudal state of Ch'in (or Ts'in) as Prince Chêng was never known by the surname of Chin (his clan name was Chao, as the historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien tells us), nor is the title Shih Huang Ti, which he bestowed upon himself, at all correctly rendered by "The Only First". It means "First Sovereign Emperor", as Dr. Geil himself explains on p. 14.

Space prevents any but the barest allusion to the many interesting points in these 341 pages. To the reported pigmy race—in Shensi apparently: to the craving of the Chinchow children for white earth, leading them to nibble window-sills and beds made of it; to the custom of the parents in this same city to use their dead infants as fuel for their stove-beds: to the inscribed I Shan Tablet, and to the dismal discrepancy between the translation of it made by "three venerable missionaries" consulted by Dr. Geil and that by M. Chavannes, the less venerable but more exact French scholar: and to the immense but quite unrecognized services rendered under horrible conditions by the missionaries Ridley and his wife and Hall to wounded Chinese in the city of Sining. But we must stop.

L. C. H.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April, May, June, 1910.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

April 12, 1910.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. C. H. H. Macartney.

Rev. Donald MacGillivray.

Mr. Ahmad Hosein Nomani.

Mr. F. F. Richards.

Babu Nayendra Nath Vasu.

Six nominations were announced for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor Barnett read a paper on Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra*, in which he pointed out the essential identity of the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Dravidian South with the ancient teachings of the Kashmiri schools (Spanda and Pratyabhijñā), and an outline of the doctrine was given. The following historical conclusions were suggested:—Possibly about the beginning of the present era, and probably not later than the fifth century A.D., the inchoate idealism of the older Upanishads was harmonized with the growing belief in the reality of the material principle in nature. For this the chief literary document is the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, which asserts that Māyā is matter, a mode of thought imposed upon the real consciousness or Self by the will of the Absolute Thought, which is regarded as a personal deity, Śiva, and that this fettered condition is sublated by the free grace of this deity inspiring the soul to recognize its true absoluteness and essential unity with Him. These

ideas gradually developed in Kashmir into the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā schools, and meanwhile filtered down through various channels to the Dravidians, for whose ancient cults it supplied a theological basis. The Pratyabhijñā was finally codified about 1000 A.D. In that form it passed through Āgamik and other channels southwards, notably into the Kanarese country about the middle of the twelfth century, and reappears about the beginning of the thirteenth as the basis of the Tamil Siddhānta.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Thomas, Rev. J. J. Johnson, and Dr. Grierson took part.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 3, 1910, Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Moulvi Sayyid Makbul Ahmad.

Mr. S. A. Aziz.

Maung Maung Gyi.

Dr. V. Lesný.

Mr. Parames Prasanna Roy.

Baron A. von Staël Holstein.

Eight nominations were announced for election at the next General Meeting.

The Annual Report of the Society was read by the Secretary.

It was announced that Sir Aboul Kassem Khan, Nasserul Moulk. had been elected an Extraordinary Member of the Society.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1909-10

The Council regret to report the loss by death of two distinguished honorary members—

Professor Donner, of Helsingfors,

Professor de Goeje, of Leiden,

and of fourteen ordinary members—

Mr. J. B. Andrews,	Mr. A. M. T. Jackson,
Colonel C. R. Conder,	Raja Jaikishan Dass Bahadur,
Mr. S. V. Constant,	Major-General Jago-Trelawny,
Mr. A. Cumine,	Baron George de Reuter,
Dr. Robert N. Cust,	The Marquess of Ripon,
Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt,	The Rev. Dr. Charles Taylor,
Major-General Sir M. W. E. Gosset,	Mr. Jain Vaidya :

and of the following sixteen by retirement :—

Mr. S. L. Bensusan,	Major-General E. Mockler,
Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott,	Miss M. Noble,
Mr. Edmund Forbes,	Colonel J. Pennycuick,
Mr. M. Po Han,	Rev. H. Pentin,
Mr. A. L. Hetherington,	Rev. J. N. Rawson,
Sir J. E. Gray Hill,	Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong
Mr. G. T. von Holst,	Tulku, of Sikkim,
Mr. G. R. Kaye,	Mr. Dinsha Edalji Wacha.
Mr. M. Ba Kyaw,	

The two following gentlemen, elected during 1909, have not taken up their election :—

Mr. Ganga Prasad Pillai,
Mr. Vanga Jagannadha Row.

Under Rule 25 (d) the following eighteen gentlemen cease to be members of the Society :—

Mr. M. Shakir Ali,	Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed,
Mr. S. C. Ghatak,	Hon. Mr. Justice Asutosh
Hon. Mr. Justice Jogendra	Mukhopadhyay,
Chandra Ghose,	Mrs. Parvatibai Powar,
Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghose,	Mr. Sadashiva Rao Powar,
Mr. K. N. Gopal,	Mr. Mahabir Prasad,
Mr. Q. Tajammul Husain,	Sheikh Abdul Qadir,
Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan,	Mr. H. Raynbird,
Mr. K. M. Mattolla Mappillay,	Sri Surendra P. Sanyal,
Mr. Kumar Padma Gopal	Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha.
Menon,	

The name of one member, Mr. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, was removed from the list under Rule 107.

Two honorary members, Professor Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, and Professor K. L. Tallqvist, of Helsingfors, have been elected during the year, as well as seventy-six ordinary members—

Mr. Saiyed Abu-Ali,	Mr. R. P. Kulandaiswami,
Rai Girdhari Lal Agarwala,	Mr. M. A. Kundanani,
Mr. Muhammad Asaf Ali,	Professor Dr. H. Lüders,
Sheikh Mahomed Ali,	Mr. Roderick H. Macleod, I.C.S.
Thekkay Kuruppath Kalayam	(ret.),
Amma,	Mr. Mahomed Mehr-ud-din,
Mr. T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar,	Mrs. Leslie Milne,
Babu Bisweswar Bhattacharya,	Mr. Muralidhar Mitter,
Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, I.C.S.,	Mr. S. Mitter,
Mr. N. N. Bose,	Mr. Manmatha Nath Moitry,
Mr. James E. Bridges, I.C.S.	Mr. T. W. Morris, I.C.S.,
(ret.),	Mr. Charles J. Morse,
Pandit Uday Chand,	Mr. Gokul Chand Narang,
Mr. Samuel J. Cohen,	Mr. G. K. Nariman,
Miss Elizabeth S. Colton,	Dr. Paira-Mall,
Right Hon. Lord Curzon of	Mr. Harold G. Parlett,
Kedleston, G.C.S.I.,	Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby,
Mr. Georges Ghislain Dandoy,	I.C.S.,
Mr. Muhammad Fazlul-Karim,	Mr. G. P. Pillai,
Mr. William Foster,	Mr. Perumana Narayana Pillai,
Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira,	Mr. S. Bavanandam Pillai,
Mr. J. Gillespie,	Pandit Ganga Prasad,
Sriman Alkondavilli	Rai Debi Prasad,
Govindacharya Svami,	Professor W. J. Prendergast,
Professor Basant Lal Gupta,	Mr. Mukand Lal Puri,
Mr. Robert Halliday,	Mr. Pyarai Lal,
Mr. E. B. Havell, I.E.S. (ret.),	Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit
Mr. M. Po Hla, A.T.M.,	Banke Rai,
Mr. E. de M. Humphries, I.C.S.,	Mr. Kodungallore Rama Varma
Mr. E. H. Johnston,	Raja,
Rai Bahadur Kaliprasanna	Mr. P. Ramanathan,
Vidyasagar, C.I.E.,	Mr. Vanga Jagannadha Row,
Professor A. Davidson Keith,	Rai Kunja Lal Roy,
Mr. Pringle Kennedy, M.A.,	Mr. Mahomed Khairuddin
Mr. C. A. Kincaid, I.C.S.,	Saggu,
Mr. M. Krishnamachariar, M.A.,	Mr. R. Shamasastri,

Pandit Goswami Brajanath	Mr. R. T. Tucker, I.C.S.,
Sharma,	Mr. M. Ba U,
Professor Dr. R. Simon,	Mr. Sukadeva Prasad Varma,
Sardar Udham Singh,	Maulavi Abdul Wali,
Mr. Kumar Ram Pratap Sinha,	Mr. M. Tun Win,
Mr. M. Bah Soe,	Professor James H. Woods,
Mr. K. V. Subbaiya, M.A.,	Ph.D.,
Captain A. Tancock, I.A.,	Mr. M. Kyaw Zaw.

There are now therefore 594 members, as against 567 last year.

The Society has received in subscriptions £36 more than in 1908. The receipts from subscriptions to the Journal, and from sales of it, show an increase of about £15. The number of Libraries subscribing to the Journal is now 88. The total receipts show a net increase of £120 over those of last year. The total expenditure for the year was £148½, i.e. £140 less than the receipts, and there is nothing in the expenditure to call for special mention.

The work of publication has been unusually heavy this year. The Oriental Translation Fund has brought out its nineteenth volume, the *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by Mr. A. Rogers and edited by Mr. Beveridge. The Monograph Fund has published (a little out of order) vol. i of the series, twelve others having already appeared. This work, the *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, has been delayed for some years owing to various causes, amongst others the absence on military duty and illness of the author, Colonel Gerini. The cordial thanks of the Society are due to Colonel Gerini for the munificence with which he has assisted in the expenses of this volume, and also to the Royal Geographical Society for their generosity in granting £100 towards its cost.

The volumes in the Prize Publication Fund, announced last year, have both appeared—the *Prākṛitarūpāvatāra*, edited by Dr. Hultzsch, and the *Pali Literature of Burma*, by Mrs. Bode.

The Council have accepted an offer from Professor Margoliouth of a translation of the *Hesht Bihisht*, an early History of the Turks, which will appear in the Oriental Translation Fund, in three volumes, and they have also accepted for the Prize Publication Fund an edition of the *Mēghadūta*, with Vallabha's commentary, by Dr. Hultsch, both of which are now in course of preparation.

The Journal has been published regularly, and its increasing sale shows that its interest is sustained.

In connexion with the Indian Texts Series, progress has been made in the *Index to the Vedic Texts* by Professor Macdonell and Mr. Keith, and it is expected that the first volume will be finished next September and the second some three or four months later. It is hoped that the first volume of the *Index to the Pali Tripitaka* by Professor Rhys Davids will also soon be ready for publication.

The Annual Dinner was held on May 10, at the Hotel Cecil as usual, the President in the chair. The Japanese Ambassador, the Chinese Ambassador, and Sir Robert Hart were amongst the guests present.

The Public School Gold Medal for 1909 was won by Mr. A. H. M. Wedderburn, of Eton College, for his essay on the Marquess Wellesley. The medal was presented on May 26 by Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended. The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors—Mr. Keith, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, Sir Arthur Wollaston, and Mr. Windus.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1910–11, are as follows:—

Under Rule 29, Sir Raymond West retires from the office of Director.

The Council recommend his re-election.

Under Rule 30, Dr. Thornton retires from the office of Vice-President.

The Council recommend the election of Sir H. Mortimer Durand in his stead.

Under Rule 31, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rules 32 and 33, the following Ordinary Members of Council retire :—

Dr. Hoernle,
Professor Neill.

The Council recommend in their stead and to fill two other vacancies the election of

Professor L. D. Barnett,
Mr. C. Otto Blagden,
Mr. A. G. Ellis,
Professor Margoliouth.

Under Rule 81,

Mr. A. Berriedale Keith,
Mr. Wilson Crewdson

are nominated Auditors for the ensuing year.

The Council recommend that Dr. Thornton, the retiring Vice-President, who has just completed his twenty-eighth year of continuous service on the Council, be elected an Honorary Vice-President.

THE RIGHT HON. SYED AMEER ALI : The Report itself is so simply worded and so clearly expressed that many words are not needed from me to commend it to your approval.

We have again to deplore the loss of a considerable number of members by death, two most distinguished honorary members and fourteen ordinary members, among them men of wide distinction in our Society and beyond—

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				865	5	3
Resident Members—85 at £3 3s.	267	15	0			
Advance Subscription	3	3	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
7 at £1 1s.	7	7	0			
324 at £1 10s.	486	0	0			
Advance Subscriptions	42	0	0			
Arrears received	8	0	0			
Non-Resident Compounders—2 at £23 12s. 6d.	47	5	0			
Part Subscriptions, etc.	3	15	3			
	865	5	3			
RENTS RECEIVED				248	0	6
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE ..				210	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT				286	12	6
Subscriptions	211	0	0			
Additional copies sold	56	3	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	8	10	9			
Advertisements	9	8	9			
Sale of Index	1	9	6			
	286	12	6			
DIVIDENDS				46	14	4
New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock	30	7	4			
Midland 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock	5	0	8			
Local Loans Stock...	11	6	4			
	46	14	4			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS				10	2	2
Lloyds Bank	7	18	1			
Post Office Savings Bank	2	4	1			
	10	2	2			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS (including anonymous donation of £1)				8	9	0
				1675	3	9
Balance as at January 1, 1909				537	3	5
				£2212	7	2

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock.
 £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock.
 £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent. Local Loans Stock.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1909.

PAYMENTS						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account	..	...	...	.	.				438	14	4
Rent	...	..	...	...	.	350	0	0			
Insurance	...	...	..	...	.	10	13	11			
Repairs	...	..	...	...	...	12	4	8			
Lighting, Heating, and Water	...	...	...	...	...	35	4	9			
Other Expenditure	..	.	.	.	.	30	11	0			
						438	14	4			
SALARIES AND WAGES	...	...	...	...	...				295	17	6
OFFICE EXPENSES	..	...	..	...	...				40	1	6
LIBRARY	.	.	..	...	..				61	1	7
New Books					..	43	9	1			
Binding	.	.	.	.	.	17	12	6			
						61	1	7			
JOURNAL ACCOUNT	...	..	.	...	...				540	15	0
Printing	...	...	.	...	...	451	17	0			
Illustrations	..	.	...	...	...	49	0	0			
Postage	...	..	..	..	..	39	18	0			
						540	15	0			
DONATION TO PALI DICTIONARY	...	...	.	.	.				10	10	0
POSTAGE	...	...	..	...	.				33	2	6
SUNDRY PAYMENTS	..	.	.	.	..				53	2	0
									1473	4	5
PURCHASE OF LOCAL LOANS STOCK	..	...			...				150	2	9
£154 16s. 9d. for	.	.			..	150	0	0			
Commission	...	.	..	..	.	0	2	9			
						150	2	9			
									1623	7	2
Balance as at December 31, 1909	...	...			...				589	0	0
									£2212	7	2

We have examined with the books and vouchers of the Society the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,
for the Council.
A. N. WOILLASTON,
VINCENT A. SMITH,
for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

LONDON, March 9, 1910.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				865	5	3
Resident Members—85 at £3 3s.	267	15	0			
Advance Subscription	3	3	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
7 at £1 1s.	7	7	0			
324 at £1 10s.	486	0	0			
Advance Subscriptions	42	0	0			
Arrears received	8	0	0			
Non-Resident Compounders—2 at £23 12s. 6d.	47	5	0			
Part Subscriptions, etc.	3	15	3			
	<u>865</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>			
RENTS RECEIVED				248	0	6
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE				210	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT				286	12	6
Subscriptions	211	0	0			
Additional copies sold	56	3	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	8	10	9			
Advertisements	9	8	9			
Sale of Index	1	9	6			
	<u>286</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>			
DIVIDENDS				46	14	4
New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock	30	7	4			
Midland 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock	5	0	8			
Local Loans Stock... ..	11	6	4			
	<u>46</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS				10	2	2
Lloyds Bank	7	18	1			
Post Office Savings Bank	2	4	1			
	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS (including anonymous donation of £1)				8	9	0
				<u>1675</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
Balance as at January 1, 1909				537	3	5
				<u>£2212</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock.
£212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock.
£454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent. Local Loans Stock.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1909.

PAYMENTS						£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House Account	..	...	...	..	..		438 14 4
Rent	..	...	..	...	..	350 0 0	
Insurance	...	..	...	...	..	10 13 11	
Repairs	...	...	...	...	..	12 4 8	
Lighting, Heating, and Water	...	...	...	...	..	35 4 9	
Other Expenditure				..	..	30 11 0	
						<u>438 14 4</u>	
SALARIES AND WAGES	...	...	..	...	...		295 17 6
OFFICE EXPENSES	..	..	...	...	...		40 1 6
LIBRARY	..		..	..	..		61 1 7
New Books				..	..	43 9 1	
Binding	...				..	17 12 6	
						<u>61 1 7</u>	
JOURNAL ACCOUNT	...	..	...	...	...		540 15 0
Printing	...	...	...	..	...	151 17 0	
Illustrations	..	..	...	..	..	49 0 0	
Postage	..		..	..	...	39 18 0	
						<u>540 15 0</u>	
DONATION TO PALI DICTIONARY	...	..	...				10 10 0
POSTAGE	...	...	..	...	..		33 2 6
SUNDRY PAYMENTS	..		..	..	..		53 2 0
							<u>1473 4 5</u>
PURCHASE OF LOCAL LOANS STOCK	...	..					150 2 9
£154 16s. 9d. for		..	...	...	...	150 0 0	
Commission	..		..	...	..	0 2 9	
						<u>150 2 9</u>	
							<u>1623 7 2</u>
Balance as at December 31, 1909	...	...					589 0 0
							<u>£2212 7 2</u>

We have examined with the books and vouchers of the Society the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,
for the Council.
A. N. WOLLASTON,
VINCENT A. SMITH,
for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

LONDON, March 9, 1910.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

RECEIPTS.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

1909.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance ...	...	313 11 1
Dec. 31. Sales ...	65 14 9	
A. Berriedale Koth, Donation towards cost of Vol. XVIII.	11 16 0	
Interest ..	4 1 8	
		<u>81 12 5</u>

£395 3 6

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

Jan. 1. Balance ..	...	116 10 4
Dec. 31. Subscriptions ..	6 6 0	
Interest ..	1 3 8	
		<u>7 9 8</u>
		<u>£124 0 0</u>

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.

Jan. 1. Balance ...	...	121 5 0
Dec. 31. Sales ...	3 7 6	
Dividends ..	18 0 0	
Interest ...	1 6 8	
		<u>22 14 2</u>
		<u>£143 19 2</u>

MONOGRAPH FUND.

Jan. 1. Balance ...	...	29 7 10
Dec. 31. Sales ...	18 8 6	
Col. Gertini, further donation towards cost of Vol. I	50 0 0	
Interest ..	0 15 0	
		<u>69 3 6</u>
		<u>£98 11 4</u>

PAYMENTS.

1909.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Dec. 31. Vol. XVIII, Printing and Binding	41 16 0	
Vol. XIX, Printing	141 14 6	
Vol. XIX, Binding	6 14 10	
Vol. XIII	1 13 4	
Postage	2 2 0	
Balance carried to Summary ...			<u>194 0 8</u>
			<u>201 2 10</u>
			<u>£395 3 6</u>

Dec. 31. Balance carried to Summary	124 0 0
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£124 0 0

Dec. 31. Vol. I, Printing	64 11 0
Balance carried to Summary	...	79 8 2

£143 19 2

Dec. 31. Vol. I, Index	29 18 6
Vol. I, Maps ...	...	25 0 0
Vol. XII, Preface, etc. ...	...	2 13 6
Postage ..	...	1 1 0
Balance carried to Summary	...	<u>58 13 0</u>
		<u>39 18 4</u>
		<u>£98 11 4</u>

SUMMARY.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	...	...	201	2	10	Lloyds Bank Deposit Account	...	...	331	12	6
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND	...	...	124	0	0	Do.	...	...	112	16	10
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	...	...	79	8	2						
MONOGRAPH FUND	...	...	39	18	1						
			<u>£444</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>				<u>£444</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable Stock, £600.

We have examined the above Statement and Summary with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock
 { A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
 { A. N. WOLLASTON, }
 { VINCENT A. SMITH, } for the Society.
 { A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

MEDAL FUND.

1909.			1909.			1909.		
Jan. 1	Dec. 31.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance	39	8	9	...	...	...
Dividends	9	15	0	Cost of Medal	...	22 0 0
Interest	0	12	3	Expenses	...	3 17 0
			<hr/>			Balance at Bank	...	23 17 0
			10	7	3			23 19 0
			<hr/>					£49 16 0
			£19	16	0			

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable A Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

Jan. 1, Balance</
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Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable B Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

A. N. WOLLASTON,

January 1, 1910.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

LONDON, March 9, 1910.

We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the investments above
 { A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
 { VINCENT A. SMITH, } for the Society.
 { A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

to mention but a few, the Marquess of Ripon, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, who at different times rendered great assistance to the Society, Major-General Sir M. W. E. Gosset, and Colonel C. R. Conder.

It is gratifying to find that there is a substantial increase in the amount received by the Society in subscriptions. The Society has helped in the publication of a number of most valuable books, which will add considerably to the wealth of our knowledge concerning Oriental literature.

It is the privilege of the member moving the adoption of the Report to make suggestions regarding matters of interest to the Society. In accordance with this time-honoured custom I venture to make a few for consideration.

A great deal of attention is devoted by the Society to the encouragement of Oriental classics; in saying this I do not ignore the fact that the Society helps in the publication of works dealing with Persian and the Indian languages. But, generally speaking, its interest lies in things ancient. Now, having regard to what is taking place at the present moment in the East, would it not be well for the Society to encourage the cultivation of modern Eastern languages and to promote such study on the part of those who are proceeding from this country to the East, or who have any sort of connexion or communication with Eastern peoples? We see how the East is getting sundered from the West, and we see also the difficulties which have sprung up in India and other parts of the East regarding the relations between Easterns and Westerns. I believe a good deal of this is owing to the fact that nowadays so much attention is not paid to the cultivation of Eastern languages as was the case in former days. The Society in my humble judgment should be a link between the East and the West; it should encourage among English scholars the cultivation of those languages which are now acquiring a certain predominance in Eastern countries. For instance, thirty years ago a knowledge of Persian was not uncommon

among English officers, civil or military, going out to the East, and almost every Englishman knew something of Urdu, especially those who had to assume charge of the administration of the country. The conditions have changed since then ; few now take the trouble to learn either Persian or Urdu with the intention of keeping up its study after the departmental examinations are over. Nor do these examinations produce any particular linguistic excellence.

I certainly think that a knowledge of the principal languages of India, say, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil, would be of the utmost use in bridging the gulf between Indians and Europeans which everyone is now deploring. I desire to put in a plea also in favour of the other languages of Asia, principally Persian and Turkish. The first is the language of scholarship, and possesses a rich literature ; at the same time it is easy to acquire, and has probably the easiest grammar. There is no reason why men going from England to the East, whether to Persia or to India, should not learn something of this rich language of culture. Among the Mohammedans of India it would be of the utmost usefulness. Turkish, too, will carry one from European Turkey to the east of Central Asia, and is a language which might well be studied.

I submit that the Royal Asiatic Society, which has so far concerned itself with the ancient classics, might with great advantage establish some method for the encouragement of the study of these modern languages. One useful method would be to invite papers and articles, not from those who speak the languages as their native tongue, but from Europeans who go either to India or to Persia, or any other Eastern land, on the literature of the country, or the manners and customs of the people among whom they live. The Society would thus add to its usefulness by making itself the desired link between

East and West, and would thus pave the way for better relations between European and Oriental.

I may be allowed to express on behalf of all present our grateful acknowledgments to the Secretary for her indefatigable labours in the cause of the Society. I believe that it is to the untiring zeal and labour of Miss Hughes that much of the success of the Society is due; the function of last evening tells the story of her powers of organization. On behalf of the Council and of the Society I beg to express to Miss Hughes our deep gratitude for all the work she has done. I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

PROFESSOR BARNETT: It is with a sense of great pleasure that I have the honour to rise and second the motion for the adoption of the Report. The Report set before us is, I think, a record. It shows steady and gratifying progress. We may note first of all, as has been pointed out, the increase of membership. It is a gratifying fact that the list of new members includes some most distinguished names, among them Lord Curzon of Kedleston and Professor Dr. H. Lüders, who has succeeded in Berlin to the post left vacant by the death of our honoured member, Professor Pischel. A considerable number of conspicuous Indians have also honoured us by membership—to mention one or two, Pandit Govindacharya, one of the most distinguished Dravidian scholars of the reformed Vaishnava religion, and Rama Varma Raja, a distinguished writer in Malayalam. I mention this fact as showing the degree in which the Society has proceeded from strength to strength. The state of our finances is also gratifying. Last year the total payments amounted to £1623 7s. 2d., from which must be deducted £150 2s. 9d. on account of new investments. The actual balance in hand is thus considerably larger than it has been for several years. In addition, the sums laid out prove clearly how the Society

is promoting the cause of Oriental learning. The nature of the publications is highly gratifying; a wide field of scholarship is covered, appealing to students both of Indian classical languages and of Persian and Turkish literature. We note with gratification the coming works now in progress: Professor Margoliouth's translation of the *Hesht Bihisht*, also Kalidasa's work, edited by Dr. Hultsch, with the ancient commentary of Vallabha Deva, hitherto unknown and of far more importance than the one usually read nowadays. In other respects good progress has been made with the *Index to the Vedic Texts* and the *Pali Tripitaka*.

It is sometimes said that too much attention is devoted to Indian literature, but we cannot help realizing that India is the greatest asset of the British Empire, is, in fact, the cause of the existence of the Empire, a point which was brought out with clearness by Lord Curzon in his address to the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh. I move with great pleasure the adoption of the Report.

PROFESSOR HAGOPIAN supported the motion.

SIR RAYMOND WEST: Ladies and gentlemen,—It has been proposed and seconded that the Report be adopted. A few conclusive arguments have been brought forward in support of the proposition; they have been put clearly and with emphasis. The prosperity of the Society has been very satisfactory in spite of the ordinary accidents of loss by death and resignation, to which all societies are subject. It will be well if we can draw a larger contingent of members from the remoter East, from China, Japan, and Central Asia, so we shall be as flourishing in the future in the wider as in the comparatively narrower range of the past.

In the enormously increased intercourse now taking place between Europe and the remoter East, and in view of the manifest and growing importance of an Empire like Japan, and of the great destiny which awaits China,

it is to the interest of all mankind that the customs, literature, and institutions of those countries should be made familiar to European statesmen through European scholars. And this can only be done if gentlemen can give us, and will give us, the benefit of the information they have had the means of acquiring. They will acquire honour for their country and benefit mankind generally if they take a little more trouble than they have hitherto done to bring home to us the customs and literature of the remoter East.

In the comparatively uncultivated state of Oriental knowledge this institution was specially connected with India.

When the Royal Asiatic Society started, the field of Sanskrit and Arabic literature seemed boundless, wide enough to embrace the whole world of literature outside Greek and Roman. There was no idea even of the enormous development in India of thought and literature, which now demands more and more attention. As knowledge widens, the field of learning extends: we may be specialists, yet even so the field widens, and it is true that we must give more attention to modern development. How can this be done?

This Society has taken active and zealous part in getting further attention paid here to the vernacular languages of India. I remember making speeches here on two occasions with the object of getting an institution established in England dealing with the living languages of the East and of India. Some such institution must be founded; it is certainly required. Meanwhile we may gather a little reflected honour in consequence of the achievements of Dr. Grierson, a master in the knowledge of living languages, the greatest name in that field we can boast. So long as he is on our list of members we may fairly glory in his example, which should stimulate other scholars to like patience and energetic fruition.

If the Government find it possible to carry out the recommendations of the Committee that has deliberated upon the matter on which speeches have been made more than once in this room, and establish an institution specially for Indian and Oriental languages, and would place at its head an eminent scholar who commands the respect of the whole world, it would serve a very great purpose and be of inestimable benefit to this Empire and especially to India, but beyond India, helpful to other Orientals.

My idea is that such an institution will be beneficial to young men going to India, whether for the Civil Service, education, or police: also to many scholars who have a tendency in certain directions and some personal acquaintance with the East, who may come home and find opportunities for further study. They could attend such an institution, complete their own knowledge, and add to the value and merits of the institution. It is an interesting subject for discussion, but I must not go further to-day.

I trust that we of the Royal Asiatic Society are, and always will be, ready to do all in our power to further the knowledge of the institutions, customs, and languages of the East as they do, not only as they did, exist, and help to encourage the devotion of attention to modern as well as to ancient learning. I think both are compatible.

I should like to say a word about our distinguished Vice-President, Dr. T. H. Thornton, who was early attracted to Oriental learning and was led to take up the study of Hebrew, attaining distinction in his knowledge of that language. After a distinguished career in India he has continued during a period of twenty-eight years to serve on the Council of this Society. He now retires under Rule 30 from the office of Vice-President, and we feel that the best compliment it is in our power to pay him

is to elect him an Honorary Vice-President. I am sure there is no member who will not join most heartily in supporting this recommendation of the Council. In heartily agreeing to this election we all join in hoping that Dr. Thornton will still attend our meetings for many years to come.

In conclusion I should like to say that we shall all take to heart the words of the right hon. gentleman who moved the adoption of the Report, and at the same time I should like to congratulate him—and the Society—on the honour recently conferred upon him. We see in the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali an instance of the great advantage that will accrue to England and to the Empire by a recognition in the highest places of Oriental scholarship with the mastery of modern ideas which is combined in our illustrious friend. We hope and trust that the reports of the Privy Council judgments may show in years to come the advantage in juristical science of the presence of so distinguished a scholar and so learned a lawyer on the Judicial Bench.

I have the honour to put to the meeting the adoption of the Report.

The Report was carried unanimously.

PRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL.

May 30, 1910.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen,—This is always a pleasant annual function when we meet for the presentation of the Society's Public Schools' Medal. On this occasion I have to congratulate Merchant Taylors' School, and more especially the Head Master, Dr. Nairn, on the success attained for the second time. In the year 1904 the Society's medal was won by Mr. W. N. Ewer, of the same school, for his essay on the Emperor Akbar. The subject of this year's essay was "The Invasion of India

by Alexander the Great". I am bound to say that we are exceedingly disappointed that this subject should evidently have been unpopular; only two essays were sent in, one from Merchant Taylors', the other from the Perse School at Cambridge. What is the cause of this deficiency, this lamentable deficiency, it is difficult to ascertain: we have not held an inquiry into the matter. But I feel I must use this opportunity to make a very strong appeal to all schools which have hitherto competed with or without success to exert themselves again to make the study of Indian history attractive. I will not use a word I should like to use—compulsory—for I know the large number of subjects which have to be studied, and the curriculum is so wide that one cannot wonder that some subjects are not treated with the enthusiasm which they ought to excite. But when we consider the importance of our Indian Empire, and the importance of the maintenance of our supremacy in India, we cannot ignore the deplorable results of ignorance of the history of India both to the inhabitants of the Indian Empire and to ourselves. I am bound also to say that it reflects no great credit upon our system of education that this great and important subject has not received more attention.

When we take into account that in Parliament Indian affairs give rise to debates and to numerous questions addressed to the Secretary of State for India on any subject that is brought to the notice of a member, we cannot admit that it is superfluous to assign a place in the curriculum of our public schools to the history of our Indian Empire. It is with a view to our future political destinies that it causes anxiety if this neglect should not be corrected.

I am sure that if Germany happened to be in charge of the destinies of such an empire as India, the study of the history of India would be made a compulsory subject in every secondary institution in Germany. All

I ask is that encouragement should be given in our public schools to those boys—and there must be many—who have gifts and inclination for historical studies, and that facilities should be offered to them to master the subject.

I congratulate again Dr. Nairn and Merchant Taylors' School on being successful for the second time in obtaining the medal. I congratulate also Mr. E. B. Shanks, the winner, on the very interesting essay he submitted. I have read it with great pleasure. A remarkable fact in the history of Alexander's invasion of India was his very sound method of governing newly annexed territories; he left the civil administration to be carried out by the authorities he found in the state, while he looked after the military department. In another respect he proved himself to be as far-seeing as Bismarck. In Bismarck's career I have always thought that no incident showed his great political genius to better purpose than his attitude after the victory at Sadowa in the war with Austria, when he decided that he would not annex any part of Austria, because he foresaw that a future political alliance with Austria would be essential to Germany. Recent history has shown that the alliance between Austria and Germany has been one of the leading features of the political history of Europe during recent years.

Alexander the Great, having defeated Porus, not only left him the dominions over which he had held sway, but, having to deal with neighbouring and troublesome tribes, he insisted that Porus should become their ruler, with this remarkable result, that Porus, though defeated was after his defeat a greater potentate than before. I cannot conceive a subject more romantic, more extraordinary in its details, than this invasion. Alexander enjoyed extraordinary popularity with his troops, but, at the same time, on one occasion there was a kind of plebiscite among the troops which had to be accepted by

Alexander; they thought the laurels he had gained were sufficient, and decided that he should go back, not go on to the end of the earth. Alexander's ambition was to subdue the whole surface of the earth as he knew it.

I hope that Mr. Shanks will continue his studies: I believe that his essay contains the promise of good work in the future: he has treated the subject *con amore*, and he will find that continued study of Indian history will give him a great deal of satisfaction, especially if he intends to enter the lists for that great and distinguished Service the Civil Service of India. In that case he will be able to reap the full benefit of the knowledge of history gained here. I congratulate his parents, and trust that this medal will be followed by many more successes.

Mr. Shanks, I have great pleasure in handing to you the Public Schools' Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society for the year 1910: it will be appreciated by your school and your comrades as the second medal of the Society won by Merchant Taylors'.

I will now call upon Dr. Nairn, the Head Master of Merchant Taylors', to speak.

DR. NAIRN: First, I beg to thank Lord Reay most sincerely for his kind references to Merchant Taylors' School: we are specially gratified that this is the second occasion on which the School has won the Royal Asiatic Society's Medal. The foundation of the medal fell within the period of the ten years during which I have been Head Master. In 1904 it was won by the School on the first possible occasion: it is won again in 1910. I well remember the pleasant ceremony analogous to this when in 1904 the medal was presented to Mr. W. N. Ewer by, I believe, Mr. Brodrick (now Lord Middleton), then Secretary of State for India, and his encouraging remarks. For the School, for myself, for Shanks, and his parents, I beg to tender sincere thanks: we are genuinely pleased.

With reference to the other remarks made by Lord Reay

you will not expect me to deal at length. But I cannot let the occasion pass without saying something about the scheme under which this medal is awarded. I have no brief to speak for other Head Masters, but I can say that as regards Merchant Taylors' the scheme works easily and smoothly. Special instruction in Indian history is given in Merchant Taylors', but I must repudiate the credit of personal teaching. That is given by my colleague, Mr. C. E. Wade, who deserves full credit, so far as Merchant Taylors' goes, for all instruction given, and also for much of the credit of the general working of the scheme in the school since 1904.

We find no difficulty in the teaching of Indian history; there is a class which meets once a week; there are other opportunities for seeing boys privately for the loan of books and for general encouragement in study. I am not aware that there is any difficulty in getting our boys to be enthusiastic in the matter. There are about fifteen in the class, and always three or four write essays for competition in the School on the subject given by the Society: the best of these essays is then selected and sent in to the Society for the competition for the medal.

The regulations of the scheme seem to me to be perfectly simple and easy to work; as soon as I receive them year by year I send them on to my colleague, and I hear no more until the essays come in at the appointed time—in February. I can only compliment those who have established the scheme, my friend Sir Arthur Wollaston among them, for the eminently simple and clear rules they have devised.

My personal interest in India is of long standing; I was for a time a humble *śiṣya* of that great *guru*, Professor Cowell, at Cambridge, under whom I studied some Sanskrit; later on I did more under Professor Eggeling at Edinburgh. The history of India has always been attractive to me: this is due, of late especially, to the

fact that Clive was a Merchant Taylors' boy, and I have given it considerable attention in the few moments of leisure that come to me. I may assure you, Lord Reay, ladies and gentlemen—again with apologies for being autobiographical—that no opportunity for promoting the study of Indian history among boys who may some day govern the myriads of our fellow-subjects in India will be lost by me.

In case the scheme should prove somewhat disappointing to its disinterested founders, who have given so much time and labour to working it out, I should like to say, on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleague, Mr. Wade, that if a round table conference be promoted for considering the working of the scheme and of any difficulties brought forward by other schools, Merchant Taylors' will be most happy to place its experience at your disposal.

I tender you my heartiest thanks, on behalf of the School, of my pupil, Mr. Shanks, and his parents, for the kindness shown now and during the continuance of the scheme: and I am very glad to have the opportunity of expressing once again my genuine pleasure in being present here to-day.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen,—I hasten to correct an omission and to congratulate Mr. C. E. Wade, who ought to have been congratulated before, on his success in teaching Indian history. I beg to thank Dr. Nairn for his suggestion and for what he has said. The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society will be pleased to know that the want of response this year has not been caused by the conditions and regulations of the scheme. It is satisfactory to know that Dr. Nairn did not find any difficulty in complying with the conditions imposed. I need scarcely say that if we could do anything by altering the conditions to make the competition more popular, the Council would be glad to do it.

May 30, 1910.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The President opened the proceedings with the following reference to the National Loss :—

This Society mourns the loss of its Royal Patron. King Edward showed his interest in Oriental learning by conferring, as Prince of Wales, the Gold Medal on Dr. E. W. West.

His Majesty, since he visited India as Prince of Wales, continued to watch over the progress of his Indian Empire and the well-being of his Indian subjects. The Indian community through all its ramifications has shown its real sorrow at the death of its Emperor.

The connexion between this Society and India is close. We therefore associate ourselves with the tribute of respect and affection rendered by India. Not only by India, but by the East generally.

King Edward was a Constitutional Sovereign, but scrupulous in the observance of his great constitutional position. He exercised an immense influence through his attractive personality and his genuine kindness. He was endowed with special gifts, and wherever the King appeared his presence at once created confidence, and it is a significant feature of his illustrious career that during all those years that he was prominent in the public life of the country no remark ever fell from his lips which was open to adverse criticism. There are very few public men who can claim this virtue. It was due to unerring tact and sense of responsibility.

India owes a deep debt of gratitude to the late Sovereign. With his approval important reforms were carried out by the Government of India, and the friendly relations with Russia established with his sanction increase the sense of security and the guarantees of peace.

The maintenance of peace was his constant aim, and posterity will not fail to keep his memory in veneration.

We shall also lay our most sincere condolences at the feet of Her Majesty the Queen-Mother, who in her deep affliction has in such a touching way made the nation a partner in her sorrow.

I further propose that to our condolences be added a declaration of loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty King George V. In his exalted station the King has a right to claim the ready and cordial support of his subjects. A great burden of responsibility devolves on the occupant of the British Throne. The King has discharged as Prince of Wales the duties of the heir to the Throne in a manner which has made him popular with all classes of the community, and we may feel sure that it will be his strenuous endeavour, assisted by the Queen, to maintain the lustre which attaches to the Imperial Crown. By his travels the King has obtained an intimate knowledge of the Indian Empire as well as the Oversea Dominions, which will enable His Majesty to cement the bonds of union between the various parts of his realm.

On the proposal of the President the following address to His Majesty the King was unanimously adopted :—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, Your Majesty's most loyal and devoted subjects, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society in meeting assembled, beg leave to tender to Your Majesty and the Royal Family with our humble duty our heartfelt sympathy in the great personal and national grief caused by the lamented death of our late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh.

We share in the deep sorrow of all Your Majesty's subjects, both in these Islands and in the Dominions over Seas, at the death of our beloved King of blessed memory, who as Patron of this Society, to our deep and lasting gratitude, gave evidence of his great interest and sympathy in our objects.

To Your Gracious Majesty we beg leave to tender the respectful expression of our loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign on Your Majesty's accession to the Throne of your ancestors.

Knowing as we do the deep interest that Your Majesty has always taken in Your Eastern Dominions and all that concerns them, we pray with the fullest confidence that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take the Society under that August Patronage which it has uninterruptedly enjoyed under Your Majesty's Royal Predecessors since the granting of our Charter in 1823.

We desire humbly to assure Your Majesty of our earnest wish and ardent prayer that Your reign over a loyal and loving people may be long and glorious.

Given under the Common Seal of the Society this thirtieth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and ten.

TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE
QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

The Humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

MADAM,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in General Meeting assembled, beg leave humbly to express our profound sorrow at the great and irreparable loss which Your Majesty, the Royal Family, and the Nation

have sustained in the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Seventh, our Patron, whose memory will ever be faithfully cherished by a grateful people both in these Islands and in the Dominions over Seas.

We would also beg leave to offer to your Majesty the expression of our respectful sympathy in your own overwhelming sorrow.

Given under the Common Seal of the Society this thirtieth day of May, in the year one thousand nine hundred and ten.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. E. R. Ayrton.

Mr. Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare.

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana.

Mr. Krishna Gobinda Gupta, C.I.E.

Mr. J. S. Haig.

Mr. A. H. Harley.

Mr. J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E.

Dr. Edward J. L. Scott.

Mrs. Herringham read a paper on "Fifth and Sixth Century Ajanta Wall Paintings".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Rothenstein, Mr. Sewell, Miss Frere, and Mr. Thomas took part.

June 14, 1910.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Major Sykes read a paper entitled "Historical Notes on Khurasan".

A discussion followed, in which Colonel Plunkett, Mr. Irvine, and Mr. Dames took part.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.
Bd. LXIV, Heft i.

Franke (R. O.). Die Suttanipāta - Gāthas mit ihren Parallelen.

Hertel (J.). Über einige HSS. von Kathāsaṃgraha-Strophen.

Konow (Sten). The Home of Paśāci.

Mills (Rev. Dr.). Pahlavi Text of Yasna LXX, edited with all the MSS. collated.

Jacobi (H.). Über die Vakrokti und über das Alter Daṇḍins.

Seybold (C. F.). Zu El-Makin's Weltchronik.

Ahrens (K.). Der Stamm der schwachen Verba in den semitischen Sprachen.

Rescher (O.). Mitteilungen aus Stambuler Bibliotheken.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XIV, No. iii.

Moret (A.). De quelques voyages légendaires des Egyptiens en Asie.

Colinet (Ph.). À propos des voyelles finales à quantité variable dans le Rig Veda.

Berchem (M. van). Inscriptions mobilières arabes en Russie.

Fossey (C.). L'assyriologie en 1907.

Gauthier (L.). Une réforme du système astronomique de Ptolemée tentée par les philosophes arabes du xii^e siècle.

Tome XV, No. i.

Roussel (A.). Les anomalies du Rāmāyaṇa.

Huart (Cl.). Le diwan de Sélāma ben Djandal, poète arabe anté-islamique.

Dufresne (M.). Un conte kurde de la région du Kurdistan.

III. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XI, No. i.

Rockhill (W. W.). The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908.

Lefèvre-Pontalis (P.). Les Younes du royaume de Lan Na ou de Pape.

Maspéro (G.). Le Royaume de Champa.

Vol. XI, No. ii.

Saussure (L. de). Les Origines de l'astronomie chinoises.

IV. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. III, Fasc. i.

Levi della Vida (G.). Pseudo-Beroso siriano.

Addai Scher. Joseph Hazzāyā, écrivain syriaque du viii^e siècle.

Griffini (E.). I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano.

V. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. XXXVII. Pt. i.

Visser (M. W. de). The Dog and Cat in Japanese Folk-lore.

Lloyd (A.). The Study of Things Japanese.

Munro (N. Gordon). Reflections on Prehistoric Survivals.

Vol. XXXVII, Pt. ii.

Williams (S. Wells). A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-4), edited by F. W. Williams.

Vol. XXXVII. Supplement.

Bramsen (W.). Japanese Chronological Tables.

VI. JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XXIII, No. lxiv.

Bhandarkar (D. R.). Epigraphic Notes and Questions.

Ramakanda (Pandit). Bhādūnd Inscription of Parmāra Pūrnapāla.

Mazumdar (B. C.). Some Words of Chronological Interest.

— Notes on some Pali Words.

Ghate (V. S.). Seshananta.

- Kane (P. V.). Bhāmaha, the Nyasa and Magha.
 Pathak (K. B.). The Divine Vasudeva different from the
 Kshatriya Vasudeva in Patanjali's opinion.
 Varde (W. R.). An eye copy of an Inscription in
 Devanagari Characters from Goa.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC
 SOCIETY. Vol. XXI, No. lxii.

- Pieris (P. E.). The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-2.
 Codrington (H. W.). The Kandyan Navandannó.
 Ferguson (D.). Letters from Raja Simha II to the Dutch.
 Arunachalam (Hon. Mr. P.). Jñāna Vāsishṭam.
 Wickremasinghe (D. M. de Z.). Antiquity of Stone
 Architecture in India and Ceylon.
 Lewis (Hon. Mr. J. P.). Notes on Delft.

VIII. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
 Vol. XXX, Pt. ii.

- Jastrow (M.). Another Fragment of the Etana Myth.
 Gottheil (R.). Origin and History of the Minaret.
 Oliphant (S. Grant). The Vedic Dual.

Vol. XXX, Pt. iii.

- Barrett (Le Roy Carr). The Kashmirian Atharva Veda.
 Asakawa (K.). Notes on Village Government in Japan.

IX. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.
 Vol. XXXII, Pt. iii.

- Piltner (Rev. W. T.). A Legal Episode in Ancient Babylonian
 Family Life.
 Pilcher (E. J.). The Jewish Royal Pottery Stamps.
 — A Hebrew Amulet.
 Foucart (G.). An Entrance into the Lower World at
 Thebes.
 Langdon (S.). A Reconstruction of a part of the Sumerian
 Text of the Seventh Tablet of Creation.
 Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.

Vol. XXXII, Pt. iv.

Fotheringham (A.). The Black Obelisk and the Moabite Stone.

Gaster (M.). A Note on "A Hebrew Amulet".

Jorphanien (G. de). Hittite Monuments of Cappadocia.

X. THE BUDDHIST REVIEW. Vol. II, No. ii.

Smith (Hodgson). Life and Teachings of the Lord Buddha.

Rhys Davids (Mrs. C. A. F.). Intellect and the Khandha Doctrine.

Adams (H. J.). Karma.

Sītacāra Bhikku. Parable of the Saw.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

FRAMED PHOTOGRAPH of Lient. Frits von Holm, leader of the Holm-Nestorian Expedition to Sian-fu, 1907-8.

Presented by Mrs. M. L. Weldon

‘Abdallah Muḥammad bin ‘Umar al-Makkī. Zafar al-Wāliḥ bi Muzaffar wa Ālih. An Arabic History of Gujarat. Edited by E. Denison Ross. Vol. i. (*Indian Texts Series*) 8vo. London, 1910.

Presented by the India Office.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1910

XXII

THE DIWAN OF ABU DAHBAL AL-GUMAHĪ

EDITED BY FRITZ KREMKOW

QURAIŠ had not been distinguished for great poets in the time of paganism, but during the first century after the Hijra they boasted of the following five¹: ‘Umar b. Abī Rabīa, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥalid al-Maḥzūmī, al-‘Arğī, Abū Dahbal al-Ġumahī, and Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt. Of the first and last named we possess excellent editions; I give here the text of what remains of Abū Dahbal, while of the other two we have scattered in the Kitāb al-Aġānī and elsewhere a fair number of poems to give us an opportunity of comparing the style of their poetry with that of the poets of other Arab tribes. A lighter vein appears to pervade all these poems; a large predominance is given to the shorter metres, and the poems also are as a rule shorter² than the lengthy qaṣīdas of poets from other tribes. As might be expected, the descriptions of the desert and its typical animals and

¹ Aġ. iii, 101.

² The longest poem of ‘Umar has seventy-three verses; of I. Qais ar-Ruqayyāt, sixty (metre: Ḥafīf).

phenomena are practically lacking. These men were born and brought up in towns; how could they share the ideas of the Bedouin Arab roving through the wide country?

The poems appear fragmentary (and some certainly are), if we apply the rule emphasized by Ahlwardt¹ that a *complete* poem should begin with an amatory introduction (*Nasīb*), then descriptions of varying character leading up to the chief aim of the poem—praise or reviling. However, I am convinced that these poets, as a rule, did not take that course, and that their poems had essentially the character at the time of their composition which they now present, though probably here and there verses have got lost.² We have here the transition to a new era, which attained its height under the early 'Abbasides, and which has become the model for Arabic poetry down to modern times.

To come to our poet, his name and genealogy as given by az-Zubair b. Bakkār³ are Abū Dahbal Waḥīb b. Zam'a⁴ b. Asīd b. Uḥaiḥa b. Ḥalaf b. Waḥīb b. Ḥudāfa b. Ġumāl b. 'Amr b. Huṣaiṣ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ġalīb; his mother was Huzail,⁵ daughter of Salama and sister of 'Abd Allāh b. Salama, who fought at Badr.⁶ He was probably born shortly after the death of Muḥammad, for, according to al-Madā'inī, he composed his first poems towards the end of the reign of 'Alī.⁷ Of these poems nothing appears to be preserved. The earliest pieces in his dīwān are those which refer to 'Ātika, the daughter of the Caliph Mu'āwiya. She is stated to have come to Mecca to perform the rites of the pilgrimage, and while her tent

¹ 'Aggāg, lvii.

² e.g., A. Dahbal, ii. after v, 1.

³ Introduction to Dīwān: Ag. vi, 154.

⁴ I. Qutaiba makes a mistake here; Poesis, 389.

⁵ Ag. vi, 154, states that his mother was a woman of the tribe of Huḏail, a mistake through carelessness of early authors.

⁶ I. Sa'd, iii, b. 37.

⁷ Died 40 A.H.

was pitched at Dū Tuwayy, outside the city, Abū Dahbal chanced to pass and was able to watch her sitting outside the tent. When she had noticed him she retired into the tent, not without reviling him (!). This gave Abū Dahbal material for a poem,¹ which he communicated to a friend. The latter was indiscreet enough to let it pass into the hands of the singers, who composed melodies to it. Finally Ātika heard it, and being curious to get to know the poet she sent him a present. This led to frequent messages and interviews, and eventually, when she left Mecca to return to Damascus, Abū Dahbal followed her, apparently seeing her frequently during the journey. After having reached Damascus, however, she broke off (through force of circumstance) her intercourse with him, and the infatuated poet became seriously ill. The poem VI, which he is stated to have composed upon this occasion, and which, according to the diwān is addressed to a Syrian lady whose name is not mentioned, suggests that their relations were of the most intimate character for some length of time. The poem became widely known, and Mu'āwiya, instigated by the rather hot-headed crown prince Yazīd, commanded the poet to be detained if he should attend the next public audience, which the Caliph used to grant each Friday. When the audience was over and Abū Dahbal, who had attended, prepared to leave with the other persons, he was called back by Mu'āwiya. The Caliph, in his customary diplomatic manner, mentioned the poem in question and said that he admired several verses, but that the fourth and fifth were rather too pointed. The poet defended himself by alleging that what he had said was true; he had only stated his beloved to be of high rank, she being the daughter of the reigning sovereign, thus admitting the composition and bearing of the poem. "Nay," replied Mu'āwiya, "what about you, saying"²—

¹ Poem XXXIV.² Verse 6.

‘Then I led her by the hand to the green pavilion,
We both walking upon polished marble’ ?”

Abū Dahbal protested that he had not composed that verse, but that others had added it and attributed it to him. Mu‘āwiya relieved the poet’s fears by telling him that, in the first place, he knew that his daughter would guard her honour, and secondly that poets in their love-poems say both things that are true and others that are not. “Now,” said Mu‘āwiya, “you need not fear anything from me, but Yazīd is full of youthful spirit and haughty, and I fear he might do you some injury: therefore I warn you beforehand.” Mu‘āwiya intended to get rid of the poet in this way, and he was not disappointed: for Abū Dahbal, as soon as he was dismissed by the Caliph, departed in haste for Mecca. However, he continued to correspond with ‘Ātika. One day one of the eunuchs of the harem came to Mu‘āwiya informing him that ‘Ātika had received that day a letter, and that after reading it she had cried: also that she had put the letter under her prayer-carpet and had been despondent ever since. Mu‘āwiya instructed the eunuch to use all means, except force, to obtain the letter in question. He was at last successful, and took the letter to the Caliph. When Mu‘āwiya read it he found that it was from Abū Dahbal, and contained some verses reproaching ‘Ātika for not rewarding his love, and reminding her of the time when he was ill in Syria.¹ Mu‘āwiya, who had thought that his infatuation was ended, sent for Yazīd, showed him the letter, and told him how it had affected his sister ‘Ātika. Yazīd at once advised his father to have Abū Dahbal killed by one of the Caliph’s slaves in Mecca. Mu‘āwiya did not mean this: he remonstrated that such a deed would make them a byword for all time to come. Yazīd then recited his father another poem, which he said was

¹ Poem XXXV.

public property in Mecca, the text of which had been sent him.¹ Murāwiya, who, in spite of his assertion to the contrary, must have had some misgivings about his daughter guarding her honour, was relieved when he heard the following verse:—

“Alas! for love towards her I have become known;

Yet there has not been between us an hour of bestowing favours.”

That year² Murāwiya travelled to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. Before he returned to Syria he invited all persons of distinction and the poets present in Mecca and bestowed presents upon them: among them was Abū Dahbal. As the latter was about to leave the Caliph's presence he was called back, and Murāwiya again remonstrated with him, saying that Yazīd was highly incensed against him on account of his continual references to ʿĀtika in his poems. Abū Dahbal protested that the poems were not his, but ascribed to him by some ill-wishers. Murāwiya again appeased the poet's fears, and asked him if he was married. Upon replying in the negative, the Caliph asked if there was a cousin of his whom he would like to marry. Abū Dahbal mentioned a lady, and the Caliph gave her a dowry of 2000 dīnārs, and a further 1000 dīnārs to the poet. Highly delighted that matters had taken such a happy turn, Abū Dahbal promised, under an oath, never again to refer to ʿĀtika in his poems. Murāwiya was glad to have the matter settled, and also to be able to satisfy Yazīd.

The account of Ibn al-Kalbī, as given above, states that Murāwiya performed the pilgrimage *that* year expressly on account of Abū Dahbal. This is not correct, for Murāwiya came to Mecca for the pilgrimage only twice during his caliphate, the first time in 44 A.H., when Yazīd was only fourteen years of age, and hardly old enough to take such

¹ Poem XXXVI.

² 50 A.H.

an interest in the affairs of his sister; the second time in 50 A.H., the motive of his pilgrimage being to have Yazīd acknowledged as successor to the throne by the heads of the Muslim community at Mecca. Moreover, the poem¹ which Ibn al-Kalbī states to refer to 'Ātika is, according to the dīwān, upon a Syrian lady, whose name is not known, and must have been composed when Abū Dahbal was rather older. The record in the Dīwān speaks of him staying in Syria, till *his wife and family* believed him to be dead, and this is also expressed in the poem itself. This latter account also states that his children began to divide his property, showing that they were of age. If the other poems upon 'Ātika are genuine, Ibn al-Kalbī has simply brought this one in to make his account more dramatic. This poem is, however, also attributed to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān, who also composed poems upon a daughter of the Caliph. Al-Qālī² states that *some* of the verses are not found in the Dīwān of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. In fact, it is hardly credible that he should have said of a daughter of the reigning monarch³: "Should I mention her pedigree, you would not find her beneath me in rank of nobility." The story that his father or grandfather had once been ransomed for a goat in the time before Islām⁴ must have strongly counterbalanced such a claim; besides, he was not of Qurayš, and hence could not claim equal nobility with the daughter of the Caliph.

Next in time come the three verses upon the murder of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī,⁵ quoted in the Kitāb al-Aḡānī, upon the authority of az-Zubair b. Bakkār. They may have been dropped from the recension of the Dīwān by at-Tanūḥī or Ibn Ḥamd for political reasons. The animosity between the poet and Yazīd, who had succeeded his father the

¹ Poem VI.² Amālī, iii, 192.³ Poem VI, v. 6.⁴ Dīwān of Ka'b b. Zuhair, DMG. Arabisch, No. 103, fols. 138a-b.⁵ Poem XLI. Yāqūt (iii, 540) also quotes these three verses and another piece attributed to Abū Dahbal, which, however, is by at-Taimī (I. Athīr, Būlāq, iv, 40).

previous year (A.H. 60), had caused Abū Dahbal to turn to the enemies of the Caliph, and in the following years he is a fervent partisan of 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair. In fact, the bulk of his poems which are preserved are addressed to Ibn al-Azraq 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Walid, who was for a time governor of al-Ġanad in the Yemen for 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair. I have not been able to ascertain the date when he held this post, nor that of 'Umāra b. 'Amr b. Hazm, who was governor of Ḥaḍramaut at the same period, and to whom Abū Dahbal addressed one of his poems¹ when he felt disappointed with the reception he had received from Ibn al-Azraq.

Poems VIII, XIX, and XX refer to the last struggle of 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair and his followers against the army which 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had sent against the holy cities under the redoubtable al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf, and which took the city by storm in 73 A.H. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥakīm b. Hizām,² to whom poems XIX and XXI refer, appears to have been slain at the same time. After this silence appears to have fallen upon the poet, who perhaps was glad to have escaped with his life. When, however, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik came to Mecca³ in 88 A.H. he questioned Abū Dahbal about poems XXXIX and XL, especially the latter one, which was directed against the Caliph's grandfather Marwān. The poet excused himself as best he could, saying that it referred to events long past, and that a general amnesty had been proclaimed for all political offenders of those turbulent times. The Caliph assured him that he had only mentioned it, and as a proof of his forgiveness he granted him a fief at al-Ġazān in the Yemen.⁴ The Caliph, when asked why

¹ Poem III. He was killed in 73 A.H. with 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair; Kitāb al-Imāra attributed to Ibn Qutaiba, ii, 48.

² Wustenfeld, Tab. T. 26.

³ Aġ. vi, 165.

⁴ Ibid., 165, 25, جازان read جازان. Wustenfeld, *Yemen im XI Jahrhundert*, p. 116; also poem XXV, verse 1.

he had bestowed this upon him, is said to have replied that he wished in this manner to have the poet and his memory forgotten, in which he succeeded only too well.

The last date for the poet we have in poem XXX, addressed to the Caliph al-Walid. Apparently Abū Dahbal had gone from Mecca or his estate at Ġāzān to Damascus to beg favours from the sovereign. He asserts that he is of the same kin as the Caliph: perhaps he came to ask for permission to reside again at Mecca or at al-Ulyab, in the vicinity of the holy city, where he may have had some landed property, which possibly had been left him by Ibn al-Azraq. A note to poem VII tells us that he was buried there, while XVII, an elegy upon his patron, states that the latter also found his last resting-place some time before the poet in the same village. I have not been able to find out who is the ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Muġīra to whom poem XVIII is addressed, and the allusions of some of the smaller poems are dark.

Abū Dahbal's papers containing his poems were left to oblivion; the philologists of the following century, whose merit it was to collect and edit the diwāns of the classical poets, appear to have overlooked him. The Kitāb al-Aġānī¹ gives some poems and particulars of his life upon the authority of al-Madā'inī, Ibn al-Kalbī, Abū ‘Amr aš-Šaibānī, and Muḥammad b. Ḥalaf b. al-Marzubān²; but it was left to az-Zubair b. Bakkār³ to collect what was saved of his poems, together with short historical notices.

The work is mentioned in the Fihrist under the same title as here; perhaps it formed at one time a chapter in the Muwaffaqiyyāt, like “the accounts of Ḥātim aṭ-Ṭā’i”, which the Fihrist also gives as a separate work.

The only MS. known to exist of this little collection of poems is the same codex out of which Nöldeke edited the

¹ Aġ. vi, 155-8, etc.

² Ibid., 165, he is actually later than az-Zubair, but his Isnād does not name any men of note.

³ Died 256 A.H. Fihrist, 110-11.

diwān of 'Urwa b. al-Ward and Pröbster the Kitāb al-Muḡtasab of Ibn Ġimmī, belonging to the University Library of Leipzig, bearing the number V. 807 (old number D.C. 354). With the utmost liberality the authorities in Leipzig sent the MS. to Leicester, and through the kindness of the Town Clerk (Mr. Prichard) and of Mr. Payne I was enabled to study the book for some time after business hours in the Town Hall of Leicester. I take this opportunity to thank all these gentlemen most heartily for the assistance given me. The contents of the interesting MS. have been stated several times, but there seems to have been some doubt in certain quarters as to the writer of the various works contained in the little volume.

I have carefully compared the handwriting, and have come to the conclusion that the bulk of the MS. is from the pen of Abu-l Karam Ḥamīs al-Hauzī, of whom I shall give an account a little later. Fol. 36*b* is in a comparatively modern hand, a kind of Ta'liq. Fols. 37*b*–51*a* are not by him, and older, as they contain a few marginal notes by him. Fols. 59*a*–89*a* may not be by him, as the writing is not so cursive as his hand usually is.

The book consisted originally of several quires containing different works, which were later bound into one volume: a note scribbled on the last page gives a kind of index of the works originally contained in the volume. The first part, containing the Kitāb al-Ḥudūd fin Nahw by al-Kisā'i, is lost. The commentary upon the preface of the Adab al-Kuttāb, filling fols. 105*b*–126*b*, is by 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad, who is not named in the title, but both works are mentioned in the list of works which Ḥamīs studied under Ibn Ġuhūr, found on fols. 35*b*–36*a*, after the Diwān of 'Urwa b. al-Ward, where we find the following passage:—

قَرَأْتُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا الرَّئِيسِ الْأَجَلِّ السَّيِّدِ الْعَالِمِ أَبِي الْفَضْلِ مُحَمَّدِ
 بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عِيسَى بْنِ جَهْوَزٍ أَدَامَ اللَّهُ عُلُودَ فِرْعَوْنَ

عنه و عن والديه في تواريخ متقدمة ومجالس كثيرة * شعْرُ عُرْوَة بن
 الوُرْد من هذه النسخة¹ وقابلت عليه الأَصْل * وكتاب تَصْحِيح
 النَّصِيح لابن درستويه² وكتاب شرح النصيح لأبى عمر محمد بن
 عبد الواحد الزاهد غلام تَعَلَّب³ وكتاب الواسطة لابن مَرْحَب
 السامى وقابلت علمه الأَصْل * وكتاب الأَلْفَاظ لعبد الرحمن التَّيْمَذَانِي⁴
 ونسخته من كتابه وقابلته به * وكتاب المُبْرِج في تفسير
 أسماء شعراء الحماسة لابن جنى وكتاب التَّضْرِيْف المُلوكي⁵ له و
 كتاب الْمُعْتَصَب في اسم المنعول من الفعل الثلاثي المعتل العين
 له⁶ وقابلت بثلاثتها أصولها معاً * وكتاب الخُذُود في النحو للكسائي⁷
 وقابلت علمه الأَصْل * وكتاب تَفْسِير خُطْبَة أَدب الكُتَّاب لابن
 فُتَيْبَة لعبد الباقي بن محمد⁸ وقابلت علمه الأَصْل * وكتاب مَعَانِي
 الشَّعْر لِلأَشْمَانْدَانِي * ومختصر غريب الحماسة ومعانيها من شرح
 أبى على الحسن بن أحمد الأَسْتَرَابَادِي * وكتاب الهداية على
 الحقيقة لابن الوراق في شرح مختصر المجرومي وقابلت علمه الأَصْل *
 والمسئلة التي ألّفها في توقيع الكتاب السبجاني⁹ يُطْلِقَان وقابلت
 بها كتابه * وما أَلْفَهُ من الرِّد على الطاعن في قصيدة ابن الأقسامى
 العلوي الشنّبة وقابلت به كتابه * وسَمِعْتُ منه مسائل كثيرة في
 النحو ونوادر اللغة وقرأت عليه من شعره عدّة قصائد ومقطوعات

¹ i.e. the text edited by Noldeke preceding this page in the MS.

² Frequently quoted by Suyūṭī in the Muzhir.

³ Fihrist, 76, 27.

⁴ Edited Beirut, 1885; Constantinople, 1302 (the recensions differ).

⁵ Edited by Hoberg, Leipzig, 1885.

⁶ Edited by Probstner, Leipzig, 1904.

⁷ This is the work which originally formed part of the volume, but is lost.

⁸ Found fols. 105b-126b of the MS. The author died after 390 A.H. Suyūṭī, Buḡyat, 294.

⁹ MS. without points.

ف فنون شتى والله يرزقنا علماً نافعاً ويجعلنا من العاملين بطاعته
وَوَقَعْنَا لَهَا يَرْضَاهُ عَنْهُ بِمَنْهَ وَجُودِ *

Here follows the attestation of the teacher in rather ugly writing:—

قَرَأَ عَلَى الشَّيْخِ الْجَلِيلِ الْعَالِمِ أَبُو بَكْرٍ خَمِيسَ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ أَيْدَى اللَّهِ
نَفَعَهُ بِجَمِيعِ هَذِهِ الْكُتُبِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ قِرَاءَةً بَحْثًا وَنَحْصًا وَكُتِبَ بِهِ مُحَمَّدٌ
بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ جُبُورٍ بِخَطِّهِ *

In fact, the MS. is remarkable for containing, as far as I am aware, the only complete chain of authorities from the original editor down to the copyist for any of the diwāns of the old poets which have been preserved: and I have thought it advisable to give in facsimile the title-page of the diwān of Abū Dahbal as well as the account of the persons present at the lectures of at-Tanūhī and Ibn Ḥamd.

The first six lines of the title-page are in the same handwriting as the text, that of Ḥamīs. Line 1 refers to an index of traditions which Ḥamīs had studied under Ibn Ḥairūn,¹ which follows in the MS. immediately after the diwān of Abū Dahbal. Lines 3 to 6 mention the following chain of authorities:—

1. Abū Ḡālib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥamd the treasurer (he was librarian of the old library at Karḥ; he was born in 418 (417) A.H., and died on the 13th of Šaʿbān, 510. Buḡyat al-Wuʿāt, Cairo, 1326, pp. 11, 12).

2. The Qāḍī Abul Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī at-Tanūhī (born 365, died 1st of Muḥarram, 447. I. Ḥillikān, Cairo ed., i, 446).

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Mazīnī.

¹ Died in Raḡab 488 A.H. at the age of 84 years. Dahabī, Taḍkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ, ed. Haidarābād, iv, 7-9.

4. The father of the last, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Mazinī.

5. Abul-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Sa'īd ad-Dimaṣqī (teacher of the children of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz; he is known as the principal transmitter of the works of az-Zubair b. Bakkār; he died in 306 A.H. Yāqūt, *Iršād*, i, 133).

6. Az-Zubair b. Abī Bakr (Bakkār), the editor of the diwān (he died in Mecca in 256 A.H. at the age of 84 years. *Fihrist*, 111).

His authorities form the subject of a special index at the end of the diwān.

The second facsimile contains accounts of the persons present at the reading of the diwān in the years 432 and 484 of the Hijrah. The first account gives a list of the students who copied the work from the reading of at-Tanūhī. I understand the bearing of the text in this way: After all persons present had copied the text from the dictation of al-Tanūhī (or in the second account of Ibn Ḥamd) one of the students read the whole text over again, and any errors that might have been made were then corrected.

In the first case this student was no less a person than the historian of Bagdād. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Ḥaṭīb¹; in the second Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-'Akbarī, of whom I have not been able to trace a biography in the works accessible to me.

It is this last-named person who has written the second part of the *Ṣūrat as-Samā'*, while the first part is in the handwriting of Ḥamīs. We have, therefore, in each facsimile specimens of the handwriting of the copyist of the MS.; he is generally correct, but throughout he has omitted many diacritical points, and especially in the portions in prose he has often drawn one word into another, making the reading at times rather difficult. As

¹ Born 396 A.H., died 463 A.H. Yāqūt, *Iršād*, i, 246.

for the copyist Ḥamīs, though frequently mentioned incidentally in biographical works, the only biographies dealing with him specially (Dahabī, *Taḍkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, ed. Haidarābād, iv, 59, and Suyūṭī, *Buḡyat al-Wurāt*, Cairo, 1326, pp. 245-6) are very short. We learn that he was born in the month Ṣarbān, 442 A.H., and died in Ṣarbān, 510 A.H., and that he was esteemed for his correctness; also that he furnished as-Salafī with particulars concerning the learned men of Wāsiṭ. His name al-Ḥauzi is derived from al-Ḥauz, a village to the east of Wāsiṭ, and is frequently spelt wrongly as الْحَوْزِي, e.g. Yāqūt, *Irṣād*, i, 61, l. 2.

I am sorry to admit that after diligent search in the works accessible to me I have not been able to trace biographies of most of the men named in the account of the persons present at the lectures of at-Tanūḥī and Ibn Ḥamd. No doubt a good many of them never attained sufficient reputation to find a place in biographical works. Some may be found in MSS. to which I have no access, and probably others can supply this deficiency. I have also to thank Sir Charles Lyall and Professor Geyer for their kind advice and assistance in settling some doubtful readings; to Sir Charles Lyall I owe, moreover, the quotations from Yāqūt, and he has also had the kindness of reading the proof-sheets.

I have not included a short poem attributed to Abū Dahbal in the *Kitāb al-Aḡānī*, i, 124, which has found a place in the *diwān* of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa under No. 301: nor the short piece quoted under his name by Yāqūt, iii, 540, referred to above. A translation of the poems, which I have written down, may follow later, as I consider it necessary for these old texts.

Since the text has been printed I have found some verses of Abū Dahbal quoted which had escaped my

notice, and for the sake of completeness I give the references here, though they do not add much for establishing the text.

Naqā'id, p. 861 : poem III, vers. 13, 14 ; variants, ver. 13

وَتَذَمُّهُ سِنَّةَ الْمَشَارَةِ 14 حَجَرٌ . . . وَلَا

at-Tanūhī, al-Farağ ba'd as-Šidda, Cairo, 1904, vol. ii, p. 191 : poem XXIII, vers. 13, 14, and an additional verse—

(19a) فَيَكْبِتُ أَعْدَاءَ وَيُعَذِّلُ آلِيفَ لَهُ كَيْدٌ مِنْ لَوْحَةِ الْحَبِّ تَنْصَبُ
لَمَحَاجِبُوبِ خَدَاةَ أَزْوَارَهَا . . . إِذَا فَادَيْتَهَا

Gāhiz, Tria Opuscula, p. 73 : poem IV, vers. 5, 5 ; var.,
ver. 5 وَالْمُعَلَى . . . تَعَابُ 5

al-Qālī, Amālī, ii, 161 : poem XI, attributed to al-Farazdaq ;
var., ver. 1 تَرْجَى نَوَافِلَهُ ,
ver. 2 إِذَا مَا حِثَّتُهُ . . . فِي مَالِهِ وَهُوَ وَافِي الْعَلَلِ

In the commentary the readings of the text are given upon the authority of the 'Uyūn-al-Aḥbār of Ibn Qutaiba.

al-Baihaqī, Mahāsin, quotes the following verse as belonging to poem XV, together with the first verse of the poem :

أَظْلُمُ إِنَّ مُصَابِكُمْ رَجُلٌ أَهْدَى السَّلَامِ تَحِيَّةَ ظَلَمٍ
with the variant رَجُلًا, where both readings are declared to be correct by al-Mazīnī.

Gāhiz, Bayān, i, 69, quotes poem XXVI on the authority of al-Kisā'i, as having heard it from a Bedouin, with slight variations.

As might be expected, Abū Dahbal drops the *hamza* occasionally, which is one of the distinctive marks of the dialect of the Ḥiğāz, e.g. XVI, 4 ; XVIII, 11.

سُرخاب بن يوسف الرازي¹
 السمانى أبو الحسن
 أبو عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد الكسائى
 عبد الجبار بن جرير الملاحى أبو القاسم²
 عبد المحسن بن محمد بن على
 على بن المحسن النخوى أبو القاسم³
 عيسى بن أحمد اليمداني [اليمداني] أبو الفضل
 محمد بن أحمد الثدورث أبو بكر
 محمد بن أحمد بن مختار أبو سعد
 محمد بن الحسن بن محمد الحلاوت
 محمد بن أحمد بن سهل أبو طاهر⁴
 محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمد أبو غالب⁵
 محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمد أبو منصور
 محمد بن على الصغار أبو طاهر
 محمد بن على الثوري أبو عبد الله
 محمد بن على الواسطى أبو طالب⁶
 محمد بن محمد بن عيسى الصراب [المرات]
 محمد بن محمد بن مكى الكسائى أبو الفضل
 هبة الله بن على الإسكاف أبو شجاع
 يوسف بن محمد المبروانى

¹ Subkī, iii, 166.

² Subkī, ii, 220-1.

³ Born 365 A.H., died 447 A.H. (I. Ḥillikān, Cairo ed. i, 446).

⁴ Born 380 A.H., died 462 A.H. (Buḡyat, 11).

⁵ Born 418 (417) A.H., died 510 A.H. (Buḡyat, 11-12)

⁶ Died 492 A.H. (Subkī, iii, 80 ?).

- iv. محمد بن الضحاك عن محمد بن الحسن
يحيى بن [أبي] الميثداد بن عمران الزمعي عن عمه موسى بن
يعقوب الزمعي¹
ii, xxv.

فهرسه أسماء الرجال الذين ورد ذكرهم
في صورة السماع

أحمد بن أحمد بن هبة الله بن العراقي
أحمد بن علي صاحب ابن التوزي أبو الفضل
أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطيب أبو بكر²
أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد
أحمد بن محمد بن جعفر بن مختار أبو علي³
أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن محمد العكبري
إسماعيل بن المؤمن الإسكافي أبو غالب⁴
ثابت بن بشار البقال [البغدادي أبو المعالي]⁵
الحسن بن محمد الحلاوت أبو عبد الله
أبو الحسن بن أحمد بن محمد الكسائي
الحسين بن عمار [عثمان] البرداني النقي، الحنبلي أبو عبد الله
خاميس بن علي بن أحمد الحوزي أبو الكرم⁶
زيد بن محمد بن علي التنوخي أبو طاهر

¹ Died after 140 A.H. (Taqrīb, 369).

² Born 392 A.H., died 463 A.H. (Yāqūt, Iršād, i, 246; Subkī, iii, 12; Dahabī, Taḍkirat al-Ḥuffāz, iii, 331).

³ Died after 500 A.H. (Buḡyat, 158).

⁴ Died 448 A.H. (Buḡyat, 198).

⁵ Died 498 A.H. (Dahabī, Taḍkirat, iv, 30, 3 a.f.).

⁶ Born 442 A.H., died 510 A.H. (vide p. 1029).

- xl, ver. ٢, p. ٢٦. **مُوسَى النَّبِيُّ** **مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ النَّبِيُّ**
 iv, p. ٨. **نُصَيْبُ الْأَسْوَدِ الشَّاعِرِ** xxi, ver. ٣, p. ٢٢
 xxxii, ver. ٤, p. ٢٣. **كُذَيْلٌ** xl, ver. ١, p. ٣٦ [**بَنُ الْحَكَمِ**]
 i, p. ٢ : xxxi, ver. ١, p. ٢٣ ; **مُطْعَمُونَ بْنُ حَبِيبِ بْنِ حُذَافَةَ**
 p. ٢٣ : xxxi, ver. ١, p. ٢٣ ; i, p. ٣.
 xxxii, ver. ٤, p. ٢٣. **مُعَمَّرُ بْنُ حَبِيبِ بْنِ حُذَافَةَ**
 iv, p. ٨. **هَشَامُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ** i, p. ٣.
الْوَلِيدُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ xviii, **عَبْدُ اللَّهِ**
 xxx, p. ٢٠. vers. ١, ٤, p. ٢٠.

فهرسته أسماء الرواد الذين روى عنهم الزُّبَيْرُ بْنُ نَكَّارٍ

- xx. **إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ مُوسَى بْنِ صَدِيقٍ**
 iv. **عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الزُّهْرِيُّ**
عَبْدُ الْجَبَّارِ بْنِ سَعِيدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَعْنٍ عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَنْ جَمَالِ
 xxiv b. **بَنَتِ أَبِي الْمُسَاوِرِ^١**
 i. **عَلِيٌّ بْنُ صَالِحٍ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ ثَمْرَةَ**
 iii, v, viii, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, **مُتَعَمِّبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ دُمَّةً^٢**
 xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xxii,
 xxiv a, xxv, xxxi, xli.
 vii. **مُتَعَمِّبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَنْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ**
 iv. **مُتَعَمِّبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَنْ أُمِّهِ**
 xi, xiii, xiv, xv, xvii, xviii **مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ خَشْرَمٍ**
 iv, v. **مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّحَّاحِ^١**
 viii, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. **مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّحَّاحِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ**
 xvi, xvii, xviii, xxi, xxii,
 xxiii.

^١ Fihrist, 111.

^٢ Died 233 A.H. ; Fihrist, 110.

عُثْمَانُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ حَكِيمٍ بْنِ

xix, p. ٢١; xix,

ver. ٨, p ٢١; xxi, ver. ١, p ٢٢.

xlvi, p ٣٨.

viii, ver. ٤, p. ١٤.

عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَمِيْدٍ بْنِ أَحْيَاةَ بْنِ
حَكْلَفَ بْنِ وَهَبِ ابْنِ رِيحَانَةَ

viii, pp. ١٣, ١٤.

عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ
p ٢٢.

عُمَارَةُ بْنُ عَمْرِو بْنِ حَزَمٍ
iii, ver. ٩, p. ٥; iv, p ٦.

عَمْرَدٌ
x, vers. ١, ٢, p ١٥; xxiii, ver. ٣ var., p. ٢٤;

xxxiii, p. ٢٤.

xxiii, ver. ١٥, p ٢٥.

ix, ver. ١, p. ١٤;

xiv, ver. ١, p. ١٨;

xix, ver. ١, p. ٢١;

xxi, ver. ٢, p ٢٢.

فَيْسُ بْنُ دَرِيحٍ الشَّاعِرُ. xxiv b, p. ٢٧.

ii, ver. ١, p. ٣.

فَيْسُ صَاحِبَةُ فَيْسُ بْنُ دَرِيحٍ

xxiv b, p. ٢٧.

xxiv a, p. ٢٦.

xxiv a, p ٢٦.

xxvii, v. ١, ٤, p ٢٩.

المَجْدُونُ الشَّاعِرُ. xxvii, p. ٢٩.

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشِيرٍ الْخَارِجِيُّ الشَّاعِرُ

xxix, p. ٣.

أَبُو رِيحَانَةَ = عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَمِيْدٍ

xxi, ver. ٤, p. ٢٢.

iii, ver. ١, p. ٥.

iii, ver. ١, p ٥.

xxv, p ٢٨.

viii, ver. ٤, p. ١٤.

عُجْرُ بْنُ مَتَّى لَعْمَانُ

p. ٢٦.

طَارِقُ مَوْلَى عُثْمَانَ بْنِ عَدَانَ

viii, p. ١٣.

xviii, ver. ١١, p. ٢١.

عَاتِكَةُ بِنْتُ مَعْلُوِيَّةَ

xxxv, p ٣٥; xxxvi, p. ٣٥.

xxiii, ver ١٨, p. ٢٤.

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزَّيْعَرِيِّ

i, p. ٢

iii, p. ٥; viii, p. ١٣; xi, p ١٦; xix,

p. ٢١; xx, p. ٢٢.

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ سَكَمَةَ

i, p. ٢.

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ صَفْوَانَ بْنِ أُمَيَّةَ بْنِ

حَكْلَفَ

viii, pp. ١٣, ١٤

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ

الْوَلِيدِ ابْنِ الْأَزْرَفِ

iii, p. ٥; iv, p. ٦; v, p. ٨; xi, p. ١٦;

xii; xiii, p. ١٧; xiv, p. ١٨;

xv, p. ١٨; xvi; xvii, p. ١٩.

عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ سُرَوَانَ

viii, p ١٣.

عَبِيدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ فَيْسِ التُّرَيْمَاتِ

xlili, p ٣٧.

ابْنُ أَبِي عَتِيْقٍ

viii, p. ١٣.

ii, ver. ٢, p. ٢ :	مَكَّة	iv, ver. ٨, p. ٧.	عُسْفَان
viii, ver. ٢, p. ١٢ :		ii, ver. ٧, p. ٢ ; vii	عَلَيْبُ
xxi, ver. ١, p. ٢٢ ;		comm., p. ١٢ ; xvii, ver. ١, p. ١٩.	
xxv, ver. ٨, p. ٢٨.		viii int., p. ١٣.	أَبُو قُبَيْسٍ
xvii, ver. ٣, p. ٢٠ :	وَمَى	iv, ver. ٢, p. ٧.	بُيْمَانُ
xlvi, ver. ١, p. ٣٨.		ii, ver. ٢, p. ٢.	الْمَيْمُ
iv, ver. ١ var., p. ٧.	مَجْرَانُ	vi, ver. ١, p. ١٠.	الْمَاطِرُونَ
iii, ver. ١, p. ٥.	شَجِيرُ	iv comm., p. ٧.	الْمَدِينَةُ
iv, ver. ١, p. ٧.	مَخْلَانُ	viii comm.,	الْمَسْجِدُ الْحَرَامُ
xxiii, ver. ٢, p. ٢٤.	يَأْجُزُ	p. ١٣.	
ii, ver. ٢, p. ٢.	يَكْلَمُ	vii, ver. ٢, p. ١٣.	وَصَرُ
iv, ver. ١, p. ٧.	الْيَمَنُ		

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viii, p. ١٣.	الْحَاجَّاجُ	iv, pp. ٧, ٨.	إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ
xliv, ver. ١, p. ٣٨.	حَرْمِيَّةُ		ابن الأزرق = عبد الله بن
	ابن حِزَامٍ = عَثْمَانُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ		عبد الرحمن بن الوليد
xv, p. ١٨.	حَزِينُ النَّيْشِيِّ الشَّاعِرُ	xli, ver. ١, p. ٣٧.	أُمَيَّةُ
	الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ	x, ver. ٢, p. ١٥.	أَوْدُ
xli, p. ٣٧.			بَحِيرُ بْنُ رَيْسَانَ الْجَمْعِيَّةُ
xxvi, p. ٢٤.	حَكَمِيَّةُ	xii, ver. ١, p. ١٧ ; xxvii,	
xxi, ver. ٢, p. ٢٢.	الحَكِيمُ	ver. ١, p. ٣٦.	بُرْجُ بْنُ مُسْتَهْرِ الطَّائِي الشَّاعِرُ
	حَمْسَنُ مَوْلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ	xiii, p. ١٧.	
	الرحمن بن الأزرق	xxiii, ver. ٢, p. ٢٤.	تَكْتُمُ
iv, p. ١ ; ver. ١, p. ١.		xx, ver. ١, p. ٢٢.	ابنة النَّيْمِيَّةِ
	خَسْرَجُ الْأَشْجَعِيِّ الشَّاعِرُ	i, ver. ١, pp. ٢, ٣ ;	جَمْعُ
xxii, p. ٢٣.		xxxii, ver. ٢, p. ٣٣.	
	خَلْفُ بْنُ وَهْبٍ بْنُ حُدَافَةَ		الحَارِثُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ الشَّاعِرُ
i, p. ٣.		x, p. ١٥.	

RHYME.	METRE.	NUMBER OF VERSES	No.
وَيْلُ	Wāfir	5	VIII
الْكَوَالِ	Kāmil	3	XXXVIII
فَعَلَا	Madid	3	XXIV
أَصْلَا	Ramal	5	XXVI
نَسَائِبَ	Mutaqārib	2	XXXI
أَسْوَمُ	Ṭawīl	8	XXXIII
خُفْمُ	Kāmil	4	XV
الشُّكْرُمُ	Ṭawīl	4	XVII
كُفْمُ	Basīṭ	7	XII
جَزَامُ	Ṭawīl	5	XXI
مَسْرُومَا	Ṭawīl	8	II
حَمِيمُنَا	Tawīl	3	XLI
بِالْمَحَارُونِ	Ḥafīf	15	VI

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iii, ver. ٣, p. ٥.	حَضْرَمَوْت	xiii, ver. ٩, p. ١٨.	الْبَرْكُ
ii, ver. ٦, p. ٤.	دُرُومَةُ	ii, ver. ٩, p. ٤;	الْبَرْكُ
xxv, ver. ٩, p. ٢٨.	دُرُودُ	xxv, vers ٣, ٨, p. ٢٨.	
xii, ver. ١, p. ١٦;	رَمَحَ	ii, ver. ٥, p. ٤.	الْبَرْوَاءُ
xiii, ver. ٧, p. ١٧.		xiii, ver. ٢, p. ١٧.	الْبَطَاخَاءُ
ii, ver. ٦, p. ٤.	رَوَقَةُ	vii, ver. ٣, p. ١٣.	بِمَشْ
ii, ver. ٦, p. ٤.	رَوْنَقُ	xxv, ver. ١, p. ٢٨.	جَارَانُ
xxv, ver. ١, p. ٢٨.	سُرُودُ	xliii, ver. ٣, p. ٣٧.	جَيْقُ
xxv, ver. ١, p. ٢٨.	سَيَامُ	iii int., p. ٤; iv int., p. ٦;	الْجَمْدُ
vi, ver. ٤, p. ١١;	السَّامُ	xi, p. ١٦; xii, p. ١٧;	
xxxv, ver. ٤, p. ٣٥.		xxxvii, ver. ١, p. ٣٦.	
xli, ver. ١, p. ٣٧.	الطَّفُ	vi int., p. ٩; ver. ٢, p. ١;	جَيْرُونُ
iv, ver. ٨, p. ٧.	عَدَنُ	xxii, ver. ١, p. ٢٣.	الْحَاجُونُ

RHYME.	METRE.	NUMBER OF VERSES.	No.
الْعَرْفَجَا	Sarī'	1	XLIV
تَذَكَّرَ	Ṭawīl	8	XIX
الْبَرْحِ	Ba-īṭ	9	XIII
وَلَدَ	Ṭawīl	2	XXXVII
رَفَدُوا	Ba-īṭ	2	XL
مَعْمُودٌ	Ba-īṭ	8	IV
سُرُودٌ	Ṭawīl	10	XXV
تَشَبُّدًا	Ṭawīl	8	XVI
السَّيْرِ	Ba-īṭ	4	XXIX
نَسْبُورٌ	Ṭawīl	4	XXVII
حَضَرٌ	Ḥafīf	4	VII
الْبَجْرِ	Kāmil	13	X
لَيْسَ رَدٌ	Kāmil Mur.	17	III
الْمُعِيرَةُ	Kāmil Mur.	12	XVIII
صَنَعُوا	Ba-īṭ	4	XXVIII
مُتَخَذِعٌ	Ba-īṭ	2	II
فَلَا مَنَنْعَا	Madīd	5	XLII
نَزَعَا	Ba-īṭ	1	V
صَنَاعَا	Ḥafīf	3	XXII
الرَّعْنَا	Ba-īṭ	3	I
مُعْرِقٌ	Ṭawīl	4	XX
مُنْبَعِفٌ	Ba-īṭ	1	XLVI
العَنْقِ	Munsariḥ	5	XXX
رُفَى	Ṭawīl	8	XXXV
تَشْتَعِلُ	Ḥafīf	2	XXXIX
حَقْلٌ	Ṭawīl	6	XXXVI
الْعَزَلِ	Ṭawīl	2	XI

XLIV

وَقَالَ أَيْضًا¹

حِرْمِيَّةٌ لَمْ يَخْتَبِرْ أَهْلُهَا فَشًا وَلَمْ تَسْتَنْصِرِ الْعَرَفَجَا

XLV

وَقَالَ أَيْضًا²

وَلَيْلَكِ دَابَّ أَجْرَاسٍ وَأَرْوَفَةٍ كَالْبَحْرِ يَتَّبِعُ أَمْوَاجًا بِأَمْوَاجٍ

XLVI

وَقَالَ أَيْضًا³ وَيُرْوَى لِلْعَمْرَجِيِّ

سَتَى مَتَى ثُمَّ رَوَادُ وَسَاكِنُهُ وَمَا تَوَى فِيهِ وَاهِي الْوَلَدِ مَتَّبِعُ

تم تم تم
تم

فهرسة النواحي

RHYME.	METRE.	NUMBER OF VERSES.	No.
يُوكَّهَبُ	Rajaz	11	XXXII
بِالْبَابِ	Sarī	5	XXXIV
حَبَّأ	Tawīl	3	XIV
الْمُصِيبَاتِ	Munsariḥ	1	XLIII
يَتَفَرَّجُ	Tawīl	24	XXIII
دَاءُ أَوَّاجٍ	Basīṭ	1	XLV

¹ G. i, 137; L.A. ii, 481; T.A.² i, 638.² Muwazana, 126 ult.³ Bekrī, 540, 860 (at-'Argī).

XLI¹

قال أبو الفرج الإصمعياني أخبرني الحارثي قال حدثنا الزبير بن
بكار قال حدثني عمي مضعب قال قال أبو ذؤيب في فنن الحسبن
ابن علي صلوات الله عليه وزكواته *

- ١ تَبِعْتُ سَكَرَى^٢ مِنْ أَوْجِهَةِ نَوْمَا وَبِطَلْفِ فُتْنَى مَا بَدَأَ حَمَمُهَا
٢ وَمَا أَفْسَدَ الْإِسْلَامَ إِلَّا حَصَابَةُ تَمَامَرٍ نَوَّكَهَا وَكَمْ^٤ تَسْعِيْمُهَا
٣ فَصَارَتْ^٥ فَمَذَّةُ الدِّينِ فِي كُفِّ ظَالِمٍ إِذَا آخَوْجَ^٦ مِمَّا جَارِبُ^٧ لَا يُقْسِمُهَا

XLII

وأنشد الجاحظ في كتاب المحبوان لابي ذؤيب

- ١ أَبْ هَذَا الْبَيْلُ مَا كُنْتُمْ وَأَمَرَ النَّوْمُ وَآمَنْتُمْ
٢ فِي قَبَابٍ وَسَطَ دَسْكَرَةٍ حَوَّيْهَا الرِّبِّيُّونَ قَدْ يَنْعَمُ
٣ خُرُوقَهُ حَتَّى إِذَا آتَيْتُمْ سَكَنَتْ مِنْ حَيْثُ بَيْعَا
٤ عِنْدَ غَيْرِي مَا لَمْ تَمْسُ رَجُلًا يَكُنُ السُّنُومُ وَالسَّلْعَا
٥ ذَاكَ سَمِيَّ لَسْتُ أَكَلُهُ وَأَرَادَ مَا تَكَلَّمَا فُطِعَمَا

XLIII

وقال أبو ذؤيب لعبد الله بن قيس الرقيات أنشده ابن الأعرابي^٩
١ قُلْ لِّأَنْتِ قَبْسٍ أَخِي الرِّقِيَّاتِ مَا أَحْسَنَ الْعُجُوفِ فِي الْمُصِيبَاتِ

¹ Ag. vi, 167; Murt. i, 80. 81; Yāq. iii, 540

² Murt. الْكَسَاوِي.

³ Murt. وَمَا غَيَّجَ.

⁴ Yāq. نَوَّكَهَا نَوَّكَهَا قَدْ كَمْ.

⁵ Murt. وَهَارَتْ.

⁶ Murt. إِذَا مَالِ.

⁷ Yāq. جَانِبَا.

⁹ G, Haiw. iv, 4 (vv. 1-5); L A. x, 191 (v. 1 by Yazid b Mu'awīya); L A. x, 297 (v. 2 anon.)

⁹ L A. xi, 143; T.A. vi, 195; Hiz. iii, 266 (anon.); Dīwān I Q R., p 7.

XXXVII

وقال أبو دَهْبَلٍ في بَحْمَرِ بْنِ رَيْسَانَ الْجَمْعَرِيِّ^١

- ١ بَحْمَرُ بْنُ رَيْسَانَ آتَى سَكَنَ الْجَمْعَدِ يَقُولُ لَهُ النَّاسُ الْجَوَادَ وَمَنْ وَلَدَ
٢ لَهُ نَفَحَاتُ حِمَمٍ يُذَكِّرُ فَضْلَهُ كَسِيلِ رَبِيعٍ فِي ضَحَايَةِ السَّدِّ

XXXVIII

قال أبو الفرج الإصمعياني أخبرني محمد بن خلف قال حدثنا
أبو تُوَيْبَةَ عن أبي عمرو [الشيباني] قال قال أبو دَهْبَلٍ يمدح ابن
الأَزْرَقِ^١

- ١ بِأَبِي وَأُمِّي شَيْرَ قَوْلِ الْبَاطِلِ الْكَامِلُ آتَى الْكَامِلِ آتَى الْكَامِلِ
٢ وَالْحَازِمِ الْأَمَرَ الْكَرِيمَ بِرَأْيِهِ وَالْوَاصِلِ الْأَرْحَامَ وَآتَى الْوَاصِلِ
٣ جَمَعَ الرِّيَاسَةَ وَالسَّمَاحَ كَبَبَهُمَا جَمَعَ الْجَفِيرَ قَدَحَ كَبَلِ الدَّابِلِ

XXXIX

وقال أبو دَهْبَلٍ أيضًا^١

- ١ وَتَذَرُ يَشْعَلُهَا وَرَأَى حَطَبُ النَّارِ قَدَعِيًا تَشْتَعِلُ
٢ فَإِذَا مَا كَانَ أَمْسًا فَاتَّيَمَّ وَإِذَا مَا كَانَ خَوْفٌ فَاعْتَزَلَ

XL

وقال أبو دَهْبَلٍ أيضًا^١ [في مَرْوَانَ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ لَمَّا وَلِيَ الْخِلَافَةَ]

- ١ يَدْعُونَ مَرْوَانَ كَيْمَا يَسْتَجِيبَ لَهُمْ وَعِنْدَ مَرْوَانَ حَارَ النَّوْمِ أَوْ رَقَدُوا
٢ قَدْ كَانَ فِي قَوْمٍ مَوْتَى قَبْلَهُمْ جَسَدٌ عَجَلُ إِذَا خَارَ فِيهِمْ خَوَرًا سَجَدُوا

^١ Ag. vi, 165.

٢ يَا حُسَيْنَهُ إِذَا تَبَيَّنَتِي مَدِينًا
 ٣ سَبَّحَكَ أَنْ مَسَّنَ وَفُوفِيهَا حَسْبُكَ
 ٤ يَسْمُودُ عَمَدِيهَا إِنْ تَطَلَّعْتُهَا
 ٥ أَكَلَهَا قَصْرًا مَرِيحَ الدَّرَى
 ١ مُسَمَّيْتُهَا قَتَلِي بِالْجَلْبَابِ
 ٢ صَبَّتَ عَلَى النَّبِ بِأَوْصَابِ
 ٣ أَنْتَ لَنَا لَيْسَ بِسُودَابِ
 ٤ يُحْمَلِي بِأَبْوَابِ وَحُجَابِ

XXXV

وفال فيها أيضا^١

١ أَحَدَاتِكَ هَلَّا إِذَا بَخِلْتُ فَلَا تَرَى
 ٢ رَدَدْتَ قَوْلًا قَدْ تَوَلَّى بِسُودَابِي
 ٣ وَلَكِنْ خَلَعْتَ الْعَلَبَ بِالْوَعْدِ وَالْمَعْنَى
 ٤ أَتُسَيِّسُ أَيُّهَا لَيْسَ بِزَيْعِكَ مَدِينًا
 ٥ وَأَسَيِّسُ عَدِيثِي يَسْرُخُنِي بِوَصْبَةٍ
 ٦ وَأَكْبِرُ كَهْمِي أَنْ أَرَى لَكَ مَدِينًا
 ٧ قُوا كَمَدِي إِذَا لَيْسَ لِي مَعَكُمْ مَجْلِسُ
 ٨ رَأَيْتُكُمْ تَزْدَادِينَ لِحَبَابِ غِلْظَةٍ
 ١ لَدَى صَبُودِ رُسُلِي لَدَيْكَ وَلَدَرِي
 ٢ وَسَكَّطْتَ حَسْبِي لَا نَهْمَ وَلَا تَمَرِي
 ٣ وَلَمْ أَرَيْدُهَا وَمَنْكَ جَدًّا وَلَا صَدَقَا
 ٤ عَرِيحًا بِأَرْضِ السَّيِّئِ ذَا سَقَمٍ مَدِينِي
 ٥ وَأَذْهَبُ إِذَا لِي بِالشَّرَابِ فَمَا أَسْتَلِي
 ٦ فَطُولُ نَهَارِي جَالِسُ أَرْغَبِ الطَّرِيقَا
 ٧ فَأَشْكُو آتَدِي بِي مِنْ كَوَاكٍ وَمَا أَلْفِي
 ٨ وَيَزِدُّكَ تَزْدَادِينَ لِحَبَابِ غِلْظَةٍ

XXXVI

وفال فيها أيضا^١

١ أَلَا نَهْمٌ مَهْلًا قَدْ دَهَبَ لِمَهْلُ
 ٢ لَمَّا كَانَ فِي حَوْلَيْهِ خَالًا وَلَمْ أَرُ
 ٣ حَمِي لِمَيْكَ الْجَبَّارَ عَتَى لِنَاعِمَا
 ٤ فَلَا حَمِيرَ فِي حُبِّ يُخَفُّ وَبِإِلَهٍ
 ٥ قُوا كَمَدِي إِذَا لَيْسَ لِي مَعَكُمْ مَجْلِسُ
 ٦ وَيَا عَجَبًا إِذَا لَيْسَ لَكُمْ أَيْمٌ حَسْبُهَا
 ١ وَمَا كُنْتُ مِنْ يَمْلَحِي مُجْتَبَا لَهُ عَمَلُ
 ٢ كَوَاكٍ وَإِنْ خُوفْتُ عَنْ حَبِيهَا شِعْلُ
 ٣ فَمِنْ دُونِهَا خَشْيَ الْمَنَالِفِ وَالْفُتُلُ
 ٤ وَلَا فِي حَمِيرٍ لَا يَكُونُ لَهُ وَضَلُ
 ٥ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهِمَا بَيْنَنَا سَاعَةً بَدَلُ
 ٦ وَقَدْ شَاحَ حَسِي قُطِعَتْ دُونَهَا السُّبُلُ

¹ Ag. vi. 160.

- ٩ وَجَوْنِيَا الْقَاتِرُ مِنْ سَيْرِ^١ الْيَلْبِ
 ١٠ وَالْمَوْسُ فَجَاءَ لَنَا نَبْلٌ ذَرِبَ
 ١١ مَحْشُورٌ أَحْكَمَ وَثَقِينَ الْغُطَبِ
 ١٢ لِيَوْمٍ هَجَاءٍ أَعَدَّتْ لِلرَّهَبِ

XXXIII²

وقال أبو دهبٍ في عمرة وهي امرأة من قومه

- ١ يَلْمُؤُونَنِي فِي غَبْرِ ذَنْبٍ جَمِيْعُهُ
 ٢ أَوْنًا أَنَا كُنْتُ تَأْتُمُ ذِيْمَتُهُمْ^٣
 ٣ وَقَالُوا لَنَا مَا لَمْ نَعْلَمْ كَثُرُوا
 ٤ وَقَدْ مَنَحَتْ عَيْنِي الْعَدَى لِيُغْرِقَكُمْ
 ٥ وَأَنْكَرْتُ طِبَّ الْعَيْشِ وَتَنِي وَكُذِرْتُ
 ٦ وَهَاقَيْتُ نَشْوَانًا فَلَئِمَ أَرْفُهُمْ
 ٧ أَلَيْسَ عَظِيمًا أَنْ نَكُونَ بِبَلَدَةٍ
 ٨ وَلَا تَصْرِمْنِي إِنْ تَرَبَّنِي أَجْمَعُكُمْ
 ٩ وَخَيْرِي فِي الذَّنْبِ الَّذِي كَانَ الْيَوْمَ
 ١٠ فَرَادُوا عَلَيْنَا فِي الْحَدِيثِ وَأَوْكَمُوا
 ١١ عَلَيْنَا وَبَاحُوا بِالَّذِي كُنْتُ أَكْتُمُ
 ١٢ وَعَادَ لَنَا تَهْتَانُهُمَا فَبَيْتِي تَسْجُمُ
 ١٣ عَمَلِي حَيَاتِي وَالْبَهْوَى مُتَقَسِّمُ
 ١٤ كَمَوَايَ وَلَا الْوُدَّ الَّذِي كُنْتُ أَكْلُمُ
 ١٥ كِلَانَا بِبَيْتَانَا وَلَا نَتَدَكَّمُ
 ١٦ أَبُوءُ بِذَنْبِي إِنْ نِي أَنَا أَظْلَمُ

XXXIV

وقال أبو دهبٍ في عائكة بنت معاوية بن أبي سفيان^٤

- ١ إِنِّي دَعَانِي الْحَيْنُ فَافْتَاكَنِي حَسَى رَأَيْتُ الطَّبِيَّ بِالْبَابِ

¹ is the correct reading according to Takmila (T.A.² i, 520, margin).

² Ag. vi, 157 (vv 1-4, 6, 7, and 9), 169 (vv. 7, 8, and 2-5).

³ Ag. 169, كُنْتُ قَدْ بَأْمَنْتُهُمْ.

⁴ Ag. 169, وَغَادَا وَكَهَا نَعَدْتُ كَحَلَّتْ عَيْنِي الْعَدَى لِيُغْرِقَكُمْ.

⁵ Ag. 169, تَحْجِيْمًا.

⁶ Ag. vi, 158.

XXXI

قال أبو الفرج البصيصي في كتاب الأغاني^١ وأُمُّ ابْنِي دَهْبَلِ امْرَأَتُ
مَنْ هَدَيْلٍ وَإِيَّاهَا يَعْنِي بِقَوْلِهِ

أَنَا ابْنُ الشُّرُوعِ الْكَرَامِ لَسْنِي دَهْدَيْسٌ لِأَيِّمَاتِنَا مَسَالِمُ
هُمْ وَلَدُونِي وَأَشْبَهَ بَيْنَهُمْ كَمَا تَشَبَّاهُ الْفِيلَةُ الْعَالِمَةُ

XXXII

قال أبو الفرج أيضًا قال التُّرَيْمِزِيُّ وَاسْتَدْنِي مَهْمِي مَهْمًا حَسْبَ
[بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ] لَأَيِّ دَهْدَيْلٍ يَفْخَرُ بِقَوْلِهِ^٢

أَنَا أَبُو دَهْدَيْلٍ وَهَدَيْتُ يَوْهَدَ ١
وَمِنْ جَمْعٍ فِي الْعِزِّ مَتَبًا وَاحْسَدَ ٢
وَالْأُسْرَةَ الْخَتِيرَاءَ وَالْعِمْتَ الْبَلِيَّتَ ٣
وَمِنْ هَدَيْلٍ وَالْيَدَى عَالِي تَشَبَّ ٤
أُورِدَنِي الْمَحْدُ أَتَى مِنْ بَعْدِ آتَ ٥
وَمَهْمِي رُدَيْيْنِي وَسَيْفِي مَسْتَهَبَ ٦
وَبَقَصَتِي قَوْلُسَيَّا وَمِنْ الدَّهْدَبِ ٧
لِرَدِّي دَلَّاسٌ تَرَدَّدَا تَرَدَّدَ تَجَبَّ ٨

وَيُرْوَى * شَكْبًا شَكْتُ تَجَبَّ

¹ Ag. vi. 155.

² Ag. vi. 155 (vv. 1-8, 10-12): G i, 112, 384: ii, 138 (vv. 8, 9):
L.A ii, 307: vi, 380: xii, 338 (vv. 8, 9): T.A i, 520: iii, 481;
vii, 143 (vv. 8, 9).

³ All quotations have this reading سَكْبًا سَكْتُ except
T.A vii. 143.

الصقار وأحمد بن أحمد بن هبة الله بن العرقى وأبو الفضل
أحمد بن علي صاحب ابن المؤزى وسرخاب بن يوسف الرازي
اليزيدي^١ وهذا من خطه وذلك في شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة اثنتين
وتلثين وأربع مائة * نقله عبد المحسن بن محمد بن علي من
أصل بخط أبي الحسن السمانى فيه سماع التتوحي وسمع الشيخ
أبي غالب عنه وصح * ونقله علي هذا الصفة من أصل أبي غالب
خمس المؤزى *

بلغ من أول الجزء إلى هاهنا سماعة عن الشيخ الجليل أبي
غالب محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمد الخازن بقراءة صاحبه
الشيخ الجليل أبي الكرم خميس بن علي بن أحمد المؤزى نفعه
الله بالعلم الشيخ الجليل السيد المعدل أبو علي أحمد بن محمد
ابن جعفر بن مختار وابن أخته أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد والشيخ
الجليل المعدل أبو طاهر محمد بن أحمد بن تقي والشيخ الجليل
أبو سعد محمد بن أحمد بن مختار والشيخ أبو شجاع هبة الله بن
علي الإسكاف ومثل^٢ السماع أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن
محمد العكبرى غفر الله له وذلك في المحرم من سنة أربع و
ثمانين وأربع مائة * والحمد لله كثيرًا على نعمه وعلواته على سيد
نا محمد النبي وآله الطاهرين وسلامه كثير *

تعليقة

فبها ما وجدت من الأبيات مسوَّبًا إلى أبي كهمَل الجهمجي
في كتب مختلفة *

^١ البريدي .

^٢ مثل ؟



٣ وَانْزَى وَالَّذِي يَحْشُجْ لَهُ السَّاسُ بِخَرْقٍ سَوَاكَ لَمْ أَثْنِ
 ٤ مَا زِلْتَ فِي الْعَدْوِ لِلذَّنُوبِ وَأَطْلَانِي لِبَعَانِ بَجَرٍ بِهِ غَلِيظٌ
 ٥ كَحَدِّي تَمَسَّتِي الْبِرَّةُ أَنْبِئْكُمْ بِحَدِّكَ أَمْ سَوَا فِي الْخَدِّ وَالْحَلْفِ
 آخر أخبار أبي دُحْبَلِ الْجُمَاهِرِيِّ وَأَشْعَارِدِ * وَلِيْلُو الْحَمْدُ كَثْرًا مُتَبَا
 وصلواته على رسوله سيّدنا مُحَمَّد النَّبِي وآله وسلّمته وإكرامه *

[fol. 102a]

صورة سماع الشيخ أبي غالب بن حمد الخازن أَيْدَدُ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَثَرِ *
 بلغ من أوله سماعًا من القاضي أبي القاسم علي بن المحسن
 التَّنُوخِيِّ بقراءة الشيخ أبي بكر أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطيب *
 صاحبه الشيخ أبو غالب محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمد وخود
 أبو منصور محمد وأبو عبد الله محمد بن علي الصوري وأبو عبد
 الله الحسين بن عمار أَيْدَدُ اللَّهِ الْقَبِيحُ الْحَمْلِيُّ وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ مُحَمَّد بن
 أحمد القدوري وأبو القاسم عبد الجبار بن جريد الحلي وأبو
 الفضل عيسى بن أحمد البغدادي وابن أخيه وثابت بن بُدَّار
 البغال وأخوه وأبو الفضل محمد بن محمد بن مكى الكسائي و
 أبو غالب إسماعيل بن المؤمل الإسكافِي ومحمد بن محمد بن
 عيسى القراتي وأبو عبد الله وأبو الحسن ابن أحمد بن محمد
 الكسائي وأبو عبد الله الحسن بن محمد الحلبي وأبيه محمد وأبو
 طاهر محمد بن علي الواسطي وأبو طاهر زيد بن محمد بن علي
 التَّنُوخِيِّ وبوسف بن محمد الميرواني^٦ وأبو طاهر محمد بن علي

¹ This word is very indistinct in MS.² L A., T.A. فِي الْعَنْقَرِ.³ Hamāsa, Maḡmu'at, السَّيْرَاءُ.⁴ Perhaps عُثْمَان.⁵ Perhaps الصَّرَابُ.⁶ الشَّهْرَوَانِي.

[fol. 101b]

- ٢ وَلَيْتَ رَارِقَ رَجُلٍ وَمِثْلَ نَائِلِيهِمْ فَوْتُ كَدُوتٍ وَمُسَعٍ كَانْدِي وَسُعُو^١
 ٣ وَلَيْتَ لِمَسْخَسٍ خَصَا فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ تَبِينُ أَخْلَافُهُمْ فَبِئْسَ إِذَا آجَتُمْعُوا
 ٤ وَلَيْتَ ذَا النُّخْشِ لَأَقَى فَاِحْشَانِدَا وَوَأَقَى الْحَمَامِ أَهْلَ الْحَمَامِ فَأَيَّ زَدَحُو^٢

XXIX

وَأَنشَدَ أَبُو دَهْمَلٍ^٣ [وَرَوَاهُ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ الْخَرَابُيْ لِمُحَمَّدِ بْنِ بَشِيرٍ
 الْحَارِثِيِّ فِي أَبِيَاتٍ]

- ١ أُولُؤْ وَارْتَكَبَ قَدْ مَلَأَتْ حَمَانِيهِمْ وَقَدْ سَعَى الْقَوْمُ دَأَسَ الدَّشَوَةِ السَّهَرِ
 ٢ يَا لَيْتَ أَتَى بِأَنْوَابِي وَرَاجِعَتِي عَبْدٌ لِّلْهَلِكِ طُولَ الدَّكْرِ^٤ مَوْتَجِرُ
 ٣ إِنْ كَانَ ذَا قَدْرًا يُؤْتِيكَ نَافِلَةً وَمَا يُخْذِرُ مِمَّا أَنْصَفَ الْقَدْرُ
 ٤ حِينِيَّةً أَوْ لَبَا جَرَّتْ يُعَلِّمُنَا رَمَى الْقُلُوبِ بِتَوْسِ مَالِهَا وَتَرُ

XXX^٥

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ وَ قَالَ أَبُو دَهْمَلٍ لِلْوَلِيدِ بْنِ يَزِيدَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ
 ١ جِئْتُكَ مِنْ بِلْدَدٍ مُبَارَكَةٍ أَفْطَعُنَا بِالْذَمِّ يَلٍ وَالْعَتَقِ
 ٢ أَمِيتَ بِالْوَدِّ وَالْقَرَابَةِ وَالْمُطْعَمِ وَقَطَعِي إِلَيْنَا مُعْتَكِي^٦

^١ Murt. وَسُعُو better, but MS. has vowels.

^٢ Murt. فَأَيَّ زَدَحُوا.

^٣ Hamāsa, ed Freytag, 593 = Būlāq, iii, 166 (vv. 1-4); Murtaḍā, Amālī, i, 81 (vv. 1-3 acc. Abū 'Amr as-Šaibānī).

^٤ Commentary of Hamāsa.

^٥ Hamāsa, الدَّعْسَةُ.

^٦ Ham., Murt. هَذَا الشَّهَرِ.

^٧ MS. يَنْبَلِ.

^٨ Maḡmu'at al Ma'ānī, 109 (vv. 4, 5); L.A. xii, 167 (v. 4); Hamāsa, ed Freytag, 709 = Būlāq, iv, 82 (vv. 4, 5); T.A. vii, 39.

^٩ MS. has عُنْكَي in text, but corrected in margin with صَح.

XXVI

أُنشِدْنَا الرُّبْعَ لَأَبِي دَهْبَلٍ

- ١ عَجَبٌ مَا عَجَبَ أَتَجَبَنِي
 ٢ قُلْتُ حَدِّثْ عَنْ أُنَاسٍ نَزَلُوا
 ٣ قُلْتُ بَيِّنْ مَا هَلَاكَلْ نَزَلُوا
 ٤ لَسْتُ أَذْهَبُ حِينَ وَلَّى عَجَلًا
 ٥ قُلْتُ كَدَانِي لَعْنَةُ أَنْكَرَهَا
- مِنْ غَلَامٍ حَكَمِي أَصْلًا
 خَصًّا أَوْ عَيَّرُ قَالَ هَلَا
 قَالَ حَوْبًا ثُمَّ وَلَّى عَجَلًا
 أَنَعَمْ مَا قَالَ لِي أَمْ قَالَ لَا
 زَادَتْ التَّغْلِبَ الْمُعَيَّ حَبَلًا

XXVII

وَأُنشِدْ لَهُ وَيُقَالُ أَبَا الْمَعْنُونِ^١

- ١ أَتَرَكْتُ لَيْلَى لَيْسَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهَا
 ٢ هُمُونِي آخِرًا وَسُكُومَ أَغْلٍ بَعِيدُ
 ٣ وَلِلْعَاجِبِ الْمَشْرُوكِ أَعْظَمُ حُرَّةً
 ٤ عَمَّا حَلَلَهُ عَنْ لَيْلَى الْعِدَاذِ فَيَأْتِيهَا
- يَسْأَلُ لَيْلَى إِذَا لَصَبُورُ
 لَهُ ذِمَّةٌ إِنَّ الذَّمَّامَ كَسِيرُ
 عَلَى صَاحِبٍ مِنْ أَنْ يَفْضَلَ بَعِيرُ
 إِذَا حَكَمْتَ حُكْمًا عَلَى تَجُورُ

XXVIII

وَأُنشِدْ لَأَبِي دَهْبَلٍ^٢

- ١ يَا لَيْتَ مَنْ مَنَعَ^٣ الْمَعْرُوفَ يُمْنَعُهُ
 حَمْسَى يَذُوقُ^٤ رِجَالُ غَيْبٍ مَا صَمَعُوا

¹ Ḥamāsa, ed. Freytag, 580 = Būlāq, iii, 153 (vv. 1-4); Aḡ vi, 169 (vv. 1-4); xviii, 132 (vv. 4, 1); Murtaḍā, Amālī, i, 81 (vv. 1-4, after Ta'lab acc. Abū 'Amr aš-Šaibānī); Maṣāri' al-'Uṣāq, 288 (vv. 1-4 by al-Maḡnūn with Isnād); Durra, Const. i, 66 (v. 2); Diwān 'Umar b. A.R., No. 388 (vv. 4, 1).

² MS. اَنْ . ³ Aḡ. أَفْضَلَ ذِمَّةً.

⁴ Ḥamāsa, Aḡ., Murt, Maṣāri', 'Umar, وَيُذِيقُ.

⁵ Murtaḍā, Amālī (vv. 1-4 acc. Abū 'Amr aš-Šaibānī).

⁶ Murt. تَذُوقُ. ⁷ Murt. يَذُوقُ better, but MS. has as text.

سَمَّيَ اللَّهُ جَارَانَا فَمِنْ^١ حَيْثُ وَارَيْنَا
 وَنَحْضُوتُهُ الدَّارِ لَتَنِي خَسَمَتْ بِهٖ
 فَأَنَابَتِ النَّتِي كَمَا تَمْتَنِي الْمِرْكَ^٢ شَانِيَا
 فَوَا نَدَمًا إِنْ لَمْ أَصْبَحْ إِذْ تَقُولُ لِي
 تَكُنْ سَكْنًا أَوْ تَقَرَّرِ الْعَمِينَ إِنِّي
 لَعَلَّكَ أَنْ تَلْعَنِي مُجِبًّا فَتَسْتَفِي
 بِلَادِ الْعَمَدَى لَمْ تَأْتِيَا نَعِيرَ أَنِيَا
 وَمَا أَجْمَعْتِ مَا بَيْنَ مَكَّةَ نَافِيَا
 وَكَادَتْ قُبَيْلُ الصُّبْحِ تَتَمِيدُ^٣ وَحَلِيَا
 فَأَضْحَكْتَ وَسَمَّا كَانِ بَيْتِنِي وَبَيْنِيَا^٤

فَكَلَّ مَسْمِلٍ^٥ مِنْ سَهَامٍ وَسُرْدٍ^٦
 سَقَاهَا فَأَرَوَى كَرَّ رِيحٍ^٧ وَقَدْ فِدِ
 وَأُورِدَ تَسْبِيهِ فَانْظُرِي أَيَّنَ مَوْرِدِي
 تَتَدَمَّ^٨ فَتَسْبِيْعُنَا إِلَى ضَعْفِ الْعَدِ
 تَسْتَبْكِي وَرَارًا فَتَسْلُ مِنْ بَعْدِ أَوْجِدِ
 بِرُؤْيَا رَلَمَ بِنَصَةِ الْمُتَجَرِّدِ
 بِبُكْهِمْ نَفْسِي مِنْ تَبَامٍ^٩ وَمُسَاجِدِ
 إِلَى الْمِرْكَ إِنْ نَوَّهَ الْمُتَجَبِّدِ
 بِذُرُودٍ مِنْ لَغَا^{١٠} الْخَطَا الْمُتَبَدِّدِ
 سَمَوِي ذِكْرِكَا دَلَامَا بِيضِ الْمَاءِ بِالْيَدِ

فقال فقلت يا عماد ما منعك أن تكثري حمازًا بدرهمين فنشيعينا
 [fol 101a] وتضجع معينا فل فضحك وقال نفع الله بك يا ابن
 أخي أما علمت أن الندم توبته وعملك كان أشغل فلينا مما تحسب*
 حدثنا الزبير قال عني أشد رجلا أبا السائب هذا الممت فوا
 ندمًا* قال أبو السائب ما منع شيئًا إلا اكثري حمازًا فتبعهم ولم
 يقل فوا ندمًا ثم اعتذ وقال أضنه قد كان له عذر ولم يقدر ذكره قال
 وقلت له وما هو قال أضنه كان مشلى لا يجد شيئًا*

¹ Yāq. وَمِنْ جَارَيْنَا. Ag. ; cf. Introd, p. 1023.

² Ag. 168, مَسْمِلٍ.

³ Yāq. مَبَانِلُ جَاعَتِ وَمِنْ سَهَامٍ وَسُرْدٍ.

⁴ Ag. أَرْبَعٍ.

⁵ Haiyawān actually reads الْمِرْكَ.

⁶ Haiyawān, أَنَّ يَعْوَلُ لِي تَرَوِّجَ.

⁷ Ag. وَأَجْبَدِ.

⁸ MS vocalizes تَبَامٍ.

⁹ MS. تَبَدَّدِ ; Ag. as text.

¹⁰ Ag. نَغَطْ (misprint?).

XXIV b¹

حدثنا الزبير قال حدثنا عبد الجبار بن سعيد قال حدثني محمد
بن معن عن أبيه عن جمال بنت أبي المسافر قالت جاوزت آل
دريج بقطيع من الإبل فيه الرائحة البو والمجائل والمثبج * قالت وكان
قيس بن ذريح ينظر إلى شرف من ذاك القطيع وينظر إلى مانتقين
فيتعجب فقلما لبث حتى عزم عليه أود بطلق ابنته حمه لبني
فكاد يموت ثم خلف أبود لمن لم ينار فيها ليساكن فبسا فضعفت
لبني إلى قومها فأنشأ قيس يقول

١ أيا كبدى طارت صدوفا نوافدا وبيا حسرتى ماذا تغفل في العتب

[fol. 100b]

٢ فأقسم ما غمض العيون سوارف روائم بوجاهمات على سغب

٣ يشم منه لو يستلج من آرتشفه إذا سقته يردن نكبا على نكب

٤ بأوجد متى يوم زالت حملوئهم وقد طلعت أوكى الرقاب من الثقب

٥ كل ملهمات الأمور وجدتها يوى فرقة الأحباب هينة الخطب

XXV

حدثنا الزبير قال حدثني يحيى بن أبي المنداد بن عمران الزمعي
قال حدثني عمي موسى بن يعقوب الزمعي قال أنشدني أبو دهب
قصيده التي يقول فيها²

¹ Ag. viii, 116 (adds one verse after v. 3). This piece appears to have got by accident into the Diwān, being probably taken from the أخبار المجنون by az-Zubair (Fihrist, iii, 12).

² Ag. vi, 167 (vv. 1-10), 168 (vv. 1-4); Ġāhiz, Haiyawān, v, 27 (anon. vv. 3, 4, 10); Yāq. iii, 73, 202 (v. 1); Zamahšarī, Lex. Geog., 82 (v. 1).

مُخَصَّصٌ مَمْلُوءٌ حَزْبًا وَكُلَّمَا انْتَصَحَ فَقَدَ انْتَصَحَ *

وَلَمَّا^١ آتَيْنَا لِحُلُكَبَتٍ فِي كَلَامِنَا^٢ وَمِنْ آيَةِ الضُّرْمِ الْحَدِيثِ الْمُلَاجَلِجِ

كَانَ وَسَاوِيسَ الْحُلِيِّ إِذَا مَشَتْ وَشَارَفَيْنِ الدُّرُومِ الْمُتَشَرِّجِ

تَحَشُّشٌ بِأَلَى عِشْرِقٍ زَجَلَسَتْ بِدِ يَمَانِيَةٍ كَسَبَتْ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ سَجَسَجِ

الْعِشْرِقُ شَجَرٌ بَاعِمٌ إِذَا أَصَابَتْهُ الرِّيحُ كَثُرَ أَضْطِرَابُهُ وَآهْتَزَّازُهُ وَطُوبُهُ

وَلَيْسَهُ وَتُشَبَّهُ الْمَرَّادُ بِهِ * سَجَسَجٌ بَارِدٌ مُعْتَدِلَةٌ الْبُرُودَةُ وَيُقَالُ

أَتَيْتُ رِيحَ الْجَمْدِ لَا حَرَّ فِيهَا وَلَا بَرْدٌ

[fol. 100a]

فَأَعْيَا^٣ عَلَى الْقَوْلِ وَالْقَوْلِ وَاسِعٌ وَفِي الْقَوْلِ مُسَدِّسٌ كُؤُورٌ وَمَحْرَجٌ

XXIVa

حَدَّثَنَا الرَّبِيعُ قَالَ أُنْشَدَنِي عَمِي وَغَيْرُهُ لِأَبِي دَاهِبَلٍ

١ إِذْ دَمِي بِالْبُؤِ فَاسْتَمَعِي خَبِيرِيهِ بِأَلَذَى فَعَلَا

٢ وَسَلْبِيهِ فِيمَ يَضْرُمُنَا قَدْ وَصَلَتْهُ فَمَا وَصَلَا

٣ وَتَجَسَّى حِينَ لِمَتْ لَهُ ذَأَبٌ صُحْرٌ تَبْتَغِي الْعِلَا

أَرَادَ صُحْرَ بِنْتِ لُثْمَانَ وَكَانَ لُثْمَانُ خَرَجَ مَعَ لُثَيْمِ ابْنِ أَخِيهِ فِي

مُبَايَعَةٍ أُتِيْعَا سَبَقَ إِلَى مَوْضِعٍ مِنَ الْمَوَاضِعِ فَلَهُ مَائَةٌ مِنَ الْإِبِلِ فَسَبَقَ

لُثْمَانُ فَتَأَخَّدَ الْإِبِلَ وَقَدَّمَ بِهَا فَاحْرَ وَأَهْدَى إِلَى الْحَيِّ وَإِلَى صُحْرِ

فِيْمَنْ أَهْدَى فَشَوَدَتْ وَطَبَخَتْ وَقَدَّمَ لُثْمَانُ تَقَدَّمَتْ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ

فَذَاكُلَ ثُمَّ سَأَلَهَا مَنْ أَنْزَلَنَا فَقَالَتْ قَدَّمَ لُثَيْمٌ فَاحْرَ وَأَهْدَى إِلَيْنَا فَرَفَعَ

شَيْئًا كَانَ فِي يَدَيْهِ فَضَرَبَ رَأْسَهَا أَشْفًا وَغَمًا فَضَرَبَ بِهِ الْمَثْلَ *

^١ فَلَمَّا . Poesis.

^٢ حَدِيثُهَا . Poesis.

^٣ وَأَعْيَا . Ag.

١٠ وَكَانُوا أَنْسَاءً كُنْتُ آمِنٌ عَلَيْهِمْ^١ فَكَمْ يَسْتَبِيحُ جِلْمٌ^٢ وَمَنْ يَخْرُجُوا
 ١١ وَلَوْ تَرَكَوْنَا لَهَدَى اللَّهُ أَرْحَمَ وَلَمْ يَبْرُؤُوا^٣ فَوَيْلٌ مِنَ النَّارِ يُنْسَجُ
 ١٢ لَا وَشَكَّ صَرْفُ الدَّخْرِ تَقْرِيقُ بَيْنَنَا وَلَا يَسْتَقِيمُ الدَّخْرُ وَالْدَّخْرُ أَشْوَجُ^٤
 [fol. 99b]
 ١٣ عَسَتْ كَرْبَةُ أُمْسِيَّتٍ^٥ فِيمَا مُتَبَمَّةٌ يَكُونُ لَنَا مِنْهَا رَحْمَةٌ وَخَرْجُ
 ١٤ فَيُكَبِّتُ أَغْدَاءَ وَيَجْدُلُ آلِفَ لَهُ كَمِيدٌ مِنْ لَوْعَةِ الْحَزَنِ يُدْعَجُ
 يَجْدُلُ يَفْرَحُ وَالنُّوعَةُ الْحَرْقَةُ وَاللَّحْ مَا يَلْدُعُ الْخَلْبَ مِنَ الْحَرْقَةِ *
 ١٥ وَأَشْفَقَ قَلْبِي مِنْ فِرَاقِ خَرِيدَةٍ^٦ لَنَا نَسَبٌ فِي فَرْعٍ فِيهِرٍ مُنْجٍ
 الْخَرِيدَةُ الْبِكْرُ النَّاعِمَةُ وَيُقَالُ لِلدَّرِ خَرِيدَةٌ إِذَا سَمَّ يُثَنَّبُ بِمَثَرَةٍ
 الْبِكْرِ آتَنِي لَمْ تَنْصَحْ *

١٦ وَكَفَّ كَيْدَابِ الدِّمَنِاسِ لَطِيفَةً بِنَا دَرَسُ^٧ جَدَّةَ حَدِيثٍ مُصَرَّجٍ
 ١٧ يَجُولُ وَشَاخَاةً وَيَعْرَبُ^٨ حَجَلًا وَيَشْبَعُ مِنْهَا وَتَدُ عَاجٍ وَدُمْلَجٍ
 ١٨ وَفُلْتُ لِعَبَادٍ وَجَاءَ كِتَابُهَا لِبَدَا وَرَبِّي كَانَتْ أَعْيُنُ تَخْلُجُ
 ١٩ وَإِنِّي لَمَعْرُونَ عَشِيَّةَ زُرْنَهَا^٩ وَكُنْتُ إِذَا مَا زُرْنَهَا^{١٠} لَا أُعْرَجُ
 ٢٠ وَخَطَطْتُ^{١١} فِي ظَهْرِ الْحَصْبِ كَأَنِّي أَسِيرٌ بِخَافِ الْقَتْلِ وَلَيْلَانِ مُقْصَبِ^{١٢}

^١ So MS. with ع under letter ; Poesis, عَلَيْهِمْ.

^٢ Ag. جِلْمِي. ^٣ Poesis, Ag. يَلْجُمُوا.

^٤ Poesis, Ag. الشَّرِّ. ^٥ Poesis Cod. D. أَشْرَجُ.

^٦ So MS. ; Poesis, أُمْسِيَّتِ.

^٧ Poesis Codd. V.S. خِلَاسٌ ; Ag. نَجَادٌ.

^٨ So MS. ; Poesis, تَلْعَجُ ; Ag. 166, تَلْعَجُ.

^٩ Ag. خَلِيلَتِي. ^{١٠} Ag. دَوْسُ.

^{١١} Ag. يَفْتَضُ. ^{١٢} Poesis, جَمَّتْهَا.

^{١٣} Ag. جَمَّتْهَا. ^{١٤} Ag. 157, أَخْطَطُ.

^{١٥} Ag. 157, مُفْلَجٌ ; Ag. 166, 167, مُفْلَجٌ.

٢ فَطَوَّرَا أَمْسَى النَّفْسَ مِنْ تَكْتَمِ^١ الْمُنَى وَطَوَّرَا إِذَا مَا لَجَّ بِي الْحَزَنُ^٢ أَنْسَجَ^٣
النَّسِيجُ صَوْتٌ يَكُونُ عِنْدَ الْمَوْتِ مِنَ الْخَلْقِ وَ الصَّدْرِ وَهُوَ هَاهُنَا مِنَ
الْحُبِّ *

٤ وَأَبْصَرْتُ مَا مَرَّتْ بِهِ يَوْمَ يَأْجِجُ ظِلْمَاءُ وَمَا كَانَتْ بِهِ الْعَيْنُ تَخْلِجُ^٤
٥ فَيَأْتِيكَ عَيْنٌ قَدْ أُدْبِيتْ بِصَاحِبِ حَمِيمٍ لَهُ فِي الصَّدْرِ حُبٌّ مَوْلِجٌ
٦ لَدَدُهُ قَطَعَ الْوَأَشُونَ مَا كَانَ بَيْنَنَا^٥ وَنَحْنُ إِلَى أَنْ يُوَصَلَ الْوَصْلُ^٦ أَخَوُجُ
٧ رَأَوْا عَدُوْدَهُ^٧ فَلَا تَسْتَقْبِلُوهُمْ بِأَلْسِنِهِمْ فَرَاخُوا عَلَى مَا لَا مُحِبُّ وَ أَذْجُوا
أَلَبَ يَأْلِبُ أَشْيَا إِذَا تَكَلَّمَ وَ حَرَّضَ عَلَيْهِ وَ تَأَلَّبَ السَّقُومُ إِذَا
آجَمْتُمْ عُوا عَلَى الشَّرِّ وَالْأَلَبُ فِي غَيْرِ هَذَا الْمَوْجِعِ الْإِسْرَاعُ *

٨ فَلَيْتَ الْأَوَّلَى هُمْ كَتَبُوا فِي فِرَاقِنَا بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ فِي لُجَّةِ الْبَحْرِ^٨ لَجَّجُوا
٩ هُمْ^٩ مَنَعُونَا مَا نَدَدُ وَنَشْتَعِي^٩ وَ أَذْكَوَا عَلَيْنَا^{١٠} نَارَ صُرْمٍ نُوَجِّجُ^{١١}

¹ Yāq., Poesis, Ag. vi (but Ag. iv as text), *وَمِنْ عَمَرَدَ*; Poesis Codd. V.S. *فِي عَمَرَدَ*.

² Yāq. *الْوَجْدُ*; Ag. iv *الْحُبِّ*; Ag. vi *الْهَمُّ*.

³ Yāq. *أَنْسَجَ*.

⁴ Yāq. *الْعَيْرُ يُخْدَجُ*.

⁵ Poesis, *وَقَدْ*.

⁶ L.A. xvii, 243, *وَبَيْنَهَا*.

⁷ Poesis, L.A. xvii, 243, *الْحَبْلُ*.

⁸ Poesis B *عَدُوْدَهُ*, D *عَدُوْدَهُ* (both *tashāfs*); Ag. *خِرَدَهُ*.

⁹ Poesis,

فَلَيْتَ كَوَانَيْنَا مِنْ أَهْلِي وَأَهْلِيهَا بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ فِي بَحْرِ دَجَلَةٍ

Codd. V.S. *فِي لُجَّةِ الْبَحْرِ*, the same reading; L.A. ix, 412; xvii, 243; except *بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ*; also Ag. vi, 156, except *دَوْرَدَنَا* and *فِي قَعْرِ دَجَلَةٍ*.

¹⁰ Poesis, *وَهُمْ*.

¹¹ Poesis, Ag. *عَلَيْنَا وَشَبَّوْا*.

¹² Poesis, Ag. *تَأْجِجُ*.

١ لَقَمْتَنِي عَنِ الْحُجُوجِ فَانْحَتَّ^١ فِي طَلَابِ الْيَوَى لِسَانًا صَنَاعًا
 ٢ قُلْتُ شَيْخٌ كَمَا تَرَيْنِ كَبِيرٌ لَمْ يُسَدِّ قَطًّا لِدَعْوَانِي آتِبَاعًا
 ٣ إِنَّمَا جِئْتُ دَارِيثًا مِنْ دُثُوبٍ عَدَدَ الذُّفَى لَا تُرِيدُ آتِلَاغًا
 حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ قَالَ عَمِّي هَذِهِ الْأَبَاتُ لِحُشْرَجِ الشَّجْعِيِّ أَوْ
 لِعَبْرِهِ *

XXIII

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ أَتَشْكُنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّخَاكِ وَ عَمِّي لِأَبِي دَهْبَلٍ

[fol. 99a]

١ تَطَاوَلَ هَذَا اللَّيْلُ مَا يَسْتَبَلِّجُ وَأَخْبَتَ غَوَاشِي عَبْرَتِي^٢ مَا تَنْفَرُجُ^٣
 مَا يَتَبَلَّجُ مَا يَنْكَشِفُ وَمَا يَنْفَرُجُ وَمَا يَأْتِي بِصَاحِبٍ وَهُوَ الْبُلْبُلُجُ
 وَالْبُلْبُلُجَةُ الْبَيَاضُ وَمِنْهُ الْبُلْبُلُجُ وَهُوَ الْبَيْضُ وَغَوَاشِي الْعَبْرَةِ مَا غَشِيَهُ
 مِنْهَا وَشَقَّ عَلَيْهِ *

٢ أَبَيْتٌ كَلْبِيًّا^٤ لِلدُّيُومِ^٥ كَأَنَّمَا جِلَالُ ضُلُوعِي^٦ جَمْرًا تَسْوَهَجُ

¹ MS. without points.

² Yāq. iv, 1001 (vv. 2-4); I Qutaiba, Poesis, 390-1 (vv. 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 8, 9, 11-14, 19, 21); Ag. vi, 156 (vv. 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 8, 9, 11-14, 18-20, 14, 15, 21); vi, 166 (vv. 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 18, 20, 21, 19, 24, and again 13. 19); vi, 167 (vv. 1, 20, and 6, 3); iv, 174 (vv. 1-3); L.A. ix, 412 (v. 8); xvii, 243 (vv. 6, 8); Murtaḍā, Amālī, i, 81-2 (vv. 11-12); Hiz. iv, 79 (v. 12); Asās, (vv. 8, 9); 'Uyūn, 412 (vv. 6, 7, 10).

³ Ag. iv, 156, سَكَرَتِي.

⁴ Poesis, غَوَاشِي الْهَتَمِ مَا تَنْفَرُجُ.

⁵ Poesis, أَبَيْتٌ بِهِمْ مَا أَنَامُ; Ag. iv, وَبَيْتٌ مَبِينًا مَا أَنَامُ.

⁶ Yāq. نَجِيًّا; MS. نَجِيًّا.

⁷ Yāq. جِلَالُ فِرَاشِي.

XX

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ وَجَدْتُ فِي كِتَابِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ مُوسَى بْنِ صَدِيقِ
وَكَانَ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ الثَّقَاتِ [fol. 98b] الْفَصَاءِ الزُّوَاوِ أَبِي دَهْبَلٍ فِي
عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ يَمْدَحُهُ

١ نَقُولُ أَتَبَنَّهُ النَّيْمِيُّ هَلْ أَنْتَ مُشْدِمٌ مَعَ الرِّكَبِ أَمْ أَنْتَ الْعَشِيَّةُ مَعْرُوقٌ
٢ فَدُمْتُ لَهَا مِنْ زَارِكَتِي لِتَأْوُدَ بِجَيْشٍ عَكْبَةٍ عَارِضٍ يَشْلُقُ
٣ يَعُودُ يَوْمَ سَمْعِ السَّجِيَّاتِ بَاسِقٌ نَسُوهُ وَأَخْيَانًا يَسُوهُ فَيَخْرُقُ
٤ أَخُو تَجْدَاتٍ مَا يَزَالُ مُتَقَاتِلًا عَلَى الدِّينِ حَتَّى حِنْدُ مُتَخَرِّقٌ

XXI

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ أَنْشَدَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّخَّائِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَنْ أَبِي
دَهْبَلٍ

١ قَصَّتْ قُطْرًا مِنْ أَهْلِ مَكَّةَ نَاقَتِي سَوَى أَمَلِي فِي الْمَاحِدِ ابْنِ حِزَامٍ
٢ جَمِيلُ الْمُحَيَّا مِنْ فَرِيَشٍ كُنَانُهُ هِلَالٌ بَسَدَا مِنْ سُدْفَةٍ وَظَلَامٍ
٣ فَأَكْرِمَ بِمَسَلٍ وَتُكَّ بَنِي مُحَمَّدٍ^١ وَبَنِي عَلِيٍّ فَلَا تَسْمَعَنَّ كَلَامِي^٢
٤ وَبَنِي حَكِيمٍ وَالزُّبَيْرِ وَلَا أَرَى لِيْكُمْ شَبَابًا فِي مُسْجِدٍ وَتَهَابِي^٣
٥ تَمَطَّتْ بِهِ بَيْضَاءُ فَرْجٍ تَجِيْبَةٌ حَصَانٌ^٤ وَبَعْضُ الْوَالِدَاتِ غَرَامٍ

XXII

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ أَنْشَدَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّخَّائِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَنْ أَبِي
دَهْبَلٍ

¹ MS. in margin, صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

² The poet drops here into the metre Kāmil [by substituting
إِل the metre would be correct: Lyall].

³ MS. تَهَامٍ.

⁴ L.A. xx, 154, حِجَانٌ (anon.).

[fol. 98a]

٨ حُلُو الْحَلَاوَةِ دَكَمَ جَمَدُ الْقَوَى وَسِرَ الْمَرْبَدِ
 ٩ كُتَاكَ كَمَّا مَاجِدٍ حَرَّ سَحَابَتُهُ مَطَابِرَ
 ١٠ يَتَحَلَّلَانِ نَدَى إِذَا مَا ضَمَّتِ الشُّسُ الْعُسْبِرَ
 ١١ كُنْ عِنْدَ طَى يَا مُغْبِرَ رَفَائِسَ مَا أَنَا مِنْ عَمَرِ
 ١٢ إِنْ تَعُوْا أَعُوْا إِنْ تُصِبْ رُشْدًا فَتَدْمَا آخَرَتَ خِبَرِ

XIX

حَدَّثَنَا الشَّرِيفُ قَالَ وَفَالَ أَبُو كَثْبَلٍ فِي إِمْرَةٍ اسْمُ الزُّبَيْرِ بِمَكَّةَ يَمْدَحُ
 عَثْمَانَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ حَكِيمٍ بْنِ حِزَامٍ^١

١ أَتَارِكُهُ عَمْدًا قُرَيْشٍ^٢ سَرَاتِيهَا وَسَادَاتِيهَا عِنْدَ الْمَقَامِ نُذَلِّجُ
 ٢ وَهُمْ شَوْذٌ بِاللَّهِ جِرَانُ بَيْتِي وَمَخَافَةٌ يَوْمَ أَنْ يُبَاحُوا وَيُنْصَحُوا
 ٣ وَتَدْمَا رُمُوا بِالْمَكْجُبِ وَمَا رَمَوْا وَبِالسَّبْلِ تَارَاتِ تَعْمَقُ وَتَجْرَحُ
 ٤ وَكُذُّوا عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ شَدَّةً فَسَالُ بِسِيمِ رَدَمٍ حَرَامٍ وَأَبْطَحُ
 ٥ وَأَلْفُوا رِجَالًا قَعْدًا ثَحَّتْ بَيْنِيهِمْ أَلَا ثَحَّتْ ذَاكَ الْبَبْصِ مَوْتٌ مُصْرَحُ
 ٦ هُوَ الشَّارِكُ الْمَالِ الرَّغِيبِ حَوِيَّةً وَلَمْ مَوْتٌ مِنْ بَعْضِ الْمَعْشَرِ أَرْوَحُ
 ٧ يَجُودُ بِنَفْسٍ لَا يُجَادُ بِمُسْلِمِيهَا لَهَا لَوْ أَقْرَبَتْ خَزِيئَةُ مُشْرَحُ
 أَيُّ لَوْ رَضِيَتْ أَنْ تُخْزَى لَكَانَ لَهَا مَذَهَبٌ وَمُتَحَكِّي *
 ٨ وَنِعَمَ آيُنِ أَخْتِ الْعَوْمِ عَثْمَانَ فِي الْوَدَا إِذَا الْحَرْبُ أَبَدَتْ نَابِيَهَا وَهَى تَكْلَسُ

¹ Anon. Chronik, ed. Ahlwardt, 75 (vv. 1, 2).² Chronik, عُلَيَّا قُرَيْشٍ.³ MS. عُوْدُوا.⁴ Ibid. بِمِ مَعْصُمُونَ أَنْ.⁵ MS. اِرْجَزَى.

٢ أَلَحَقْتُ^١ لَا أَزَالُ عَلَى مَنِي إِذَا نَزَلَ الْحَجَّاجُ فِي^٢ كُلِّ مَوْسِمٍ
 ٣ سَمَى اللَّهُ أَرْضًا أَنْتَ سَاكِنٌ بِطَنِيَا^٣ سِجَالِ الْعَوَادِي وَمَنْ سَحِيلِ مُزَمَّرِ^٤
 السَّحِيلِ غَيْمٍ مُمَطَّرٍ يُقَالُ سَحَلَتِ السَّمَاءُ إِذَا مَطَرَتْ *

XVIII

و بهذا الإسناد لأبي دَكْبَلٍ يمدح المَغِيرَةَ بن عبد الله^٥

١ يَا نَاقِ^٦ سِبْرِي وَ آشْرَقِي بِدَمٍ إِذَا جِئْتَ الْمَغِيرَةَ
 ٢ يَا نَاقِ^٦ لَمْ عَنَدْتِ مِنْ ذَبَحٍ وَمِنْ نَصِ الطَّيْبَةِ
 ٣ سُبُثِيْنِي أُخْرَى سَوَا كَبْ وَ تِلْكَ لِي وَهُوَ يَسْرُدُ
 ٤ إِنَّ آبَنَ كَبِدِ اللَّهِ نَعْمَ أَخُو الدَّيْ^٨ وَ آبَنُ الْعَشِيرَةِ
 ٥ حَفَرَتْ لَهُ آبَاؤُكَ مَجْدًا فَشَرَفَتْ الْحَظِيرَةَ
 ٦ فَسَمَوْا بِهِ فِي مَجْدِهِمْ فَسَمَا عَلَى تِلْكَ الْوَتِيرَةِ
 الْوَتِيرَةُ الْعَادَةُ يُقَالُ إِنَّكَ عَلَى تِلْكَ الْوَتِيرَةِ أَى الْعَادَةِ وَ الْوَتِيرَةُ
 أَيْضًا حَقَّقَتْ مِنْ خَيْرِ زُرَانِ تَوْضِعَ فِي رُمَحٍ ثُمَّ يُتَعَلَّمُ عَلَيْهَا الرَّمْيُ وَ
 الْوَتِيرَةُ الْوَرْدَةُ الْبَيْضَاءُ أَيْضًا *
 ٧ فَاحْضَرُوا بَتَ أَعْرَافُهُ فِي مُشْرِفِ صَعْبِ الصَّفِيرَةِ
 الصَّفِيرَةُ حِمَارَةٌ تَجْمَعُ خِفَافَةُ السَّيْلِ مِثْلُ الْمُسَاةِ وَ الصَّفِيرَةُ مَا يُسَبَّكُ
 بَعْضُهُ بِبَعْضٍ وَ صَفِيرَةُ الشَّعْرِ مِنْ هَذَا *

^١ MS. أَلَحَقْتُ.

^٢ Ag. صَدَرَ الْحَجَّاجِ عَنْ.

^٣ Ag. قَبْرِهَا.

^٤ Ag. مِنْ سَحِيلِ وَمُزَمَّرِ.

^٥ 'Umda, ii, 224 (vv. 1, 3); 'Aini, iv, 35 (vv. 1-4); Hiz i, 453 (vv. 1, 3, 4); Suyutī, Aṣṣ̄bāh, iv, 224 (v. 4).

^٦ MS. vocalizes نَاقِ. I should have liked to read نَاقِ.

^٧ 'Aini, دَلَجِي.

^٨ Hiz. الدَّيْ.

٢ إِنَّ الْبُيُوتَ مَعَادِنَ فَانْجَارُ
 ٣ عَصُ الْكَلَامِ مِنَ الْحَبَاءِ تَحَالُهُ
 ٤ مُشْعَرُونَ بِسَعْمٍ بِلَا مُتَبَاعِدٍ
 ١ كَرَمٌ^١ وَكُلُّ جُدُودَةٍ ضَحْمٌ
 ضَمْنَا وَلَيْسَ بِجِسْمِهِ سُدْمٌ
 سَيَّانٍ وَمِنْهُ الْوَقْرُ وَالْعُدْمُ

XVI

وبهذا الإسناد له فيه أيضًا

١ جَزَا آلَهُ خَبْرًا حِينَ أَذْكَرُ حَاجَتِي
 ٢ أَخَا لِي عَلِيٍّ خَامِسَ مَا أَذْكَرُنِي
 ٣ كَثِيرٌ نَعْمَ تَذَرَاكَ لَا فَرْجَ بِيَمَا
 ٤ حَمَوْتَ عَلَيْنَا حَمَوَةَ الْوَالِدِ الْإِذَى
 ٥ نَعْمَ وَمِنْكَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ يَمِينٍ وَجِلْدَةٍ
 ٦ بَطِينٍ مِنْ التَّقْوَى خَمِيصٌ مِنَ الْخَمَا
 ٧ تَبَدَّدَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ حَسْبِي حَسْبَتُهُ
 ٨ وَكُنْتَ كَمَعْبَسِ الْحَالِ أَرْسَلَ وَدَوُّهُ
 فَاتَّسَنَى يُخْبِرُ عِدَدَهَا وَتَسْتَبْدَا
 مَنَى مَا يَنْتَلِنِي الْيَوْمَ لَا يَعْتَلِلُ غَدَا
 تَسْبَرَّجَ مِنْ مَعْرُوفِي وَتَجُودَا
 بَسَمَى لِسَبْنِيَّةٍ ثُمَّ وَطَا فَمَعْبَدَا
 مِنْ آخِرِ أَطْلَى أَوْ تَوَلَّى فَصَدَدَا
 يُحِبُّ لَدَى الْعَرْشِ الثَّقَى وَالشُّرُودَا
 مِنَ الْجُودِ سَدَى فَبَلَدَهَا عِدَدُ يَدَا
 لِمَنْ شَامَهُ يُرْجَى السَّحَابِ الْمُتَشَدَا
 الْحَالِ السَّحَابِ الَّذِي تَحْيَلُ لِلْمَطَرِ إِذَا رُبِّي عِلْمٌ أَنَّ الْمَطَرَ بَجَى *

XVII

[fol. 97b] حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ بِهَذَا الْإِسْنَادِ فِي ابْنِ الْأَرَزِيِّ^٦

١ لَقَدْ خَالَ هَذَا النَّاحِذَ مِنْ بَطْنِ عَلِيٍّ فَتَى كَانَ مِنْ أَهْلِ التَّدَى وَالْكَرَمِ
 ٢ فَتَى كَانَ فِيمَا نَابَ يَوْمًا هُوَ الْفَتَى وَنَعْمَ مَحَلُّ الطَّارِقِ الْمُتَمَيِّمِ

¹ Ham, 'Uyūn, ذَهَبٌ.

² Ham. بُيُوتٍ; the *tanwīn* is in MS.

³ Ham., Ag., L.A. نَزَرٌ.

⁴ Ham., Ag., L.A. مَسْبُكٌ.

⁵ MS. حَمَى.

⁶ Ag. vi, 170 (rv. 1-4).

بِمَعْرِفَةِ مَلَأَةٍ مَنْ يَلُومُ

أى قليلة المزاج *

٨ حَتَّى دَفَعْنَا إِلَى ذِي مَيْعَةٍ تَوَقَّ كَالذَّنْبِ فَارَقَهُ السُّلْطَانُ وَالرُّوحُ^١
الْمَيْعَةُ الْحَدُّ وَالشَّرُّ وَتَوَقَّ مُمْتَلِئًا فَخَبَا فَشَبَّهَ بِالذَّنْبِ لِأَنَّهُ لَشَّ وَالْآخِرُ
عِنْدِي اصْطَحَّ *^٢

٩ وَوَاجِبَتْنَا مِنَ الْأَنْفُورِ مَشَايِكُهُ كَأَنَّيْكُمْ حِينَ لَاقَوْنَا الرِّبَايِيحُ
الْأَنْفُورُ مَوْضِعُ * الرِّبَايِيحُ الْفُرْدَةُ وَاحِدُهَا رَنْجٌ وَرَنْجٌ وَالرَّجْعُ النَّصِيلُ أَيْضًا *

XIV

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ وَأَنْشَدَنِي عَمِّي وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّخَّاحِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ وَمُحَمَّدُ
ابْنُ خَشْرَمٍ لِأَبِي دَكْبَلٍ فِي ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ

١ مَا كُنْتُ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِلَّهِ أُرْسِلَتْ لِيُؤَلِّكَ كَيْ فُرَيْشٍ لَا بِخَيْلٍ وَلَا خَبَا
[fol. 97a]

٢ قَدَوُكُمَا مَا تُعْطَى رِثَاءً تَنَازَعَتْ بِهِ خُلُجَاتُ الْبُحْلِ تُجْذِبُهُ جَذْبًا
٣ وَلَكِنَّمَا تَبْغِي بِهِ اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ أَرَبَحْتَ فِي السَّعَةِ الْكَسْبَا

XV

وَبِذَا الْإِسْنَادُ لِأَبِي دَكْبَلٍ فِي ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ^٣ [وَيُرَوَّى لِحَزْرَيْنِ الْيَشْبِي]^٤

١ عَمَّ الرِّثَاءُ فَمَا^٥ يَلْدَنُ شَمِيمُهُ إِنَّ السُّسَاءَ بِمِثْلِهِ عُدُّهُ

¹ This verse refers to Bahīr b. Raisān mentioned above.

² The word is badly written in MS. ; perhaps أَرْفَعُ.

³ Hamāsa, ed. Freytag, 703 = Būlāq, iv, 75 (vv. 2, 1, 4, 3);
Ag. vi, 165 (vv. 1, 4, 3); L.A. xv, 306 (vv. 3, 4, 1); 'Uyūn, 327
(vv. 2, 4, 3, 1).

⁴ Acc. L.A. xv, 306.

⁵ Ag. فَلَا ; L.A. فَلَسْنُ ; 'Uyūn, فَلَا.

نُعَمَّاكَ رِوَايَةً أَيْضًا¹

٦ حَتَّى لَقِيْمًا بِحَيْرًا² عِنْدَ مَعْدُونَا فِي مَرْكَبٍ كَصِبَاعِ الْخَزَنِ مَزْدَجِمٍ³
٧ فَلَكَو⁴ رَأَيْتَ مَعْدَاوِي عِنْدَ بَابِهِمْ أَخْبَبْتَ⁵ أَتَيْتَ بِذَلِكَ الْبَابِ لَمْ أَقِمِ
فَالِ بَحْرُ بْنُ رَيْسَانَ الْحَمِيرِيَّ وَكَانَ مِنْ رُؤَسَاءِ الْحَمِيرِ الَّذِي يَقُولُ:
النَّاسُ الْجَوَادُ *

XIII

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَمِّي وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصُّحَّاحِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ
وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ خَشْرَمٍ قَالُوا قَالَ أَبُو ذَكْوَلٍ فِي ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ⁶

[fol. 96b]

١ لَا يُبْعَدُ آلَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ لَيْسَ لَهُ عِنْدِي مَرْايَةٌ مَا كَبَّتِ الرِّجْ
٢ أَزْكُرُ مَنْ سَاكِنِ الْبَطَاكَةِ الْحَقَّةُ بِالْمَعْدِ وَالشُّوْدُودِ الْبَيْضِ الْمَسَاوِيحِ
٣ عِلْدًا إِذَا وَرَدَ السَّافُونَ جَمَسَهُ لَمْ يَقُلِ الْآخِرُ السَّاقِي لَيْتُمْ وَيَجُوهَا
٤ مُسْتَطَقٌ حَمِينٌ أَوْغَى غَيْرَ مَكْنَتِهِ دَلِيلٌ لَمْ يُخْنِدِ الْمَبْصُومَ وَالشَّيْخُ
أَي حِينَ آتِيهِ فَيَرْغُو جَمَلِي عِنْدَ بَابِهِ مِنَ الْإِعْيَاءِ لَا يَحْتَاجِبُ عَنِّي
٥ حُمُو السَّمَائِلِ لَا تُقَلِّسِي خَلَاءَتَهُ لَكُ إِلَى فَمَرَاتِ الْمَوْتِ تَجْلِيحُ
٦ أَتَيْتَ الَّذِي يَنْعَشُ الْمَوْتَى وَيَحْتَمِلُ الْجَمَلِي وَمَنْ جَارِدُ بِالْحَمْرِ مَنُفُوحُ
٧ كَانَنِي حَمِينَ جَارَ الْخَلِّ مِنْ رَمَحِ نَسْوَانٍ أَغْرَقَهُ السَّافُونَ مَضْبُوحُ

مِنْ قَوْلِ الشَّاعِرِ [وَهُوَ بُرْجُ بْنُ مُسَبِّرٍ الطَّائِي]

¹ So Ham., Poesis, Ag.

² Ag. بحيرا; but MS. has ح under the letter.

³ Ag. الحَيْرِ مَزْدَجِمِ.

⁴ Ag. لَكَا.

⁵ Ag. وَدِدْتُ.

⁶ Yāq. ii, 464 (v. 6, 7); az-Zuhair, Diwān MS. D.M.G. Arabisch, 103, fol. 62b (v. 3).

XI

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ أُنْشَدَنِي عَمِّي وَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّحَّاحِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ وَ
 مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ خَشْرَمٍ وَ مَنْ شِئْتُ مِنْ فَرَيْشٍ لِأَبِي دَهْبَلٍ فِي ابْنِ
 الْأَزْرَقِ الْمَخْزُومِيِّ حِينَ عَزَلَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ عَنِ الْجَعْدِ^١

١ فَمَنْ كَانَ^٢ شَانَ الْعَزْلِ أَوْ هَذَا رُكْنُهُ لِإِعْدَائِهِ يَوْمًا فَمَا شَارَكَكَ الْعَزْلُ
 ٢ وَمَا أَطْبَحْتَ مِنْ نِعْمَةٍ مُسْتَفَادَةٍ وَلَا رَحِمَ إِلَّا عَلَيْكَ لَهَا^٣ الْفَضْلُ

XII

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ وَأُنْشَدَنِي عَمِّي وَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّحَّاحِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ
 لِأَبِي دَهْبَلٍ^٤

١ مَاذَا رَزَيْتُمَا فَعَدَا الْخَلَّ مِنْ رَمَعٍ عِدَّةَ التَّفَرُّقِ مِنْ خَيْرٍ وَمِنْ كَرَمٍ
 ٢ ظَلَّ لَنَا وَاقِفًا يُعْجَى فَأَكْثَرُ مَا سَمَى وَقَالَ لَنَا فِي قَوْلِهِ^٥ نَعَمْ
 ٣ ثُمَّ أَنَا كَحَيِّ خَيْرَ مَدْمُومٍ وَأُعْيِيئُنَا لَمَّا تَوَلَّى بِدَمْعٍ وَكَيْفَ^٦ سَجِمَ
 ٤ تَحْمِيلُهُ الشَّاقَّةَ الْأَدَمَاءَ مَعًا جَرَا بِالْبُرْدِ كَالْبَدْرِ جَلَى لَيْلَةٍ^٧ الظُّلَمِ
 ٥ وَكَيْفَ أَنَسَاكَ لَا أَيْدِيكَ وَاحِدَةً عُدَى وَلَا بِالَّذِي أَسْدَيْتَ^٨ مِنْ قَدَمٍ

^١ Ag. vi, 164 (vv. 1, 2).

^٢ Ag. يَكُ.

^٣ Ag. عَلَيْهَا لَكَ.

^٤ Ag. vi, 164 (vv. 1-7); Hamāsa, ed. Freytag, 709 = Būlāq, iv, 81 (vv. 1-5); I. Qutaiba, Poesis, 390 (vv. 4, 5); Yāq. ii, 817 (vv. 1-3); L.A. ix, 494 (v. 1).

^٥ L.A. خَيْرٍ; Ham., Ag., Yāq. خِيم.

^٦ Ham. فُلْنَا وَقَالَ لَنَا فِي بَعْدٍ; Yāq. فُلْنَا وَقَالَ لَنَا فِي وَجْهِهِ.

^٧ Ham. سَافِحٍ.

^٨ Ham. وَجْهَهُ; Poesis Codd. V.S. حَنْدَسَ; Cod. D وَجْهَهُ.

^٩ Ham., Ag., Poesis, أَوَّلِيَّتَ.

١ يَا عَمَرَ حُمٍّ فِرَافُكُمْ عَمَرَا وَحَزَمَتْ وَمَا الثَّأْنَى وَ النَجْرَا
 ٢ يَا عَمَرَ شَيْخُكَ وَهُوَ ذُو كَرَمٍ يَحْمِي الدَّمَارَ^١ وَيُكْرِمُ الصَّبْرَا
 ٣ إِنْ كَانَ هَذَا السَّحَرُ مَتَكَ فَلَا تَرْعَى عَلَيَّ وَ جَدِيدِي سَحْرَا
 ٤ إِحْدَى بَنِي أَوْدٍ كَلِمَتُ بِنَا حَمَمَتْ بِلَا تِرَّةٍ لَنَا وَنَرَا
 ٥ وَتَرَى لَنَا دَلًّا إِذَا نَطَلَمَتْ تَرَكَتْ بِنَاتٍ فَوَادٍ ضَعْرَا
 ٦ كَتَسَاقَطِ الشَّرْطِ الْجَنِيِّ مِنَ السَّافِئَا لَا نَشْشُرَا وَلَا نَسْرَا
 الْأَقْدَاءُ جَمْعٌ قَتْلُو * يَقُولُ لَيْسَتْ بِكُشْرَةٍ الْكَلَامُ وَمَلَمَلَتُهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ
 لَا تَنْشُرْدُ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْضِعِهِ وَلَا تُغْلَهُ *

٧ أَفْسَمْتُ مَا أَحْبَبْتُ حُبَّكُمْ لَا تَسِيْبَا خُلَعْتُ وَلَا يَكْرَا
 ٨ وَمَثَالِي فِيكُمْ عَزَزْتُ بِسَا جَمِيئِي أُرِيدُ بِنَا لَكِ الْعُذْرَا
 ٩ وَمُرِيدُ بِسَرِّكُمْ عَدَلْتُ بِهِ فَبِمَا يُحَاوِلُ مَعْدَلًا وَعَرَا
 ١٠ قَالَتْ تُقِيمُ لَنَا^٢ لِأَجْزَلِهِ يَوْمًا فَحَيِّمَ عِنْدَهَا شَبْرَا
 ١١ مَا إِنْ أَقِمُّ لِحَاجَتِي عَزَزْتُ إِلَّا لِإِبْرَئِي فِيكُمْ عُذْرَا
 ١٢ وَإِذَا هَمَمْتُ بِرَحْلَةٍ^٣ جَزَعْتُ وَإِذَا أَقَمُّنَا لَمْ تُبَلِّ^٤ نَقْرَا^٥

[fol. 96a] الشَّرُّ السَّيِّءُ الْخَلْقُ * قَالَ الْحَارِثُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ

مَرَّ الْحَمُولُ فَمَا شَأْنُكَ تَدْرَرُ وَلَقَدْ أَرَاكَ تَشَاءُ بِالْأَطْعَانِ
 شَاءَهُ وَ سَافَهُ وَاحِدٌ *

١٣ إِنِّي لَا أَرْضَى مَا رَضِيتَ بِهِ وَأَرَى لِحُسْنِ حَدِيثِكُمْ شَكًّا

¹ Murt. يَرْعَى التَّوَمَامَ.

² Ag. يقيم بنا, which seems better.

³ L.A. أَرَدْنَا رَحْلَةً.

⁴ MS. has the variant تَبَلِّ written under this word.

⁵ L.A. تَبَلِّ نَقْرَا.

قال الزبير أبو ريجانة عم أبي دهبيل * فقال أبو دهبيل في وعيد
عبد الله بن صفوان عمه أبا ريجانة واسمه علي¹

١ وَلَا تُوعِدْ لِتَقْتُلَهُ عَلِيًّا فَإِنَّ وَعْدَهُ كَلٌّ وَبَيْلٌ
٢ وَخُنْ بِبَطْنِ مَكَّةَ إِذَا تَدَاوَى لِرَكِيظِكَ مِنْ بَنِي عَمْرِو رَعِيلٌ
٣ أُولُوا الْجَمْعِ الْمَقْدَمِ حِينَ تَابُوا إِلَيْكَ وَمَنْ يُؤَزِّعُهُمْ² قَلِيلٌ
يُؤَزِّعُهُمْ يَكْنُتُهُمْ وَيَزْدَحِمُ *

٤ فَلَمَّا أَنْ تَقْدَانِيْنَا وَأَوْدَى بِسَرْوَتَيْنَا اشْرَحْلُ وَالْزُرُؤُ³
٥ جَعَلْتَ لِحَوْمِنَا غَرْضًا لَدَيْنِمْ⁴ لِيُدْ بِلِكُنَا صَرْيَةً⁵ أَوْ سَكُولٌ

IX

حدثنا الزبير قال أنشدني بعض رواد أبي دهبيل⁶

[fol. 95b]

١ لَا خَيْرَ فِي حُبِّ مَنْ يُرْجَى فَوَاضِلُهُ فَاسْتَمِطَرُوا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ كُلِّ مُشْخَعٍ⁷
٢ مَخَالٍ فِيهِ إِذَا حَاوَلْتُ، بَسَلِيًّا عَنْ مَالِهِ وَتَوَافَى الدِّينِ وَالنَّوْعِ

X

حدثنا الزبير قال أنشدني عمي و محمد بن الصحاك عن أبيه

أبي دهبيل⁸

¹ Ag. vi, 169-70 (vv. 1-5).

² So MS. with يُؤَزِّعُهُمْ written under the word; Ag. has يُؤَزِّعُهُمْ.

³ Ag. الرِّجِيلُ; the verse is badly misprinted in Ag.

⁴ Ag. عرضا كانا.

⁵ Ag. صَرْوَةً.

⁶ L.A. vii, 28, v. 1 B (al-Farazdaq).

⁷ MS. مُشْخَعٍ.

⁸ Ag. vi, 157 (vv. 1-11); vi, 154 (vv. 1, 4-6); Murtaḍā, i, 79, 80 (vv. 1, 2, 7, 3-6, 8-13); L.A. vii, 86 (v. 12 acc. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā')=T.A.² iii, 580.

١ أَنَسِلِمِي أُمَّ دَهَبَلٍ قَبْلَ^١ هَجْرِ وَتَدَقِّصِ مِنَ الزَّهْرَانِ وَعَصْرِ^٢
 ٢ وَأَذْكَرِي كَرِّي الْمَعْلَى إِلَيْكُمْ بَعْدَ مَا قَدْ تَوَجَّهْتَ مَحْوٍ وَمُضِرٍ
 ٣ وَلَا تَخَالِي أَبِي نَسِيْتُكَ لَمَّا حَالَ بِمَشِّ^٣ وَمَنْ بِهِ خَلَفَ ظَاهِرِي

[fol. 95a]

٤ إِنْ تَكُونِي أَنْتِ الْمُتَقَدِّمَ قَبْلِي وَأُطْعَ يَثْوِ^٤ عِنْدَ قَبْرِكَ قَبْرِي
 قال الزبير قال إبراهيم بن أبي عبد الله فوردت على فبرد الى
 جانب قبرها بعلي

VIII

حدثنا الزبير قال حدثنا محمد بن الضحاك عن أبيه، ومُضْعَبُ
 بن عبد الله أن أبا رِيحَانَةَ وهو عَمِيٌّ بن أَنَسٍ بن أُمَيَّةَ بن خَلَفِ
 بن وَهَبٍ كان شديد الخلاف على عبد الله بن الزبير فتوعدده عبد
 الله بن صَعْوَانِ بن أُمَيَّةَ بن خَلَفِ فلحق بعبد الملك بن مروان
 فاستمدد الحاجاج وقال لو لا أن عبد الله بن الزبير تأول قول الله
 حل وعزرو يقاتلوهم عند المسجد الحرام وما كُنَّا إِلَّا أَكَلَهُ رَأْسِ
 ومَدَّتِ الحاجاج أتماهوى سبع مائة فأمده عبد الملك بن مروان
 بطريق مولى حُذَيمَانِ بن عَتَّانِ في أربعة ألف فارس فأشرف أبو
 رِيحَانَةَ على أبي قُبَيْسٍ فصاح أنا أبو رِيحَانَةَ أليس قد أخزاكم الله
 يا أهل مكَّة فقال ابن أبي عَتِيْقٍ بلى والله قد أخزانا الله فقال له
 ابن الزبير مِثْلًا يا ابن أخى فقال له ابن أبي عَتِيْقٍ قلنا لك أتأذن
 لنا فيهم وهم قليل فأبَيَّتْ حَتَّى صَارُوا إِلَى مَا صَارُوا إِلَيْهِ مِنَ الْكُثْرَةِ *

¹ Ag. بَعْدَ.² Ag. وعصر; Yāq. وَكَهْر.³ Ag. نمش (misprint?).⁴ Yāq. واضع مشوى.

- ٩ تَجْعَلُ الْمَسْكَّ وَالْمُسْكَّ صَلَاةً^١ لَهَا يَمْسَى الْكَائِنُونَ
يَقَالُ الْوَدُّ وَالْوَدُّ وَأَيُّهُ كَلَّةُ الْعَوْنِ الَّذِي يُتَبَخَّرُ بِهِ *
- ١٠ وَقَبَائِثُ^٢ قَدْ أُشْرِجَتْ^٣ وَبُيُوتُ^٤ نُظِمَتْ^٥ بِالرَّيْحَانِ وَالزَّرَجُونِ
أَي جُعِلَتْ حَوَالِبُنَا نِطَاقًا
- ١١ نُسَمِّى فَارَقُنُبَا عَلَى خَيْرِ مَا كَانَا قَرِيْنَيْنِ مُفَارِقَيْنِ^٦ لِقَدَرَيْنِ
وَبَكَّتْ^٦ خَسْمِيَّةَ الْمُفْتَرِقِ لِلْبَيْتَيْنِ بُكَاءَ الْحَزِينِ تَحْوَى الْحَزِينِ
- ١٢ فَاسْأَلْنِي عَنْ تَذَكُّرِي وَأَكْتِنَابِي لِأَيَّامِي^٨ إِذَا هُمْ عَذَّبُونِي
[وزاد في كتاب الأغانى]
- ١٤ وَلَعَدْتُ قُلْدُتُ إِذَا تَطَاوَلَ سَقْمِي وَتَقَلَّلْتُ لَيْلَتِي فِي فُؤُونِ
لَيْتَ شِعْرِي أَوْ مِنْ دَوَى طَارَ نَوْمِي أَمْ بَرَانِي الْبَارِي فَصِيرَ الْجُفُونِ
- ١٥ فَلَمَّا جَاءَ الْأَجَلُ وَأَرَادَ الْخُرُوجَ جَاءَهُ مَوْتُهَا فَأَقَامَ *

VII

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَمِّي قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ أَبِي عَبْدِ
اللَّهِ قَالَ وَقَعَ لِأَبِي كَهْبَلٍ مَوْرَثٌ بِمِصْرَ فَخَرَجَ يَرِيدُهُ ثُمَّ رَجَعَ مِنْ
الطَّرِيقِ وَقَالَ^٩

^١ Kāmil, Qālī, 'Aini, Ag. vi, 161, L.A. تَجْعَلُ الْمَسْكَّ
وَالْمُسْكَّ صَلَاةً

^٢ Vocalized in MS. with معا. ^٣ Ag. vi, 161, أُشْرِجَتْ.

^٤ Ag. نُظِمَتْ. ^٥ Ag. vi, 162, مُفَارِقَيْنِ; Maṣāri', Hiz. iii, 162.

^٦ Ag. vi, 162, 'Aini, Hiz., L.A. فَبَكَّتْ.

^٧ Ag., Qālī, 'Aini, Hiz., L.A. ائْتَر; Ag. vi, 159 (misprinted).

^٨ Ag. vi, 162, قَالِي; تَذَكُّرِي وَأَكْتِنَابِي لِأَيَّامِي; Maṣāri', Hiz. iii, 162, جَلْ أَهْلِي إِذَا
تَذَكُّرِي وَأَكْتِنَابِي لِأَيَّامِي وَإِنْ هُمْ

^٩ Ag. vi, 170 (vv. 1-4); Yāq. i, 790 (vv. 1-4); Bekri, 660
(v. 4 acc. az-Zubair).

٣ عَنْ يَسَارٍ^١ إِذَا دَخَلْتُ مِنَ الْبَابِ^٢ وَإِنْ كُنْتُ خَارِجًا يَمِينِي^٣
 [fol. 94b]
 ٤ فَبَيْتِكَ^٤ أَقْتَرَبْتُ^٥ فِي الشَّامِ حَتَّى^٦ ظَنَّ أَهْلِي مَرْجَمَاتِ الظُّلُمِ
 ٥ وَهِيَ زِدْرَاءٌ وَشَدْلٌ لُؤْلُؤُ الْعَوِّ اصِّ وَسِيزَتْ^٧ وَسِنْ جَوْهَرٍ مَكْنُونِ
 ٦ وَإِذَا مَا نَسَبْتُهَا^٨ لَمْ تَحْدِكْهَا فِي سَنَاءٍ مِنَ الْمَكَارِمِ دُونِي^٩
 ٧ ثُمَّ دَاغَعْنِي^{١٠} إِلَى الثُّبَةِ الْخَضِرَةِ تَمْشِي^{١١} فِي مَرَمَرٍ مَسْنُونِ
 مَسْنُونِ مَسْنُونِ^{١٢}
 ٨ قُبَّةً وَسِنْ مَرَاجِلٍ خَضِرَتْهَا^{١٣} حِينَئِذٍ^{١٤} تَشْتَدُّ فِي التَّيْطُونِ^{١٥}
 مَرَاجِلُ ضَرْبٍ مِنْ بَرُودِ الْيَمَنِ وَالتَّيْطُونِ الْمُخَدَّعُ

^١ L A., Ag. vi. 159, 161, Qālī, Kāmil, 'Aini, Hiz. يَسَارِي.

^٢ 'Aini, Hiz. الدار.

^٣ Kāmil, Qālī, 'Aini, Hiz. فِي يَمِينِي; Ag. vi. 159, 161,

عَنْ يَمِينِي.

^٤ 'Aini, Hiz, L A فَبَيْتِكَ; Ag. vi, 161,

^٥ Kāmil, أَقْتَرَبْتُ.

^٦ Ag. vi, 159, أَطَلْتُ الْمَقَامَ بِالشَّامِ.

^٧ Maṣārī, لُؤْلُؤُ.

^٨ L A, Qālī, نَسَبْتُهَا; MS. vocalized.

^٩ Kāmil, Qālī, Ag. vi, 159. Hiz, L A. دُونِ.

^{١٠} Kāmil, Ag. vi, 159, 'Aini, Hiz., L.A. خَاَصَرْتُهَا; Ag. vi, 161; Qālī, مَا سَيَّئَهَا.

^{١١} All quotations have تَمْشِي.

^{١٢} Marginal note in MS.

^{١٣} Ag. vi, 159, 162, خَضِرَتْهَا; Hiz. iii, 281, نَصَبُوحَا.

^{١٤} Ag. vi, 159; L.A. xvii, 224 ('Abd ar-Rahmān), بَرْد.

^{١٥} All quotations have تَيْطُونِ without article, which I think is better.

تَدْعُهُ يَخْرُجُ مِنْ الْقَصْرِ حَتَّى يَلْبَسَ مِنْهُ وَلَدُهُ وَأَهْلُهُ وَتَزَوَّجَ بَنُوهُ
وَبَنَاتُهُ وَاقْتَسَمُوا مَالَهُ * وَأَقَامَتْ زَوْجَتُهُ تَبْكِي عَلَيْهِ وَلَمْ تَقْاسِمْهُمْ
مَالَهُ ¹ * ثُمَّ قَالَ لَأَمْرَأَتِهِ إِنَّكَ قَدْ أَنْعَمْتَ مِنِّي وَفِي وَلَدِي وَأَهْلِي
فَإَذْنِي لِي أَطْلُعِيهِ وَأَحْمَدُ إِلَيْكَ فَأَخَذَتْ عَلَيْهِ أَيْمَانًا أَلَّا يَقْبَلَ إِلَّا سَنَةً
حَتَّى يَعُودَ إِلَيْنَا فَأَعْطَتْهُ مَالًا كَثِيرًا فَخَرَجَ مِنْ عِنْدِهَا بِذَلِكَ الْمَالِ
حَتَّى قَدِمَ عَلَى أَهْلِهِ فَرَأَى زَوْجَتَهُ وَمَا صَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ مِنَ الْحُزَنِ وَمَا
صَارَ إِلَيْهِ وَلَدُهُ * وَجَاءَهُ وَلَدٌ فَقَالَ مَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكُمْ عَمَلٌ أَنْتُمْ وَرِثْتُمُونِي
وَأَنَا حَيٌّ وَهِيَ حَقْظُكُمْ وَاللَّهِ لَا يَشْرِكُ زَوْجَتِي فِيمَا قَدِمْتُ بِهِ أَحَدٌ *
وَقَالَ لَزَوْجَتِهِ شَأْنُكَ بَيْنَ الْمَالِ فَبَوَّ لَكَ كُلَّهُ * وَقَالَ فِي الشَّامِيَّةِ ²

١ [طَالَ لَيْلِي وَبَيْتٌ كَالْمَجْنُونِ ³ وَآخَرَتْنِي الْجُمُومُ بِالْمَاطِرُونَ ⁴]
٢ صَاحِبِيَا إِلَهَ أَهْلًا وَدُورًا ⁵ عِنْدَ أَصْلِ الْقَتَادِ مِنْ جَبْرُونَ

وَلَا أَخَذَتْ مِنْ مِيرَانِهِ شَيْئًا وَجَاءَهَا الْخَطَابُ فَأَبَتْ ¹ Maṣ. adds
وَأَقَامَتْ عَلَى الْحُزَنِ وَالْبُكَاءِ عَلَيْهِ *

² Ag. vi, 159 (vv. 1, 4, 12, 5-8, 3, 14, 15, and again 14, 15, 5-7); vi, 161-2 (vv. 2-6, 9, 7, 10, 8, 11-13); 'Aini, i, 144 ff. (vv. 1-6, 9, 7, 8, 11-13, 15); Kāmil, 168 (v. 4), 169 (vv. 2-7, 9, 8, and again 5-7 by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān); Hiz. iii, 280 (vv. 1-6, 9, 7, 11, 12, 15); iii, 288 (vv. 1, 8, 10); L.A. v, 324-5 (vv. 2, 1, 3-6, 9, 7, 8, 11, 12, and again 5-7); Mu'arrab, 44 (v. 5), 74 (v. 10), 123 (v. 8); al-Qālī, Amālī, iii, 192 (vv. 2-6, 9, 7, 8, 11-13, acc. Abū 'Ubaida); Maṣāri', 87-8 (vv. 2, 4, 5, 11-13).

³ 'Aini, بِالْمَجْنُونِ.

⁴ Ag. vi, 159, وَمَلَلْتُ الشَّوَاءَ فِي جَبْرُونَ.

⁵ L.A. v, 324, Ag. vi, 161, Maṣāri', 'Aini, Hiz., Qālī, حَيًّا.

⁶ Kāmil, وَدَارًا.

أَعْطَى أَمِيرًا وَمَعَزُولًا¹ وَمَا نَزَعْتُ عَنْهُ الْمَكَارِمُ تَعَشَادُ وَمَا نَزَعَا
حَدَّثَنَا الرَّبِيعُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّخَّاتِ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ
وَأَنْشَدَنِي الْبَيْتَ *

VI²

حَدَّثَنَا الرَّبِيعُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي [fol. 94a] عَمْرُو بْنُ مَضْعَبٍ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ
قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ خَرَجَ أَبُو دَهَبَلٍ يَبْتَغِي
الْعَزْوَ وَكَانَ رَجُلًا جَمِيلًا عَالِمًا فَلَمَّا كَانَ بِبَجَيْرُونَ جَاءَتْهُ امْرَأَةٌ فَأَعْطَتْهُ
كِتَابًا فَقَالَتْ اقْرَأْ هَذَا الْكِتَابَ وَقَرَأَ لَهَا ثُمَّ ذَهَبَتْ فَدَخَلَتْ قَصْرًا
ثُمَّ خَرَجَتْ إِلَيْهِ فَقَالَتْ لَوْ تَبَلَّغْتَ³ إِلَى هَذَا لَتَصْرَفْتِ الْكِتَابَ
عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ فِيهِ كَانَ لَكُنْكَ⁴ أَجْرٌ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَإِنَّهُ مِنْ غَائِبٍ لَهَا
يَعْنِيهَا أَمْرٌ⁵ * فَبَلَغَ مَعَهَا الْقَصْرَ فَلَمَّا دَخَلَ إِذَا فِيهِ جَوَارٍ كَثِيرَةٌ
فَأَخْلَسَ عَنْهَا بَابَ الْقَصْرِ وَإِذَا امْرَأَةٌ جَمِيلَةٌ⁶ فَدَعَتْهُ إِلَى نَفْسِهَا فَأَبَى
فَأَمْسَرَتْ بِهِ فَحُجِمَ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنَ الْقَصْرِ وَأُطْعِمَ وَسُقِيَ قَلِيلًا قَلِيلًا
حَتَّى ضَعُفَ وَكَانَ يَمُوتُ ثُمَّ دَعَتْهُ إِلَى نَفْسِهَا فَقَالَ أَمَا حَرَامٌ⁷ فَلَا
يَكُونُ لَكَ أَبَدًا وَلَكِنْ أَتَزَوَّجُكَ فَقَالَتْ نَعَمْ * فَتَزَوَّجَهَا فَأَمْسَرَتْ
بِهِ فَأَخْسِنَ إِلَيْهِ حَتَّى رَجَعَتْ إِلَيْهِ تَمْسُهُ فَأَقَامَ مَعَهَا زَمَانًا طَوِيلًا⁸

¹ Ag. 163, 164, وَمَعَزُولًا.

² Maṣāri' al-Uṣṣāq, Const. 1301, pp. 87-8 (after Tha'lab acc. az-Zubair); Qālī, iii, 193, the account according to Abū 'Ubaida differs slightly.

³ Maṣāri', مَعَى.

⁴ Maṣ. لَكَ.

⁵ Om. Maṣ.

⁶ Maṣ. adds قَدَاتُهُ.

⁷ Maṣ. فِي الْحَرَامِ.

⁸ Maṣ. لَمْ.

مَدَحَهُ فَبَيَّا فَقَالَ لَهُ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ مَا هَذَا بِشَيْءٍ أَئِنَّ هَذَا
[fol. 93b] مِنْ قَوْلِ أَبِي دَهْبَلٍ فِي ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ

إِنَّ تَعْدُ مِنْ مَتَّقَى مَخْلَانَ¹ فغضب النُصَيْبُ ونزع عما مامته
فطرحها وبرك عليها وقال كائن تأتونا برجل مثل ابنِ الأزرق نأتكم
بمدح أجود من مديح أبي دَهْبَلٍ * حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَبْدُ
الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الرَّهَرِيُّ قَالَ كَانَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ جَبَّارًا وَ
كَانَ يُعَيِّمُ بِالْأَذْنِ إِذَا كَانَ عَلَى الْمَدِينَةِ وَإِذَا أَذِنَ النَّاسُ أَذِنَ مَعَهُمْ
لِشَاعِرٍ يُنْشِدُ قَصِيدَةً مَدِيحًا لِهِشَامِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ وَقَصِيدَةً مَدِيحًا
لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ هِشَامٍ فَأَذِنَ يَوْمًا وَالشَّاعِرُ النُّصَيْبُ فَأَنْشَدَ قَصِيدَةً
مَدِيحًا لِهِشَامٍ ثُمَّ قَطَعَهَا وَأَنْشَدَ قَصِيدَةً مَدِيحًا لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ هِشَامٍ
وَقَصِيدَةً لِهِشَامٍ أَشْعَرُ فَأَرَادَ النَّاسُ مِيَاخَةَ نَصَيْبٍ فَذَالُوا أَحْسَنَ
فَقَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ أَكْثَرْتُمْ إِنَّهُ لَشَاعِرٌ وَأَشْعَرُ مِنْهُ الَّذِي يَقُولُ
إِنَّ يَعْدُ مِنْ مَتَّقَى مَخْلَانَ

قَالَ فَحَمَمِي نُصَيْبُ فَقَالَ أَبَا وَاللَّهِ مَا نَصَمَعَ الْمَدِيحَ إِلَّا عَلَى قَدَرِ
الرِّجَالِ كَمَا يَكُونُ الرَّجُلُ مَدَحُهُ * قَالَ فَعَمَّ النَّاسُ الضَّحْكَ وَحَلِمَ
عَنْهُ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ فَقَالَ لَهُمُ الْحَاجِبُ ارْتَدَعُوا فَلَمَّا عَارَوْا إِلَى
السَّقِيْفَةِ قَالُوا رَأَيْتُمْ مِثْلَ شَجَاعَةِ هَذَا الْأَسْوَدِ عَلَى هَذَا الْجَبَّارِ وَجِلْمًا
مِنْ خَيْرِ حَلِيمٍ *

V²

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَمِّي قَالَ خَرَجَ ابْنُ عَمِّ ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ
يُرِيدُهُ فَلَتَيْتُهُ مَعْرُوفًا فَشَقَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ فَاسْتَرْجَعَ فَقَالَ لَهُ ابْنُ الْأَزْرَقِ
هَوِّنْ عَلَيْكَ لَمْ يَفُكَّكَ شَيْءٌ فَأَعْطَاهُ مِائَةَ دِينَارٍ * فَقَالَ أَبُو دَهْبَلٍ

¹ See variant to v. 6.

² Ag. vi, 163-4.

٢ مَخَافَ نَزْعِ^١ آمْرِئِي كُنَّا نَعْمَشُ بِهِ مَعْرُوفُهُ إِنْ طَلَبْنَا الْعُرْفَ^٢ مَوْجُودَ
 ٣ وَآءَلَمَ^٣ بِأَنِّي لِمَنْ عَادَيْتَ مُضْطَعِنٌ ضَبًّا وَأَنِّي عَلَيْكَ^٤ الْيَوْمَ مَحْسُودٌ
 انْصَبَّ الْحَمْدُ فِي قَلْبِهِ يَقُولُ أَهْمَلُ الْحَقْدَ وَالضَّعْبَةَ لِمَنْ عَادَيْتَ
 فِي قَلْبِي

٤ فَإِنَّ شُكْرَكَ عِنْدِي لَا أَتَذْصَلُّ لَهُ مَا دَامَ بِالْخِزَعِ^٥ مِنْ لُسْبَانِ جُلْمُودِ
 ٥ أَنْتَ الْمَمْدُوحُ وَالْمَعْلَى بِهَا^٦ تَمَنَّا إِذْ لَا يَعْدُ تَسَبُّحُ صَمِّ الْجَمْدَلِ الشُّوْدِ
 ٦ إِنْ تَمَسَّ^٧ فِي^٨ مَتَعَلَى مَخْلَانِ^٩ مُرْتَحَلًا^{١٠} بَيْنَ^{١١} مِنْ^{١٢} لِيَمْنِ الْمَعْرُوفِ وَالْجُودِ
 ٧ وَلَمْ تَنْزَلْ فِي أَصْطِنَاعِ الْحَمْدِ تَبْدُلُهُ^{١٣} لَمَّا آصَرَتِ النَّاسَ لَأَوَائِهِ وَمَجْبُودِ
 ٨ حَتَّى الْإِذَى بَيْنَ عُسْدَانِ إِلَى عُدُنِ لَحَبَّ لِمَنْ يَطْلُبُ الْمَعْرُوفَ أَخْذُودِ

لَحَبَّ طَرِيقٌ وَاضِحٌ فَدَحَبْتُهُ الْحَوَافِرُ وَالْأَقْدَامُ وَكَذَلِكَ الْأَخْذُودُ * قَالَ
 الزُّبَيْرُ أَنشَدَنِي أَبِي وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الصَّحَاكِ ثُبِي دَكْبَلٍ فِي ابْنِ
 الْأَرَقِ * حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْحَسَنِ قَالَ دَخَلَ
 الْمُصَيَّبُ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ دِشَامٍ وَهُوَ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ فَأَنْشَدَهُ فَصَبَدَ لَهُ

^١ Ag.; Yāq., var. صَرَّلَ.

^٢ Ag. الجُودَ.

^٣ Ag. vi, 162, آءَلَمَ.

^٤ Gāhiz, Haiyawān, vi. 20. عَلَيْهِ.

^٥ Ag. vi, 162, بِالْخِزَعِ.

^٦ Ag. vi, 162, بِهِ.

^٧ Ag. تَمَدَّحٌ.

^٨ Bekrī, 578, تَبْدُلُ; Yāq. iv, 768, تَمَسَّ [sic]; Ag. i, 145; vi, 162, 163a, تَعْدُ; Yāq. i, 702, تَعْدُ.

^٩ All quotations have مِنْ.

^{١٠} Ag. i, 145; vi, 162, 163a, نَجْرَانِ; Yāq. i, 702, بُغْلَانِ.

^{١١} Ag. i, 145; vi, 162; Yāq. يَزْرَحَلِ.

^{١٢} Yāq. عَنْ.

^{١٣} Ag. vi, 162, 163, اُتْحِيرَ تَفْعَلُهَا.

الْبَذَارَةُ مَا يَخْرُجُ مِنَ الْبَذْرِ إِذَا أُلْقِيَ فِي الْأَرْضِ يُقَالُ خَرَجَتْ
بُذَارَةُ النَّبْتِ *

١٢ فَتَدَاكَ مِنْ حَدَثِ الرَّدَى مَنْ لَمْ يُنِمَّ^١ لِلضَّيْفِ نَارَهُ
١٣ حَجَرًا تُقَالِبُهُ وَكَلَّ تُعْطَى عَلَى الْمَدْحِ الْحِجَارَةُ
١٤ كَالْبُعْلِ يُحْمَدُ قَائِمًا وَتُذَمُّ سَبْرُهُ الْمُسَارَةُ^٢
يُقَالُ شَرْتُ الدَّائِبَةَ وَأَشْرْتُهَا وَشَوْرْتُهَا إِذَا اسْتَخْرَجْتَ سَيْرَهَا وَمَا
عِنْدَهَا وَمِنْ هَذَا سُمِّيَ مَشَوْرًا *

١٥ لَا خَيْرُ يُرْجَى وَلَا يُنْعَى لِشَارَتِهِ الْعَسَارَةُ
١٦ إِنْ قَالَ أَيْ فَاعِلٌ حَقًّا فَعَلْتَهُ لِلْحِمَارَةِ
١٧ مَنْ كَانَ يَدْعُرُ مُتَجَرًّا فَالْجَوْدُ مِنْ خَيْرِ التِّجَارَةِ

IV

قال ثم رجع من عند عُمارة بن عمرو بن حَزْم فَأَتَى الْجَنْدَ فَقَالَ
لَهُ خُتَيْنٌ مَوْلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ [fol. 93a] بِنِ الْأَزْرَقِ
إِذَا كَانَ مِثْلُ ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ فِي السَّرِّ وَإِنَّكَ عَجَلْتَ عَلَى ابْنِ عَمِّكَ
وَهُوَ أَجْوَدُ النَّاسِ وَأَكْرَمُهُمْ فَعَدَّ إِلَيْهِ فَيَاتِهِ غَيْرُ تَارِكِكَ وَأَعْلَمَ
بِأَنِّي أَخَافُ أَنْ يَكُونَ قَدْ عَزَلَ فَلَا زِيَّةَ وَلَا يُفْقِدُكَ بَصْرُهُ فَإِنِّي
أَخَافُ أَنْ يَنْسَاكَ فَفَعَلَ ۖ أَعْطَاهُ وَأَرْضَاهُ فَقَالَ^٤
يَا حَنَّ إِنِّي لِمَا حَدَّثْتَنِي^٥ أَصْلًا مُرَّحًا مِنْ صَمِيرِ التَّوَجِدِ مَعْمُونٌ

^١ MS. لَا يُنُومُ.

^٢ Ag vi, 162, مَشْيُهُ الْمُسَارَةُ.

^٣ صَوَابٌ in text, but corrected in margin with مَشَوْرًا.

^٤ Ag. vi, 162 (vv. 1-8); vi, 163 (v. 6 A); vi, 163 (vv. 6, 7=B); i, 145 (v. 6); Yāq. i, 702 (vv. 1, 2, 8, 6); iv, 768 (v. 6).

^٥ Yāq. يَا حَرُّ إِنِّي لِمَا بَلَّغْنِي.

III

حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عُمَى مُضْعَبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ وَقَدْ أَبُو
 دَهْبَلِ الْجُمَحِيُّ عَلَى ابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ
 الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ شَمْسٍ بْنِ الْمُغِيرَةِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ مَخْرُومٍ
 وَكَانَ عَامِلًا لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ عَلَى الْجَنْدِ فَأُنْكَرَ وَرَأَى مِنْهُ جَفْوَةً
 ففَارَقَهُ وَمَضَى إِلَى عُمَارَةَ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ حَزْرَمٍ وَهُوَ عَامِلٌ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ
 الزُّبَيْرِ عَلَى خَضِرَمَوْتَ وَقَالَ يَمْدَحُهُ وَيَعْرِضُ بِابْنِ الْأَزْرَقِ¹

- ١ أَصْرَفَتْ رَسْمًا بِالْأَجْيَاءِ رَعْمًا لِنَزَيْتَبٍ أَوْ لِسَارِدٍ
- ٢ وَمَحَادٌ جُونِيٌّ الدُّرَى وَصَبَا أَثَارَتُهُ إِثَارِدٍ
- ٣ لِعَزِيرَةٍ² وَسِنْ خَضِرَمَوٍ تَ عَلَى مُحَبَّاهَا النَّصَارِدِ

[fol. 92b]

- ٤ سَمِعَتْ بِرَحْلَةٍ تَأْشِقُ صَبَّ فَقَامَتِ مُسْتَطَارِدٍ
 - ٥ تُدْرِي الدُّمُوعَ غَزِيرَةً سَقِيًّا لِيُوجِنِكَ خَيْرَ جَارِدٍ
 - ٦ وَلَقَدْ بَدَأَ لِي حُزْنُنِيَا فِي الطَّبَنِفِ وَمِنَا وَالْإِشَارِدِ
 - ٧ دَعَا ذَا وَغَدَى فِي مَا حِدٍ حَقَّقَتْ بِسَمْتِهِ الْبَشَارِدِ³
 - ٨ لَا عَاجِزَ يُقْعِي وَلَا بَرَمٌ مُخْصَالِطُهُ الشَّرَارِدِ
 - ٩ يَارَتِ حَتَّى بِخَيْرٍ مَا حَيَّيْتُ إِنْ سَانَا عُمَارِدِ
 - ١٠ أَطْطَى وَكُنَّا نَا⁴ وَلَمْ تَكُ⁵ وَسِنْ عَطِيَّتِهِ الصَّعَارِدِ
- الصَّعَارِدُ الذَّلُّ وَالْمُخْزِيَّةُ أَيْ إِنْ عَطِيَّتُهُ لَا تُخَسِّسُ وَلَكِنَّا تَرْقَعُ وَتَشْرَفُ *
 ١١ وَمِنْ الْعَطِيَّةِ مَا تَدْرَى جَدَّمَاءَ لَيْسَ لَهَا بُدَارِدِ⁶

¹ Ag. vi, 162 (vv. 9-11, 13, 14); Yāq. iv, 764 (vv. 1, 3).

² Yāq. لِعَزِيرَةٍ.

³ MS. أَبْشَارِدِ.

⁴ Ag. vi, 162, فَأَسَانَا.

⁵ Ag. vi, 162, يَكُ.

⁶ Ag. vi, 162, نَزَارَهُ (misprint); L.A. v, 115 (anon. as text).

قال الزبير كانت العرب تتحدث أنه لم يكن من زمان ناقة أبي
 دهل أسير منها وبدل على ذلك قوله هذا
 ٤ وَمَرَّتْ بِبَطْنِ آلِ لَيْثٍ^١ تَدْوِي كَأَنَّهَا^٢ تُبَادِرُ بِالصَّبَاحِ^٣ نَهَبًا مُقَسَّمَا
 ٥ أَجَارَتْ، عَلَى الْبَرْوَاءِ^٤ وَالسُّبُلِ كَأَسْرَ جَنَاحَيْهِ^٥ بِالسَّرَوَاءِ^٤ وَرَدَا وَأَذْهَمَا
 يقول قد استبان فيه شيء من الصبح والورد يريد الشفرة يعنى
 الصبح والبروء . وضع * [وزيد هاهنا بيت^٦
 ٦ وَمَرَّتْ عَلَى أَشْطَانِ رَوْقَةٍ بِالصَّحَى فَمَا جَرَرَتْ لِمَعَاذِ عَيْنَا وَلَا فَمَا]
 ٧ فَمَا ذَرَقَرْنُ الشَّمْسِ حَتَّى تَبَيَّنَتْ بَعْلَبَتِ أَخْذًا مُشْرِفًا^٨ وَمُحَيَّمًا^{١٠}
 وَيُرْوَى وَمُكَمَّمًا * وهو الذى شد على حمله القواصر *
 ٨ وَمَا شَرِبْتُ حَتَّى تَنْبَتَ زَمَانِيَا وَخِفْتُ عَيْنِيَا أَنْ تَجُنَّ^{١١} وَتُكَلَّمَا
 ٩ فَقُلْتُ لَهَا قَدْ تَعَمْتُ^{١٢} خَيْرَ دَوِيْمَةٍ وَأَصْبَحَ وَادِى الْبِرْكِ^{١٣} غَيْثًا مُدَيِّمًا^{١٤}
 يقال تَأَعَّ يَتِمُّعُ إِذَا آتَعَادَ وَيَقَالُ تَأَعَّ الْقَيْءُ إِذَا جَاءَ سَهْلًا *

¹ Yāq. اللَّيْثِ, MS. vocalized; Ag. iii, 11 (twice); vi, 168; Murt. note, بَطْنِ الْبَيْتِ.

² Ag. iii, 11, ²⁰; Murt. note, كَأَنَّهَا; MS. نَيْبًا.

³ Ag. iii, 11, ²⁷; vi, 168; Murt. note, بِالصَّبَاحِ (Ag. iii, 11, ²⁰, as text).

⁴ Ag. iii, 11, عَلَى السَّرَوَاءِ . . . بِالسَّرَوَاءِ.

⁵ Ag. iv, 11; vi, 168; Murt. note, جَنَاحَيْنِ.

⁶ Ag. iii, 11; vi, 168, adds here; also Yāq.

⁷ Ag. vi, 168, دَوِيْمَةٍ . . . حَدَرَتْ; variants, iii, 11, رَوْقَتِ.

⁸ Poesis, Ag. vi, 168; Yāq. مُشْرِفًا. ⁹ Ag. vi, 168, آو.

¹⁰ Poesis Codd. V.S. قَائِمًا وَمُحَيَّمًا.

¹¹ Ag. vi, 168, تَجُنَّ (misprint); Yāq. تُجَنَّ.

¹² Ag. vi, 168, بِعَمَتْ; Ag. iii, 12; Yāq. بِعَمَتْ (misprint).

¹³ Ag. iii, 12, الْبِرْلِ (misprint).

¹⁴ Ag. vi, 168, عَيْنَا مَرْنَمَا (misprint).

أَهْلُ الْخِلَافَةِ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِنْ عَفَدُوا^١ وَالشَّاهِدُونَ الرُّوْعَ لَا ضَرَرَ وَلَا نَفْعَ
 يَأْتِي لِي إِلَهُ وَالْحَيَّانِ مِنْ جَمْعٍ ذَا حَبِيبٍهَا وَدَعِ الْيَمْدَى خَدَا
 قَالَ التَّرْبِيزُ فَمَقْضُونَ وَمَعْمَرُ بِنَا حَمِيبُ بْنُ خَدَافَةَ بْنِ جَمْعٍ
 وَخَلِيفُ بْنُ وَهَبُ بْنُ خَدَافَةَ بْنِ جَمْعٍ *

II²

حَدَّثَنَا التَّرْبِيزُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ [أَبِي] الْمُقَدَّادِ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي
 مُوسَى بْنُ يَعْقُوبَ الرُّومِيُّ قَالَ أَنْشَدَنِي أَبُو دَهْلٍ فَوَلَّهُ
 أَلَا عِلَقَ^٣ الْعَلَبِ الْمُسَيِّمِ كُلَّمَا^٤ أَعْجَا^٥ وَلَمْ يَلْزَمْ مِنَ الْحَبِّ مَلَزَمًا
 [fol. 92a]
 خَرَجَتْ بِهَا^٦ مِنْ بَطْنِ مَكَّةَ بَعْدَمَا^٧ أَصَاتَ الْمُنَادِي بِالصَّلَاةِ فَأَعْتَمًا^٩
 فَمَا نَامَ^{١٠} مِنْ دَعِ^{١١} وَآرَتُ دَسَاوِرَ^{١٢} مِنْ أَنْشِيلٍ^{١١} حَتَّى جَاوَزَتْ بِي يَلَمَّكَمَا^{١٢}
 إِنْ وَعَدُوا. Ag.

² I. Qutaiba, Poesis. 390 (vv. 2, 3, 6); Ag. vi, 168 (vv. 1-9);
 iii, 11 (vv. 2, 3=A), 11-12 (vv. 1-9); Murtaḍā, Amālī, i, 78-9
 (v. 1), n. 1 (as Ag.); Yāq. i, 318 (v. 7), 352 (vv. 2-5, 9), 590
 (vv. 2-9), 606 (v. 3); iii, 715 (vv. 1-9); iv, 1026 (v. 3); T.A.
 vii, 108 (vv. 8, 9).

³ Yāq., Murt. عِلَقَ.

⁴ Yāq. كُلَّمَا.

⁵ Ag. iii, 3; Yāq. أَعْجَا.

⁶ Murt. وَأَخْرَجَتْهَا; Ag. iii, 11 A, وَأَبْرَزَتْهَا.

⁷ Murt. حَتَّى.

⁸ Ag. iii (twice), لِلصَّلَاةِ.

⁹ Poesis (MS. V.S. as text); Ag. iii, 11 (twice); Murt. note;
 Yāq. وَأَعْتَمًا.

¹⁰ Ag. iii, 11, as text; Ag. vi, 168, Poesis, Yāq., Murt.
 note, مِنْ رَأَى.

¹¹ Ag. vi, 168; iii, 11; Yāq., Murt. note, مِنَ الْحَيِّ; Poesis
 Codd. V.S. مِنَ النَّاسِ.

¹² Yāq. i, 352, أَلَمَلَكَمَا.

[fol. 91b] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قَرَأْتُ عَلَى الشَّيْخِ أَبِي غَالِبٍ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ طَاهِرِ بْنِ
حَمْدِ الْخَازَنِ بِوَاسِطَةِ أَخْبَرَنِي الْقَاضِي أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ عَلَى بْنِ الْمُحَسِّنِ بْنِ
عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ الشُّوْخِيِّ قِرَاءَةً عَلَيْهِ وَأَنَا أَسْمَعُ فِي شَهْرِ ربيعِ الآخرِ
مِنْ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَأَرْبَعِ مِائَةٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ
الرَّحِيمِ ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ اسْمَاقِ الْمَازَنِيِّ الْكَاتِبِ قِرَاءَةً عَلَيْهِ فِي
جَامِعِ الْمَنْصُورِ فِي ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ سَنَةِ أَحَدٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ قَالَ
أَخْبَرَنَا أَبِي قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْحَسَنِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ سَعِيدِ الدِّمَشْقِيِّ قَالَ
حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ

I

قَالَ أَبُو دَهَبَلٍ وَاسْمُهُ وَهَبُ بْنُ زَمْعَةَ بْنِ أَبِي سَيْدٍ بْنِ أَحْبَحَةَ بْنِ
خَلْفِ بْنِ وَهَبِ بْنِ خُذَّافَةَ بْنِ جَمْعٍ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ هَاشِمِ بْنِ
كَعْبٍ * وَلِخَلْفِ بْنِ وَهَبٍ يَقُولُ ابْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ¹

خَلْفُ بْنُ وَهَبٍ كُلُّ آخِرٍ لَيْلَةٍ أَبَدًا يَكْثُرُ أَهْلُهُ يَعِيَالُ
مَقِيًّا لَوْهَبٍ كَمَلَهَا وَوَلِيْدَهَا مَا دَامَ فِي أَبْيَاتِهَا الدِّيَالُ²
نِعَمَ الشَّبَابُ شَبَابُكُمْ وَكُفُولُكُمْ صِيَابُهُ لَيْسُوا مِنَ الْجِبَالِ

قَالَ وَأُمُّ أَبِي دَهَبَلٍ هُرَيْرُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ أَخْتُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ
سَلَمَةَ * حَدَّثَنَا أَبِي قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا الزُّبَيْرُ
قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَلِيُّ بْنُ صَالِحٍ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَةَ قَالَ قَالَ أَبُو دَهَبَلٍ³

قَوْمِي بَنُو جَمْعٍ يَوْمًا إِذَا أَنْجَرَتْ⁴ شَبَابُهُ تُبْصِرُ فِي حَافَاتِهَا الرَّعْفَا

¹ Ag. vi, 154 (٢٢. 1-3).

² Ag. MS. vocalized, والذیالی.

³ Ag. vi, 155 (٢٢. 1, 2).

⁴ إِذَا أَنْجَرَتْ.

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2

4

2

4

[fol. 91a] شِعْر أَبِي ذَهَبٍ الْجَمْعِيّ

وَإِخْبَارُهُ

(MS. Lips. V, 807.)

رواية الشيخ الجليل أبي غالب محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن
 محمد الخازن أبقاد الله¹ عن القاضي أبي القاسم علي بن الحسين
 ابن علي الشنخري عن أبي بكر محمد بن عبد الرحيم بن أحمد بن
 إسحاق المازني عن مازن الأزدي الكاتب عن أبيه عن أبي الحسن
 أحمد بن سعيد الدمشقي عن الربيع بن أبي بكر
 سماع لخميس بن علي بن أحمد بن علي الحوزي الواسطي
 نفعنا الله به

قرأ علي جمع هذا الديوان الشيخ الحافظ أبو الكرم خميس بن
 علي الحوزي الواسطي حرسه الله * كتبه محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر
 ابن حمد بخطه في المحرم سنة أربع وثمانين وأربع مائة والحمد لله
 رب العالمين كثيرًا وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلّم تسليماً *

¹ أَيْكَدُ اللَّهُ.

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UNE INSCRIPTION DU YUNNAN (MISSION D'OLLONE)
TRADUITE PAR M. CHAVANNES

ETUDE CRITIQUE PAR FERNAND FARJENEL

LE commandant d'Ollone a rapporté de sa dernière mission scientifique diverses inscriptions chinoises qui peuvent fournir d'utiles indications sur l'histoire des régions du sud-ouest de la Chine.

Plusieurs de ces inscriptions ont été publiées dans le *Journal Asiatique* de Paris de Juillet-Août, 1909, traduites et commentées par M. Chavannes, professeur au Collège de France et membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres.

Malheureusement, les traductions de l'honorable professeur ainsi que les interprétations qu'il en tire sont fort inexactes. Si l'on veut pouvoir utiliser ces inscriptions pour l'histoire, il est nécessaire de les traduire de nouveau intégralement.

Les quatre documents publiés ont été, cela va de soi, interprétés de la même manière ; nous ne nous proposons d'en examiner ici qu'un seul, d'en donner une traduction nouvelle expliquée. En faire autant, pour toutes les inscriptions dans un seul article eut été un travail trop étendu.

La traduction ci-après est celle de la deuxième stèle concernant un jeune préfet ou gouverneur Lolo, mort à vingt-trois ans et que M. Chavannes désigne sous le nom de *Tsouan Paotzeu*. Le travail de l'honorable professeur figure page 17.

Avant de présenter l'examen critique de cette pièce nous donnons ci-après le texte comparé des deux traductions afin qu'on en puisse saisir les différences d'un seul coup d'œil.

TRADUCTION DE M. CHAVANNES

Tombe du gouverneur *Tsouan* qui eut de son vivant, les titres de général au prestige redoutable et de gouverneur de (la commanderie de) *Kienning*, sous la dynastie des *Tsin*.

L'honorable défunt avait pour nom personnel *Pao-tseu*, et pour appellation *Pao-tseu*; il était originaire (de la sous-préfecture de) *Tong-lo* (dans la commanderie) de *Kienning*.

Dès sa jeunesse il fut doué de qualités précieuses et éminentes; quand il fut devenu grand, il maintint une règle de conduite haute et profonde.

Il était pénétrant et vaste, intègre et respectueux, c'étaient là des manifestations provenant de la nature que lui avait donnée le Ciel.

Avec une pureté semblable à celle de la glace et avec une netteté semblable à celle de l'orchidée, sa sagesse réunissait toutes les supériorités de la conduite.

Grâce à sa vertu sans mélange, Barbares et Chinois se soumettaient à sa bonté.

(La cigogne qui crie dans) le neuvième étang le célébrait dans son pays natal honoré d'un nom;

Les pièces de soie en rouleau s'accumulaient dans sa demeure.

TRADUCTION DE M. FARJENEL

Tombe du préfet des *Tsouan* (Lolos); gouverneur de *Kienning*, anciennement général (du titre de) *Tchennwei*, des *Tsin*.

(Ce) seigneur s'appelait de son uom honorifique *Paotzeu*, de son nom personnel *Paotzeu*; il était de *Tonglo*, en *Kienning*.

(Ce) seigneur, dans son enfance, reçut des dons naturels éminents: adulte, il dirigea des affaires extrêmement importantes et délicates.

L'étendue de son intelligence, le caractère respectable de son intégrité, manifestaient ses qualités naturelles.

Probe et maître de soi, sa morale ainsi que ses actes étaient d'ordre supérieur.

Grâce à sa vertu sans mélange, Barbares et Chinois étaient revenus à des sentiments d'humanité réciproques.

Le neuvième ciel était rempli du bruit de son nom.

Les richesses s'accumulaient dans sa demeure.

Alors qu'il n'avait pas encore l'épingle de tête, il attendait déjà l'équipage officiel.

A la Cour et à la Campagne on célébrait ses éloges.

Il fut successivement *tchou-pou* de l'arrondissement, *tche-tchong*, *pie-ku* ; il fut recommandé pour ses qualités remarquables, il devint gouverneur de sa commanderie.

Il calma et entoura de soins la multitude du peuple : tous les êtres furent à leur place naturelle.

A l'âge des vingt-trois ans une maladie qui l'ahita lui fit perdre ses fonctions.

Il n'est personne qui ne s'en afflige ; chaque homme centuple sa personne.

L'émotion s'étant produite dans les cœurs, on a composé en commun une épitaphe pour bien célébrer sa belle fin,

Et pour la mettre éternellement en lumière sans que jamais elle soit retranchée (de la mémoire des hommes). Le texte en est ainsi conçu :

Le pic de la montagne ayant craché son essence,—et la vaste étendue de la mer ayant fait descendre son éclat,

Très majestueux fut l'honorable défunt :—sa renommée imposante sonnait clair comme le jade.

Il retirait sa coiffure pour servir ses supérieurs (avec plus de zèle).

Le gouvernement et les particuliers chantaient ses louanges.

Dans l'arrondissement il fut chef des bureaux, directeur du personnel, assistant du préfet : promu *Sieoutsai*, il fut préfet gouverneur de cette propre préfecture.

Pacifiquement, il gouverna le peuple, et toutes choses furent en ordre.

A l'âge de vingt-trois ans une maladie grave emporta ce magistrat.

Nul qui n'exprimât sa douleur par des lamentations et tous multiplièrent leurs prosternations (devant le cercueil).

Notre douleur ayant été complètement manifestée, nous nous sommes unis pour graver son oraison funèbre afin d'explorer convenablement la fin de notre chef,

Et pour que sa perpétuelle gloire ne subisse pas d'interruption. Les termes (en) sont les suivants.

Eminence qui a rendu l'esprit, immensité d'où descend la lumière,

Ô majestueux, majestueux Marquis, ta renommée retentit comme les pierres musicales.

Dès que à l'âge de vingt ans il eut pris le bonnet vieil, on loua sa bonté ; — on le célébra par des chants à la ville et dans la campagne.

Quand il était encore obscur, on approuvait sa conduite harmonieuse ; quand il se trouvait encore dans les profondeurs, il répandait son parfum.

Le palais qui a plusieurs fois huit pieds d'élévation — il en trouva le mur qu'il longea.

La bonne odeur (de sa renommée) était impétueuse comme le vent ; — l'éclat (de sa gloire) s'élevait aussi haut que les nuages.

Il était semblable à l'oie sauvage s'avancant pas à pas, dont les plumes servent d'ornement ; — il bondissait comme le dragon, il voltigeait comme le phénix.

Déployant son essor jusqu'au delà des vapeurs aériennes — il s'apprêtait à être reçu comme un hôte par le souverain.

Avec les clochettes qui sonnent et avec la porte violette, il lavait les cordons de son bonnet dans la rivière *Tsang-lang*.

Les gens du peuple venaient à lui ainsi que des fils (qui viennent à leur père) — comme s'ils eussent en des entraves, comme s'ils eussent en un licou, ils se tournaient ensemble vers lui.

On lui obéissait à la ronde

Dans ton enfance et lorsque tu eus la coiffure virile, on louait ta bonté : — on chantait tes louanges à la Cour et dans les campagnes.

Dans l'ombre tu étais admirablement conciliant, (et) tes qualités profondes répandait au loin leur parfum.

(Bien que) ta maison n'eût que quelques toises et qu'on pût en suivre (facilement) les murs,

Le parfum (de tes vertus) suivait la course rapide du vent ; et ta gloire montait jusqu'aux nuages.

Cygne gonflant peu à peu tes ailes, dragon s'élevant, phénix s'envolant ;

tu t'élevas dans ton vol jusqu'au sommet de l'empyrée, pour y être reçu comme un hôte par le prince.

Tu sonnas à la porte du palais violet (du prince) et tu trempas ta coiffure dans le vaste flot (qui l'entoure).

Les gens du peuple venaient à toi comme des fils, dans leur attachement, ils se tournaient vers toi.

Ils suivaient partout ta

comme font du chevaux dont les pieds sont liés,—comment aurait-on pu lui échapper ?

Jouissant par hérédité d'une haute situation et de grandes capacités,—il demeura donc dans son propre pays.

Ses décisions et ses actes eurent une exacte perfection—sa sagesse monta jusqu'aux vêtements jaunes.

Il aurait du conserver (une longévité aussi durable que) les montagnes du sud qui ne diminuent ni ne s'effondrent.

Mais, il ne jouit pas de longues années de vie :—(il mourut) au moment où il commençait (à verser) son dernier panier de terre.

Comment pourrions-nous ne pas nous lamenter—de ce qu'a été anéanti notre (concitoyen) homme droit et excellent.

Bien qu'ayant constamment en lui des qualités saintes, son ombre et sa destinée ne durèrent pas longtemps.

Pour tout être qui n'est pas en métal ou en pierre—c'est une règle constante qu'il y ait l'alternance de l'épanouissement et du dessèchement.

Soit dans le monde souterrain soit dans la voûte azurée—il pourrait donner la main à Yen (Houei) et à Tchang (Kan).

L'homme parfait n'a pas de caractéristiques individuelles ; —il est comme les poissons qui dans le grand fleuve et dans le

monture, comment auraient-ils pu te quitter ?

Tu occupas toute une suite de situations, puis, tu residas dans ton propre pays.

Tu voulus la gloire de la contrée, ta conduite t'éleva jusqu'à la (récompense de) l'habit jaune.

Il aurait fallu que tu fusses comme les monts sacrés du sud qui ne s'effritent, ni ne s'effondrent.

Mais tu ne jouis que de peu d'années ; en un cercueil, de bonne heure, on te mena (au tombeau).

Comment ne nous lamenterions-nous pas ! Tu nous comblais de tes bontés !

Tu es retourné à ta sainte forme ; ta vie mortelle n'a pas été longue.

Bien que tu ne fusses ni de métal ni de pierre, ta vie dure toujours.

Dans les enfers et dans les cieus, tu tiens à la main la feuille de Yen (*wang*).

(Aussi) il arrive que les gens n'ont plus souci de toi, que le pays tout entier t'oublie.

l'ac n'ont aucun souci les uns des autres.

Mais dans la solennité infinie (du temple funéraire)—respectueux et harmonieux sous les aides distingués.

Parce que constamment, nous fûmes accoutumés (à vivre avec le défunt)—notre émotion et notre affliction sont très vives.

Quand *Lin-tsong* fut mort—sa belle renommée resta manifeste au loin.

C'est pourquoi, nous avons gravé cet éloge funèbre—pour conserver le (souvenir d'un homme comparable à celui que célèbre l'ode) *Kan-t'ang*.

Hélas ! que cela est triste.

Érigé en la quatrième année *ta-heng* (405), le rang de l'année étant *yi-ssan*, dans la première décade du quatrième mois.

Mais comme ta majesté ne cesse pas, respectueusement nous nous réunissons pour te glorifier tous ensemble.

Perpétuellement, toute notre vie, nous exprimerons ensemble notre douleur.

Comme nos familles n'auront pas de fin, ton noble nom longtemps resplendira.

Aussi, nous gravons ton oraison funèbre pour que tout le peuple conserve ton doux souvenir.

Hélas ! gémissons !

Érigé dans la quatrième année de *Taheng* : l'année étant dans (le signe cyclique) *yi-seu*, dans la première décade du quatrième mois.

Suivent les signatures précédées des titres de fonctions des treize personnages qui ont signé. M. Chavannes ne les a pas traduites. Nous en donnerons la traduction plus loin.

Le texte chinois du morcean dont il s'agit, se compose comme toutes les inscriptions funéraires de ce genre de deux parties : dans la première, les rédacteurs narrent en prose la vie du défunt, ainsi qu'on l'a vu ; la seconde est l'oraison funèbre en vers, destinée sans doute, à être chantée dans les sacrifices solennels offert à l'âme du mort regretté.

L'oraison funèbre ci-dessus est en vers de huit pieds, avec césure au quatrième, et la rime en *ang* est la même

pour tous les vers. Cette répétition constante de la même rime facilite considérablement la lecture et soulage la mémoire des récitants.

Nous aurions voulu, pour éviter de donner à ce travail trop de longueur, ne reproduire que les parties du texte dont la traduction par M. Chavannes nous paraissait critiquable, mais notre travail différant pour ainsi dire à toutes les propositions de celui de l'honorable professeur, nous avons été obligé de reprendre le texte tout entier, phrase par phrase et vers par vers.

TITRE DU TOMBEAU

晉故振威將軍建寧太守爨府君之墓

Tombe du préfet des Tsouan, gouverneur de Kienning, général de l'ancien (titre de) Tchennwei, (sous les) Tsin.

Sous la dynastie des Tsin, les régions frontières étaient régies par des fonctionnaires, qui avaient une double qualité: ils étaient, comme nous le voyons ici, préfets-gouverneurs: en tant que gouverneurs, ils régissaient l'ensemble de la préfecture, leur assistant les secondant, les suppléant ainsi que nous le verrons plus loin; en tant que préfet des barbares, ils s'occupaient spécialement des aborigènes.

Voici ce que dit *Ma Touannlinn* à ce sujet:—

自魏晉以後刺史多帶將軍開府則州與府名置僚屬。州官理民府官理戎。

Depuis les *Wei* et les *Tsin*, les gouverneurs emmenaient beaucoup de généraux en mission, dans les arrondissements et dans les préfectures, ils nommaient des fonctionnaires subordonnés: le fonctionnaire d'arrondissement régissait le peuple, le fonctionnaire de préfecture régissait les Barbares.¹

D'autre part, 府君 signifie littéralement *Seigneur de la préfecture*, 太守 *Eminent Contrôleur*; ce dernier

¹ 文獻通考. K'ien 62, p. 18 v°.

terme a évolué, il désigne aujourd'hui les préfets; la règle de position veut qu'on traduise le mot *Tsouan* au génitif. Ce mot n'est donc pas, comme le croit M. Chavannes, le nom de famille du personnage.

D'après la stèle elle-même, le défunt devait être un jeune *lolo* de famille noble dont les chinois avaient fait un préfet, ce n'étaient pas, en effet, ses mérites personnels qui avant vingt-trois ans avaient pu lui permettre d'acquérir une telle situation.

A signaler dans la copie de la stèle une légère erreur matérielle: le copiste a écrit 古 au lieu de 故. Ce copiste, vraisemblablement chinois, a dû être guidé par la sonorité seule du mot en transcrivant le texte de la stèle; au point de vue du sens, l'erreur n'a pas de portée.

TEXTE DE LA STÈLE

君諱寶子字寶子。建寧同樂人也。

Ce seigneur s'appelait de son nom noble Paotze, de son nom personnel Paotze, il était de Tonglo en Kienning.

君 seigneur a aujourd'hui le sens de monsieur, de gentleman. Nous voyons ici que ce personnage n'avait qu'un seul nom *Paotze*, ce qui nous prouve qu'il n'était pas chinois d'origine. Traduire le mot 君 par *honorabile défunt* c'est en forcer le sens.

君少稟瓊偉之質。長挺高邈之操。

(Ce) seigneur, jeune, avait reçu des qualités naturelles éminentes; adulte, il mania des affaires importantes et délicates.

挺 signifie: *tenir en main fermement, diriger*; le complément de ce verbe est 操, qui signifie au propre: *remuer ses membres, s'agiter* et au figuré: *se donner beaucoup de mal*; en tant que substantif verbal il exprime le concept des agitations, des affaires; il ne signifie nullement: *règle de conduite*.

高 *haut, important*; 邈 *petit, caché, délicat*.

通曠清恪發自天然

L'étendue de sa pénétration, la respectabilité de sa pureté-morale, manifestaient de lui-même la céleste essence.

Nous avouons ne pas comprendre en français ce que veut dire l'honorable professeur lorsqu'il traduit *il était vaste* ; qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un homme vaste ?

冰潔簡靜。道兼行卓。

Probe et parfaitement calme, sa morale ainsi que ses actes étaient sublimes.

Le deuxième caractère est écrit différemment sur la stèle et sur la copie ; sur la première, il y a 潔, sur la seconde, 潔 ; je crois que c'est le copiste qui a raison contre le rédacteur de la stèle ; mais n'aurait-on pas du avertir le lecteur qu'il modifiait le texte ?

Les deux premiers caractères forment un mot composé qui exprime l'idée de pureté, de probité, il n'y a point là de comparatif.

Le quatrième exprime l'idée de calme, la troisième celle d'excellence par image. C'est évidemment en détourner et forcer le sens que de les rendre *avec une netteté semblable à celle de l'orchidée*. 道 marque ici la règle de conduite, la loi morale en opposition grammaticale avec les actes 行 soumis à cette loi ; c'est pourquoi nous devons considérer 兼 comme une préposition copulative et non pas comme le verbe réunir.

淳粹之德。戎晉歸仁

Par sa vertu sans mélange, Barbares et Chinois revendaient à l'humanité.

歸 retourner à, revenir à ; 仁 la vertu d'humanité, une des cinq vertus cardinales qui consiste à traiter autrui comme on voudrait être traité soi-même. Conférez la composition de ce caractère 人 homme, 二 double,¹ Tei, l'erreur provient

¹ Wiéger, *Leçons étymologiques*, p. 88. Hokienfou, 1900.

d'une confusion entre le sens propre de caractère et son sens figuré.

Le texte exprime cette idée fort simple, à savoir que les qualités de cet administrateur eurent pour effet de ramener l'harmonie entre les deux éléments de la population.

九 臯 唱 於 各 嚮。

Le neuvième ciel était rempli du bruit de son nom.

Litt. était *chanté* 唱; ce verbe chinois ne peut pas s'exprimer au passif en français.

M. Chavannes rend cette phrase par la traduction singulière (*La cigogne qui crie dans*) *le neuvième étang. le célébrait dans son pays natal honoré d'un nom.*

Il y a ici une suite d'erreurs qui se multiplient les unes par les autres et sur lesquelles il faut nous arrêter. 臯 *kao* signifie: la haute région du ciel où se forme progressivement la lumière,¹ d'où l'idée de hauteur, d'élévation qu'exprime sa phonétique. 九 臯 équivant à 九 霄 *le neuvième ciel, l'empyrée*; et aussi la plus haute région de l'atmosphère.

Mais, comme il n'est nullement question de cigogne, le traducteur la suppose sous entendue; et il cite à l'appui de son interprétation les caractères suivants extraits du *Cheuking*: 鶴 鳴 于 九 臯. La grue crie dans le neuvième ciel; c'est à dire dans l'espace, et, après Couvreur, il la traduit *La cigogne crie dans le neuvième étang (c'est à dire l'étang qui est au centre du marécage).*²

Les deux derniers termes, 名 嚮 *le bruit du nom* = la renommée, sont l'objet d'une note assez longue du traducteur qui y voit l'équivalent de 名 鄉 *nom et district* et qui "donne donc à entendre que le pays natal de *Ts'ouan Pao-tze*

¹ Wiéger, *Leçons étymologiques*, p. 189.

² Cf. Couvreur, *Dict. chinois-français*, p. 303. Le P. Couvreur avait traduit "La grue crie dans les neuf marécages". C'est sans doute là ce qui a induit en erreur M. Chavannes.

avait été (ou tout au moins méritait d'être) honoré d'un nom particulier à cause des vertus de ce personnage".¹

Or, il ne nous paraît avoir là rien de si compliqué. 嚮 est pris ici pour sa phonétique seule qui s'écrit quelquefois 响 et comme substitut du caractère 響, qui signifie : *ton, écho*; ils sont quelquefois équivalents, c'est ce que fait remarquer d'ailleurs Couvreur.² *Minghiang* est donc l'équivalent du mot vulgaire *mingcheng*, bruit du nom, renommée 名聲.

東 帛 集 於 閨 庭

Les richesses étaient accumulées dans sa demeure.

La transcription porte 東 épines au lieu de 帛 comme sur la stèle. Cette erreur n'a pas d'ailleurs empêché M. Chavannes de traduire *Les pièces de soie en rouleau* selon son usage qui consiste à ne pas tenir compte des métaphores dont une langue orientale comme le Chinois fait un emploi continuel.

抽 簪 俟 駕 朝 野 詠 歌

Il retirait sa coiffure pour servir ses chefs; la cour et les particuliers chantaient ses louanges.

抽 *tirer, retirer* est rendu par M. Chavannes, par *Alors qu'il n'avait pas encore*.

La traduction mot à mot donne : *Retirant l'épingle de tête, il attendait le char. L'épingle de tête* est vraisemblablement mise ici par métonymie pour *coiffure*. 俟 *attendre* a également au figuré le sens de : *servir*, car celui qui en sert un autre se tient à ses côtés et *attend* ses ordres. Nous verrons plus loin pourquoi il faut traduire : *kia* par *ses chefs*.

野 en opposition avec 朝 signifie également : *particulier* comme opposé à *officiel*. C'est dans ce sens que l'a rendu M. Sainson, dans sa traduction du titre du 南詔野史 que M. Chavannes cite pourtant plusieurs fois dans son travail.

¹ *Journal asiatique*, précité, p. 18.

² *Diet.*, p. 120.

州主簿。治中。別駕。

Il fut chef du bureau des Archives de la préfecture, chef du personnel, assistant de préfet.

主簿 est un titre applicable à des fonctionnaires différents en dignité mais qui ont des fonctions analogues soit à la cour, soit dans les préfectures ou dans les sous-préfectures. Au surplus, voici ce que dit *Ma Touannlinn* à ce sujet.

主簿一人。錄門下衆事省署文書。漢制也。歷代至隋皆有。

Le Tchoupou enregistrait toutes les affaires du tribunal, il rédigeait les minutes des documents officiels ; son statut datait des Han ; il y en eût dans les générations postérieures, jusque sous les Souei.

治中從事史一人。居治中事。主衆曹文書。

Le Tcheutchong s'occupe des affaires administratives ; il régit en chef les brevets de tous les fonctionnaires.

Ma Touannlinn ajoute que cette fonction date également de la dynastie des Han.

別駕從事史一人。從刺史行部。別乘乘傳車。故謂之駕。

L'agent suivant les affaires (en qualité de) *Piekia*, suivait le préfet quand il parcourait sa circonscription administrative ; il montait dans un autre char, pour s'en retourner, c'est pourquoi on l'appelait *Piekia* (autre char).¹

舉秀寸。本郡太守。

Promu Sieoutsai, il fut gouverneur de cette propre préfecture.

Le titre de *sieoutsai* (talent exquis), qui se donne aujourd'hui aux bacheliers, existait donc en ce temps là.

¹ *Wenn hien tongkao*, liv. lxii, p. 19 v°.

寧撫氓庶。物物得所。

Pacifiquement, il gouverna le peuple, et toutes choses furent en ordre.

Le premier caractère exprime l'idée de douceur habile, de paix, le second signifie : *manier, gouverner d'une main souple comme en caressant* ; quant à la deuxième phrase traduite *tous les êtres furent à leur place naturelle*, l'erreur porte sur le mot 物 chose, qui signifie aussi : *être animé*, mais cela en d'autres cas ; littéralement : *toutes choses obtinrent d'être en place*. D'ailleurs, est-ce qu'un magistrat a le pouvoir de dominer la nature ?

春秋二十三。寢疾喪宮。

En son vingt-troisième printemps et automne, une maladie à la chambre fit mourir le magistrat.

M. Chavannes traduit *Lui fit perdre ses fonctions*.

喪, qui représente graphiquement un chien poussant des hurlements, signifie : *funérailles mort, ici faire mourir*.

Comment se peut-il que le sens même du contexte n'ait pas empêché l'honorable professeur de commettre cette erreur ?

莫不嗟痛。人百其躬。

Nul qui ne gémit sa douleur ; tous multiplièrent leurs inclinations de corps.

C'est surtout la deuxième proposition qui est fautive. *Chaque homme centuple sa personne* n'a guère de sens.

M. Chavannes, pour expliquer cette singulière traduction, cite Molière dans *La princesse d'Elvire*. Notre grand comique n'a évidemment rien à voir ici.

La langue chinoise a un caractère infinitif, on doit donc traduire au pluriel 人 ; on le doit d'autant plus que ce mot est antithétique du singulier de la proposition précédente. 百 cent est mis pour *beaucoup*, et pour *multiplier*, c'est une hyperbole, figure très usitée en chinois, et classique, en ce qui concerne ce caractère.

躬 il symbolise graphiquement le corps humain courbe comme un arc, et signifie, dès lors : *incliné prosterné*.

情 慟 發 中。和 於 銘 誅

Notre émotion ayant été complètement manifestée, nous nous sommes unis pour graver l'ortison funèbre.

Le 3^e et le 4^e caractère constituent un verbe complexe modificateur : 中, symbolisant l'acte qui atteint son but comme la flèche, la cible, c'est pourquoi nous traduisons *ayant été complètement manifestée*.

休 揚 令 終。永 顯 勿 翦

(pour) bien exalter de notre chef la fin, pour que sa perpétuelle gloire ne soit pas interrompue.

令 *chef* est le qualificatif que l'on donne encore aujourd'hui aux préfets.

C'est la gloire du personnage que les rédacteurs de la stèle veulent conserver et proclamer et non pas seulement sa fin. M. Chavannes ne s'est pas aperçu qu'il leur fait dire quelque chose de bien bizarre, à savoir qu'ils veulent *mettre éternellement en lumière la perte des fonctions du défunt, sans que jamais elle soit retranchée de la mémoire des hommes*.

其 辭 曰

Les termes sont ainsi.

山 嶽 吐 精。海 誕 降 光。

Eminence qui a rendu l'esprit, immensité d'où descend la lumière.

Dans le chinois littéraire, comme dans toutes les langues orientales, la métaphore est très usitée. Nous sommes ici en présence d'une de ces figures de rhétorique, épithètes placées devant le sujet par emphase ; l'immensité dont il est ici question, de même que l'Eminence, sont le défunt lui-même dont une âme est dans le ciel ou l'espace éthéré, tandis que l'autre est dans la terre, c'est pour cela

qu'il peut descendre de la première des rayons éclairant les hommes, les descendants et les amis vivants du défunt. M. Chavannes a confondu le sens propre avec le sens métaphorique, et c'est là ce qui lui a fait dire que *la vaste étendue de la mer fait descendre son éclat*; probablement, croit-il, dans les profondeurs océaniques.¹

穆穆君侯震響瑯瑯。

Ô majestueux, majestueux, seigneur marquis, ton éclatante renommée sonne comme les pierres musicales.

La traduction que nous donnons des deux derniers termes force le sens, car ils constituent une onomatopée intraduisible.

穆. que sa répétition nous fait mettre au vocatif, est une expression rituelle qui s'applique à l'âme des défunts dans les temples ancestraux, les tablettes se divisant en: 穆, *les majestueux*, et en: 照, *les glorieux*.

弱冠稱仁詠歌朝鄉

Enfant, adulte, on louait ta bonté, on chantait tes louanges à la cour et dans les campagnes.

Le premier caractère: *faible* exprime, métaphoriquement, l'idée d'enfant: de même que le second: *la coiffure virile*, caractérise l'adulte.

在陰嘉和處淵流芳

Dans l'ombre, tu étais tout à fait conciliant, la profondeur de tes qualités répandait (au loin) son parfum.

A cause des mots 在陰 *dans l'ombre, dans la retraite*, M. Chavannes voit là, la reminiscence d'une phrase du Y-King: "La grue criant dans la solitude tandis que ses petits lui répondent." Il n'y a visiblement ici aucune reminiscence de cette sorte.

¹ M. Chavannes ajoute en note, p. 19: "Ce début ampoulé donne à entendre que l'apparition dans le monde d'un homme tel que Ts'ouan Paotze ne put se produire que grâce à des influences divines émanées de la montagne et de la mer."

處 lieu, qualités. Ce sens de *qualité* est celui de la conversation courante actuelle : 好, 不好處, de bonnes, de mauvaises qualités, se dit tous les jours.

Le texte dit clairement que les qualités du personnage étaient profondes comme un abîme et qu'il en coulait 流 du parfum.

宮宇幾刃。循得其牆

*Tu maison n'avait que quelques toises ; on pouvait (facilement) suivre ses murs.*¹

Les rédacteurs expriment l'idée très simple, suite des précédentes, à savoir que le défunt, modeste, n'habitait qu'une petite demeure ; artifice littéraire usité en toutes les poésies pour faire ressortir les mérites du personnage célébré.

M. Chayannes nous dit qu' "il y a certainement ici une allusion à un passage du Louen yu",² or, ce passage parle de toute autre chose et ne s'applique pas au sujet, il a trait à la hauteur des murs extérieurs qui empêchent de voir l'intérieur des édifices.

Il y a ici à signaler une différence entre la stèle et la copie ; la stèle porte 幾 quelques, quelque peu ; et la copie 數 plusieurs, nombreux.

Il n'est pas possible de traduire : *il en trouva le mur qu'il longea*, sans violer les lois grammaticales, car 得 est le potentiel du verbe 循 suivre.

馨隨風烈。耀與雲揚

La parfum (de tes vertus) suivait la course rapide du vent, (et) ta gloire montait jusqu'aux nuages (avec les nuages s'élevait).

烈 éclatement rapide, d'où, rapidité. A noter qu'on ne peut dire, en français, qu'une odeur est impétueuse.

¹ 刃 est ici mis pour 仞 mesure de huit pieds.

² p. 20, n. 3.

鴻漸羽儀。龍騰鳳翔

Cygne, peu à peu, avec ses plumes, prenant une apparence cérémonielle ; dragon s'élevant, phénix s'envolant.

Nous remontrons encore ici un vers du même genre que la premier de cette oraison funèbre, une série d'épithètes métaphoriques placé devant le sujet qui ici est sous-entendu : *tu*.

橋翻凌霄將賓乎王

Tu t'envolas vers l'empyrée pour être reçu par le prince.

Ici, M. Chavannes a, comme dans presque toutes les parties de sa traduction, confondu le sens propre avec le sens métaphorique : c'est ainsi qu'il rend cela par : *Déployant son essor jusqu'au delà des vapeurs aériennes.*

鳴鸞紫闥濯纓滄浪

Tu sonnas à la porte du palais violet, et tu trempas tes houppettes dans le vaste flot.

Les auteurs veulent dire, en ce langage imagé, que le personnage se présenta au palais du souverain, et qu'il se prosterna devant le fossé qui l'entoure et le défend, aujourd'hui à Pékin, la résidence impériale s'appelle la "ville violette".

Dans une première note, M. Chavannes explique ainsi sa traduction : "Le sens est donc que, lorsque le défunt fut arrivé à la situation élevée que caractérisent les sonnettes fixées aux mors des chevaux et la porte violette du palais, il resta cependant intègre !"

Dans une deuxième note, comportant une citation tirée de Mengtzeu, IV, a. 8, et qui ne se rapporte pas au sujet, M. Chavannes ajoute—" Ici, la chanson de l'enfant me paraît être rappelée pour donner à entendre que le défunt savait rester pur et intègre. Comme on le voit, l'auteur de l'inscription prend de grandes libertés avec les allusions

littéraires et il détourne souvent les citations qu'il fait du sens qu'elles avaient dans l'original."

Nous voyons ici l'honorable professeur imputer aux Chinois, tout en les morigénant de leur ignorance, les erreurs qu'il commet lui-même. Malheureusement, ce procédé lui est habituel.

庶民子來縶維同嚮

Les gens du peuple jumentement rendient (à toi); dans leur attachement, ensemble ils se tournaient (vers toi).

Les cinquième et sixième caractères de ce vers signifient : *attachés*, au propre et au figuré. C'est ce que M. Chavannes rend par : *Comme s'ils eussent eu des entraves, comme s'ils eussent eu un licou*; deux propositions entières pour un seul mot!

周遵絆馬烏能赦放

A la ronde, ils suivraient ton cheval entravé, comment auraient-ils pu te quitter!

Cette expression *cheval entravé* désigne, par extension de sens, les chevaux que l'on dresse à marcher l'amble afin qu'ils soient plus doux d'allure pour le cavalier. De là l'expression 絆馬索 *courroie attachant les pieds d'un cheval que l'on dresse à l'amble*.¹

位才之緒遂居本邦

Tu occupas une succession de postes, puis tu résidas dans ton propre pays.

Litt. *Tu siègeas une succession de talents*, expression métaphorique que M. Chavannes rend par : *Jouer par hérédité d'une haute situation et de grandes capacités*.

志鄴方熙道隆黃裳

Tu voulus la gloire de la contrée de Yé, tu conduite t'éleva jusqu'à l'habit jaune.

Le deuxième caractère sert à désigner une ville antique du Honan, dont il ne peut-être question ici, peut-être faut

¹ Debesse, *Petit dict. ch. fr.*, p. 275, Changhai, 1901.

il prendre ce mot pour sa phonétique seulement, et dans ce cas on devrait traduire *de ta contrée particulière*, ce qui serait bien en harmonie avec le vers précédent.

Quant à *l'habit jaune*, ne serait-ce pas quelque chose d'analogue à la distinction accordée aujourd'hui pour les services signalés ?

當保南岳。不驚不崩

Il aurait fallu que tu fusses comme les monts sacrés du sud qui sont protégés; ils ne se ruinent, ni ne s'effondrent.

享年不永一匱始倡

Tu ne jouis que de peu d'années, en un coffre, au commencement, on te mena.

M. Chavannes a traduit la deuxième partie de ce vers : *Il mourut au moment où il commençait à verser son dernier panier de terre.*

Comme il n'y a manifestement rien dans le texte qui puisse justifier cette traduction singulière, l'honorable professeur s'efforce d'expliquer son interprétation par une référence—*La métaphore du dernier panier de terre qui manque au monticule est tirée du chapitre Lu ngao du Chou-king.*¹

En fait, il n'y a ni métaphore, ni panier, ni allusion au *Chou-king*; il n'y a qu'une confusion du traducteur entre le caractère 匱 *coffre, cercueil*, et 簍 *panier* et une méconnaissance complète du sens des mots de ce vers, compliquée d'une violation des règles de la syntaxe.

如何不弔灑我真哀

Comment ne nous lamenterions-nous pas! Tu nous pénétrais de tes bontés.

M. Chavannes traduit la dernière partie de ce vers : *de ce qu'a été anéanti notre concitoyen, homme bon et excellent.*

灑 signifie : *imbiber, pénétrer comme l'eau fécondante.*

Le traducteur a dû confondre ce caractère avec 殲, qui signifie : *anéantir* ; mais ce terme eut-il été employé, qu'il ne faudrait pas encore traduire comme l'a fait M. Chavannes, car il n'est nullement question de concitoyen.

回 抱 聖 姿 影 命 不 長

Tu es retourné à ta sainte apparence, ta visible vie ne fut pas longue.

回 signifie incontestablement : *retourner, revenir* ; le deuxième caractère : 抱 *fou* nous paraît pris, comme il arrive souvent, pour sa valeur phonétique, seulement, et conséquemment, pour 復 *fou*, qui signifie également *retourner*, formant ainsi un verbe composé. Le caractère 抱, signifiant idéographiquement : *baguette de tambour*, n'a pas d'emploi ici. Ce sont ces deux caractères que M. Chavannes a rendu—nous ne savons pourquoi—par : *Bien qu'ayant constamment en lui*, rien dans le texte n'ayant aucun rapport avec cette signification.

姿 désigne *le maintien, l'apparence extérieure, la forme* d'une personne.

Le sens est évidemment que le défunt est *retourné, revenu*, à sa forme spirituelle invisible, sous laquelle on lui offrira les sacrifices. Cela résulte également de la deuxième partie du vers.

影 *ombre, reflet, visible* comme l'ombre d'un corps qui n'est rien par elle-même. Litt. *Tu vie d'ombre*, qui exprime, et la fragilité de l'existence, et le caractère fugitif de la vie humaine, laquelle est bien plutôt une apparence qu'une réalité.

自 非 金 石 榮 枯 有 常

Bien que tu ne sois ni métal ni pierre, ta vie possède la durée.

榮 枯 expression composée qui, selon le procédé mental chinois, exprime, par le rapprochement des deux contraires, l'idée abstraite ; le premier caractère exprime l'épanouissement, la poussée de la vie ; le second, son déclin, sa mort,

les deux s'appliquent, au sens propre, à la végétation, et c'est pour cela que M. Chavannes a traduit *l'épanouissement et le dessèchement*; la réunion des deux éléments opposés exprime l'idée de la vie.

幽潛玄穹携手顏張。

(Dans) les mystérieux enfers, sous la voûte azurée, tu tiens à la main la feuille de Yen.

On pourrait à la rigueur admettre l'interprétation de l'avant-dernier caractère que donne M. Chavannes; il y voit le disciple de Confucius 顏回, mais l'interprétation du dernier caractère me paraît bien hasardée.

顏 *yen* me paraît être mis pour 閻王 *yen wang*, le Pluton chinois devant lequel comparaissent les morts avec, à la main, la feuille où sont inscrits leurs pêchés; ces permutations de signes idéographiques sous la même phonétique sont fréquentes.

至人無想江湖相忘。

Il arrive que les gens sont sans penser (à toi); le pays entier oublie (toi).

La traduction de l'honorable professeur mérite ici d'être examinée avec attention parce qu'elle nous permet de comprendre les procédés qui le font aboutir à des interprétations si singulières. C'est bien au moins l'épithète de singulière que mérite la traduction de ces huit caractères qui résulte à leur faire dire *L'homme parfait n'a pas de caractéristiques individuelles, il est comme les poissons qui dans le grand fleuve et dans le lac n'ont aucun souci les uns des autres!*

至 arriver à, arriver que, quant à, a aussi, en certains cas et devant un adjectif, le sens superlatif, et c'est là ce qui a induit le traducteur en erreur.

人 *homme* est ici au pluriel, en raison même du contexte et de la nature infinitive de la langue qui veut que toutes les fois que le singulier n'est pas expressément exprimé on

en infère le pluriel. L'honorable professeur ne se préoccupe jamais de cette règle, pourtant essentielle; ainsi qu'on le voit dans toutes ses traductions.

Quant à 無想 par lequel les bouddhistes peuvent exprimer l'absence de caractéristiques individuelles, ils signifient ici littéralement : *n'avoir pas de pensée pour quelqu'un*, et il n'est pas besoin d'aller chercher un autre sens.

Quant à l'erreur sur la seconde partie du vers, elle provient principalement de la confusion entre le sens métaphorique et le sens propre des deux caractères 江湖, confusion ordinaire à M. Chavannes.

江 *fleuve*, 湖 *lac* est, en effet, une métaphore courante qui exprime l'idée de pays : dans tous les styles et jusque dans le parler vulgaire. Ainsi on dit 江湖客 ou 老江湖 pour désigner quelqu'un qui a vu beaucoup de pays.¹

En langue parlée, une façon de désigner un vagabond, est même de dire 闖江湖的 *Tch'oungkianghouti*. Celui qui décomposerait ce mot en *celui qui se précipite dans le fleuve et le lac*, ferait une traduction comme celle que nous critiquons, mais il serait excusable.

Quel a été le procédé par lequel M. Chavannes a fait intervenir ici les poissons insoucieux dont il nous parle et auxquels les rédacteurs de cette stèle n'avaient guère pensé ?

C'est au moyen de la citation d'un texte, lui-même incorrectement traduit, citation inspirée sans doute par l'idée de ce lac et de ce fleuve qui doivent contenir, comme il est naturel, des poissons.

Ce texte est le suivant :

泉涸魚相與處於陸。相啗以濕。相濡以沫。
不如相忘於江湖。

Voici la traduction qui en est donnée : "Quand les sources se dessèchent les poissons restent ensemble sur la terre ferme; plutôt que de se cracher de l'humidité l'un sur l'autre et plutôt que de se mouiller l'un l'autre

¹ Cf. le *Dict.* de Couvreur, p. 347.

de leur vase, ne serait-il pas préférable qu'ils n'eussent aucun souci les uns les autres dans le grand fleuve ou le lac ?”

Or, voici ce que je lis : “Les sources étant desséchées les poissons ont été ensemble placés sur la terre ferme, ils se crachent mutuellement de l'humidité, ils s'humectent de leur salive 沫, ne vaudrait-il pas mieux qu'ils eussent été oubliés ensemble dans les fleuves et les lacs ?” Le texte chinois exprime très bien le respect de la vie sous toutes les formes qui animait *Tchouangtzeu*, l'auteur. L'erreur provient ici de ce que le traducteur n'a pas distingué les deux usages du caractère 相 employé quatre fois, deux fois dans chaque sens.

C'est ainsi sur une citation mal traduite que la traduction est basée, et nous voyons que, comme presque toujours, cette citation n'a aucun autre rapport avec le texte, que quelques mots semblables qui s'y trouvent, sont employés dans un autre sens. Ce sont justement ces références continuelles qui donnent aux œuvres de M. Chavannes une apparence de si grande érudition, elles sont pour lui une occasion d'erreur de plus.

於穆不已肅雍顯相

Quant à ta majesté, elle ne cesse pas ; avec vénération nous réunissons pour en te glorifiant être ensemble.

On peut également traduire *avec diligence nous nous unissons pour faire apparaître ton image* ; cette phrase est amphibologique. 穆 désigne les tablettes des défunts qui sont au côté gauche de la tablette centrale de l'ancêtre fondateur de la famille, dans son temple.

M. Chavannes a rendu ce vers par *Mais dans la solennité infinie du temple funéraire respectueux et harmonieux sont les aides distingués* ! Et ceci est accompagné d'une citation faite et traduite, comme la précédente déjà critiquée.

永惟平素感慟懷懷

Perpétuellement, uniquement, toute notre vie, nous serons émus, nous gémirons.

Dans ce vers le copiste qui a fait la transcription s'est trompé deux fois matériellement. Le deuxième caractère est écrit sur l'estampage 惟 : *uniquement, seulement*, et sur la copie 維 *lien, attaché*.

Le cinquième caractère est écrit 感 *émouvoir* sur l'estampage et 同 *ensemble* sur la copie.

Le sixième caractère de l'estampage 慟 *émouvoir, exciter* qui se construit avec le précédent 感, a été oublié.

Comme les phonétiques des caractères substitués, sauf un, sont les mêmes que celles des caractères réels, cela semble dénoter que cette copie a été faite par quelqu'indigène négligent que M. Chavannes a eu le tort de ne pas bien contrôler.

林宗沒矣。令各遐彰

Nos familles n'auront pas de fin, ton noble nom longtemps resplendira.

Le copiste s'est encore trompé ici ; au caractère 彰 *tchang, resplendir, manifester*, il a substitué le caractère 張 *tchang, ouvrir, s'étendre*. Cela n'a d'ailleurs pas empêché M. Chavannes de traduire comme s'il n'y avait pas eu cette substitution ; il a traduit : *manifester*.

Sa traduction est d'ailleurs curieuse : *Quand Lin-tsong fut mort, sa belle renommée resta manifeste au loin ; le tout accompagné de l'inévitable référence.*

Le traducteur a fait intervenir ici ce personnage qui apparaît soudain dans le texte sans aucune raison parce qu'il s'est trouvé en présence de l'expression littéraire 林, qui est à l'occasion un signe élégant du pluriel ; il signifie, en effet, *bosquet, grand nombre, collection*. 宗 désigne, au propre, les ancêtres et, au figuré, les familles. Cela se trouve dans tous les dictionnaires. 沒 *non avoir* est ici la négation de 矣, qui lui est verbe et signifie : *finir*. Ce dernier

caractère s'emploie ordinairement comme signe de ponctuation marquant la fin d'un jugement; mais, dans un genre de poésie comme celui de cette oraison funèbre, on ne fait guère usage de 虛字 ou mots vides.

爰銘斯誄庶存甘棠

Aussi, nous gravons cette oraison funèbre, pour que tout le peuple conserve ton doux souvenir.

Litt. La douce saveur de sorbier, le fruit de celui-ci conservant la saveur persistante de la prune, sert ainsi d'image.

嗚呼哀哉

Hélas ! gémissons !

大享四年歲乙巳四月上旬立

Érigé en la première décade du quatrième mois de l'année yi-seu, la quatrième (du règne) Tcheng.

Viennent ensuite les signatures des fonctionnaires qui ont érigé cette stèle, précédées de leurs qualités respectives. M. Chavannes ne les a pas traduites. Les voici dans leur ordre.

主簿湯磐

Le chef des bureaux T'ungpan.

Le copiste a écrit le dernier caractère : 署. Nous lisons autrement : la partie inférieure ainsi que celles de droite sont bien certainement celle que nous indiquons; il peut y avoir doute pour 舟. Comme il s'agit d'un nom propre ceci est de peu d'importance.

錄事孟慎

Le greffier : Mongtchenn.

C'est la traduction littérale, mais je n'ai pas pu identifier sa fonction sous les Tsin en cherchant dans Ma Touannlinn.

西曹陳勃

Le chef adjoint du personnel, Tchennpouo.

Ce fonctionnaire porta diverses qualifications ; après les Tsin, son titre fut changé.¹

都督文禮

都督董徹

Wennli et Tontchee, chefs des forces militaires.²

省事陳奴

省事揚賢

Tchennou et Yangkien, économes, trésoriers.³

書佐李仿

書佐劉見

Lifang et Lieoukien, adjoints.⁴

幹吏任升

幹吏毛禮

Jenncheng et Maoli, agents.

小吏揚利

Yangli, agent inférieur.

威儀王○

Wang, maître de cérémonies.

¹ Ma Touannlinn, liv. lxii, p. 12 r°.

² Id., liv. lxi, p. 6 v°.

³ N'ayant pas pu les identifier je traduis littéralement.

⁴ Cette qualité d'adjoints est afférente à divers grades ou fonctions. Cf. Ma Touannlinn, liv. lxii, p. 20 r°.

XXIV

THE ASTADASA-BHEDAS, OR THE EIGHTEEN POINTS OF DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TENGALAI (SOUTHERNERS) AND THE VADAGALAI (NORTHERNERS) OF THE VISISTADVAITA VAISNAVA SCHOOL, SOUTH INDIA

By A. GOVINDACARYA, M.R.A.S.

[On p. 566 *ante* reference was made to the two *kalās* or schools of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vaiṣnavas—the Teṅgalai and the Vaḍagali. The points of difference in their doctrines are of considerable importance for the study of religion in India, and I have much pleasure in forwarding to the Royal Asiatic Society the enclosed communication from Swāmī Gōvindācārya, himself a follower of the Teṅgali belief. It may be noted that while each school has numerous adherents in Southern India, the great majority of Vaiṣnavas of Northern India trace their spiritual descent from Rāmānanda, and profess doctrines akin to those of the Vaḍagali.—G. A. G.]

S. = South School.

N. = North School.

1. *Grace of God* (Prasāda).

N. Say that Grace is to be earned or bought; i.e. “co-operative”.

S. Say that Grace comes freely. God’s grace is sovereignly free and, therefore, has no price; i.e. “irresistible”.

2. *Grades of Bliss* in Mōkṣa.

N. Say that there are no grades.

S. Say that some variation exists, but it is neither quantitative nor qualitative. The variation or difference arises in virtue of different duties assigned to different Muktas (i.e. freed, liberated, or salvated souls).

3. *Works* (Karma) and *Gnosis* (Jñāna).

N. Say that these do not constitute direct means to attain God; but are ancillary to Bhakti. Bhakti,

therefore, constitutes the direct means to Mōkṣa (= God-attainment).

- S. Say that any of these so-called distinct means may lead to Mōkṣa ; for in each case the mental attitude of the person is the chief determinant. It is the conversion of the heart that is chiefly aimed at.

4. *Nature of Śrī (or Lakṣmī).*

- N. Say that Śrī has *essential* pervasion (Svarūpa-Vyāpti) also, as Nārāyaṇa ; i.e. pervasion by essence.
- S. Say that Śrī has *attributive* pervasion (Guṇa-Vyāpti) and *corporeal* pervasion (Vigraha-Vyāpti), but not the *essential* pervasion (Svarūpa-Vyāpti). The Motherhood differs from Fatherhood and differs again from Sonhood. Son is the Soul, who has *attributive* pervasion only. Mother is Śrī (or the *passive female* principle of the kosmos), who has *attributive* plus *corporeal* pervasions. Father is Nārāyaṇa (or the *active male* principle of the kosmos), who has *essential* plus *attributive* plus *corporeal* pervasions. This pervasive character is what differentiates the three Principles from each other, viz. Soul, Śrī, and Nārāyaṇa.

5. *Śrī's Powers.*

- N. Say that Śrī has the power to grant Mōkṣa—a power which she shares equally with Nārāyaṇa.
- S. Say that Nārāyaṇa alone possesses this power ; and that Śrī performs the function of the Paraclete, i.e. Mediatrix in this *magnum opus*.

6. *Definition of Vātsalya or God's Love (or parental affection) to His creatures.*

- N. Say that by the expression "God's love for soul" it is meant that the love is blind to its (soul's) taints or faults.¹

¹ i.e. *Dōṣā'-darsitram*.

- S. Say that by it is meant that the love is not merely blind, but is so overpowering as to evince a relish for the so-called taint.¹

7. *Definition of Dayā or Compassion.*

- N. Say that compassion is that feeling (or emotion) in the heart which begets the *wish* to relieve the pain of the pained.²
- S. Say that it is that feeling in the heart which, on seeing pain, is itself as painful as the pain of the pained. It is the feeling which cannot simply bear to see the pain of others, but is itself painful or pain-feeling.³

8. *Prapatti, or Resignation to God.*

- N. Say that Prapatti or Resignation is also a soul-initiated act, like Love to God (Bhakti), leading to Mōksa. Resignation thus is one among the several ways leading to God.
- S. Say that Resignation is not one among the ways, but *the Way* or *the Means*, the adoption of which specifically characterizes those high souls who have sought that way, to the exclusion of others. This attitude of entire capitulation or surrender to God *differentiates* such souls from others, so that they are not to be classed with others, i.e. others whose hearts are still attached to the other ways, and have, therefore, not arrived at the ripe condition of implicit attachment to the way of Resignation. This Way is God Himself, whereas the other Ways are Ways of God. Prapatti is called a "Way" for convenience (*upacāratā*).

i.e. *Dōṣa-bhōgyatvam*.

² i.e. *Para-duḥkha-nirācīkṛṣā*.

³ i.e. *Para-duḥkha-duḥkhītra*. [Cf. Parsifal, "durch Mitleid wissend."
—(G. A. G.)]

9. *Who should resort to Prapatti?*

N. Say that only those who are incapable of walking in the other paths resort to this path of Prapatti or Resignation. It is sheer helplessness that drives the soul to seek shelter in Resignation.

S. Say that the way of Resignation is for all, be they capable or incapable. Resignation is the *sine qua non* of every penitent soul. Without this chief feature other qualifications are futile. With it other qualifications, because they qualify, derogate from the greatness of Resignation. Resignation *per se* is all-powerful. Qualifying it is to weaken it and detract from its dignity.

10. *Conditions of this Resignation.* (*Vide* Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii, 66.)

N. Say that the conditions may be stated thus: "If you, souls, are *incapable* of following the other ways ordained in the Śāstras, give them up and come to Me."

S. Say otherwise—"If you, souls, are capable of walking in the other ways, then try your might. If your capability alone will elevate you to Me, well, try; but if you are at once keenly alive to your weakness, i.e. imbecility and ignorance to compass that end by your own strength, then why not lean at once on what is Strong and Wise, i.e. God, Myself?" The former attitude is that of *self-assertiveness*; the latter, *self-abandonment*. The former attitude is measuring *one's own* strength; the latter, giving it up for *God's* strength. The former attitude is one of *self-emphasis*; the latter, *self-renouncement*. The former attitude is *self-glorification* or *self-aggrandisement*; the latter, *self-abasement* or *self-abnegation*. The former attitude is one of *self-perpetuation*; the latter, *self-effacement*. The former

attitude is one of *self-condensing*: the latter, *self-rarefying*. *Self-indulgence* the one, *self-sacrifice* the other. In fine, *self-projection* by *self-will* is the one, whereas *self-rejection* for God's Wisdom (omniscience) is the other: *self-strength* in the one case, God's omnipotence in the other.¹

11. *Do qualifications of the other ways qualify Prapatti ?*

N. Say, Yes.

S. Say, No: on the other hand, they disqualify. For the only qualification that is required is for the soul to absolutely cognize its intimate relationship with God.² That relationship is the one which comes of Serviency (*śēṣatva*) on the part of the soul, and Sovereignty or Paramouncy (*śēṣitra*) on the part of God. "I am *Thine*, not *Mine*" is the cry of the Prapanna. The distinct vision by the soul of its own helplessness, in its relation to the only helpfulness of God, is the only help: the only passport to success; the only way leading to the open portals of Heaven; and, therefore, liable to be vilified by other qualifications which the soul may put forward as its own self-earned quantum or modicum for salvation.

12. *Meaning of Works to the Resigned (Prapanna).*

N. Say that the acts done by the Resigned soul conduce to evoke God's pleasure; and should, therefore, be performed to seek that end.

S. Say it is presumptuous to think that the souls' acts ought necessarily to please God. They may or may not. It is not for the soul to judge or predetermine

¹ The object of this constant effort to negate oneself is to break the shell of the soul's hardened material past, and destroy the consequent mainspring of egoism (*ahamākāra*).

² "Īśē-śitavya-sambandhāt an-idaṁ-prathamād api |
Raksisyaty anukūlan na(h) iti yā sudṛḍhā matiḥ "

(*Lakṣmī-tantra*, xvii, 70.)

the effects from causes set afoot by itself. Performance of Works by the Resigned has not this sense, but the sense that by their means an example may be set to those whose way to salvation is yet begun—steep and uphill—that they may so be led up. Philanthropy is the motive of Works, not currying the favour of the Godhead. To imagine thus a purchase or barter with God savours of audacity indeed in the Soul.

13. *What are the limbs (aṅga) of Prapatti (i.e. necessary preliminaries to it)?*

N. Say that the sixfold preparations necessarily precede Prapatti, viz. those mentioned in the verse—

- (1) “Ānukūlyasya saṅkalpaḥ, (2) prātikūlyasya varjanam |
 (3) Raksiṣyati 'ti viśvāsō, (4) gōṭṛtva-varaṇam tathā |
 (5) Ātma-nikṣēpa, (6) -kārpaṇyē, ṣaḍvidhā śaraṇâ-'gatiḥ ||”¹

S. Say that solid, steadfast, stable Prapatti stands in no need of any prelude. It is *per se* the main act which spontaneously engenders, on the other hand, the so-called preliminary signs. E.g. the pounding of paddy is the act; perspiration and other signs follow it as a matter of course. *Ānukūlya*, etc., are thus not postulates but corollaries. The offspring is mistaken for the parent. It is a posterior *effect*, not an anterior *cause*.

14. *Penalty for a Prapanna-peccant.*

N. Say that if a Prapanna, subsequent to the act of Prapatti, stumbles, or slips into error, or relapses into his old ways, the atonement consists in

¹ *Lakṣmī-tantra*, xvii, 56, 57, et seq.

- (1) Harmony with God and all His creation.
 (2) Riddance of the reverse of (1).
 (3) Implicit faith in God's providence.
 (4) Supplicatory temper.
 (5) Self not for self, but oblating to God.
 (6) Humility (or destitution of means).

repeating that act again, and as often again as one may so slip.

- S. Say, Not so. Prapatti is the act once for all of freely surrendering oneself into God's hands. When that act is done, it is done once for all. This first act contains all the potentiality for salvation; and therefore can never be cancelled by a moral fall again or subsequent act of folly. If it be said that there is and must be a reparation for every defilement, we say that that reparation or atonement consists in bringing vividly to one's mind the saving virtue of his first efficacious act of surrender, Prapatti. This vivid recollection contrite is repentance enough, and thus the first act of Prapatti remains intact and unabrogated, the mental remorseful recollection adequately satisfying all expiatory demand. The first stout act of surrender remains pure and unrepealed, and never on any account rendered nugatory by any subsequent peccancy. The defiled soul is cleansed by a pathetic appeal to its former pledge of *faith* and *trust* in God, i.e. Prapatti. "*Atone for faults, then go to God,*" N. say. "*Go to God and faults get atoned,*" S. say.¹

15. *Does Prapatti win or buy grace?*

- N. Say, Yes. As in the Path of Works (read Karma-Mīmāṃsā) works leave insensible residua, technically called Apūrvā, so in the path of knowledge (read Brahma-Mīmāṃsā) Prapatti answers to Apūrvā; and as Apūrvā produces material fruit, Prapatti produces Mōkṣa fruit or spiritual fruit.²
- S. Say that to interpret Prapatti as a means or effort

¹ Says Vēdāntācārya himself, who is identified with the North School—

"Ajñānād athavā jñānād aparādhēsu sat-sv api |

Prāyaścittaiḥ ksamasv' 'ti prārthanāi 'kāt 'va kēvalam ||"

(*Pañca-rātra-Rākṣā.*)

² This is humorously called *markaṭa-kisōra-nyāya*.

put forth by the soul to compel God's grace is tantamount to not knowing the very nature of Prapatti. Prapatti as understood by you, viz. as compelling grace, is not Prapatti at all: for, so interpreted, it is not explained as unconditional surrender or as undoubting resignation. Nay, it thus constitutes a barter, or a huckstering with God. Prapatti is that which completely resigns, and leaves Him the Master of the situation. Prapatti as understood by you may be called Svagata-Svikāra or acceptance by God initiated by your asking; as understood by us, it is Paragata-Svikāra, or acceptance by God of His own free will and choice, unasked, uncompelled.¹ Apūrva is no other to us than this Grace.²

16. *Caste and Prapanna, how related?*

- N. Say that a Prapanna, but who is of an inferior caste, is deserving of only so much respect as may be displayed by the tongue.
- S. Say that no such limitations can be tolerated. A Prapanna must be regarded completely as a Prapanna, irrespective of caste, creed, or colour. No inequality begat by caste or other such formalities and conventions ought to separate the godly from the godly.

17. *The Nature of God's Pervasion.*

- N. Say that inasmuch as the soul is subtile (*subtle*), it cannot be permeated by God, as then (i.e. when it is permeable) it can no more be subtile (*subtle*), but pertains to the category of the "gross" (i.e. pervaded, *vyāpya*). So God's permeating power is limited by the subtile soul.

¹ This is humorously called *mānjāla-kīśora-nyāya*.

² "Tena 'pūrvam hi bhavati sa eva Paramēśvaraḥ" (*Bṛhad-Brahma-Saṁhitā*, i, 7. 16).

S. Say, Not so. God's permeating power passes our power of conception. He is most subtile, aye, more subtile than the most subtile. So He can interpenetrate even the soul. His power of pervasion, *pari-samāpya-ṛtti* as it is designated, is like that of genera and species co-inhering in every group and individual constituting such genera and species: like that of class pervading every integer of that class: like number permeating the figures 1, 2, 3, and alphabet pervading A, B, C, and so forth.

18. Kaivalya(*Isolation*)-Mōkṣa (*or Soul-sight or Soul-actualization; or the State of Atomic-aloneness*).

N. Say that this state is temporary.

S. Say it is perennial. The soul wished for it, strove for it, and got it. What it got is eternal, by its own making. Where, then, is extrication from this state? Being a *spiritual* state, return to material planes is cut off. Being a *soul*-state, rising to Divine-planes or God-state is shut off.

ADDITIONAL POINTS

1. *Gain, Soul or God?*

N. Say that God is gain to the Soul.

S. Say that the Soul is gain to God.

2. *Definition of Vyāpti or Presence.*

N. Say that Vyāpti is extension conterminous with the ten quarters of space: in other words Vyāpti is a spatial relation.

S. Say that it is not merely this, but by the inscrutable power of Providence the Presence is not only external but internal, and in ways and modes unthinkable by man.

3. Aṣṭākṣarī-Mantra (*or Eight-Syllabled Holy Prayer*).

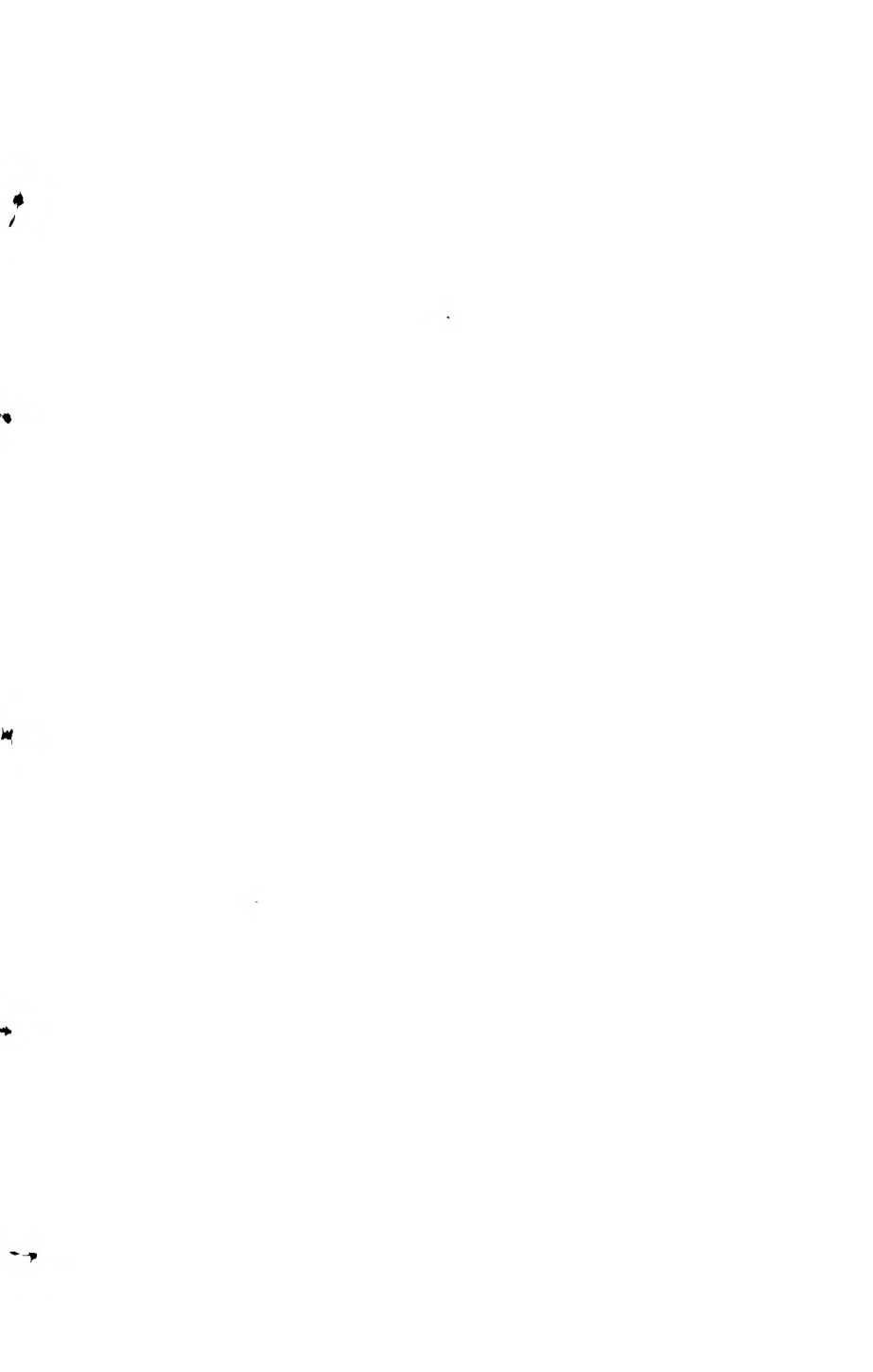
- N. Say that when this is taught to others than Brāhmaṇas, the Praṇava must be omitted ; and that without the Praṇava, the remainder of the *mantra* is capable of being split into eight syllables, justifying its name.
- S. Say, to say so is artificial and torturing of the text, for without all its parts retained intact, no *mantra* can possess any efficacy. So, then, to be efficacious, this *mantra* is intended to be taught in its pristine purity and entirely to *all*, irrespective of caste, creed, and colour.

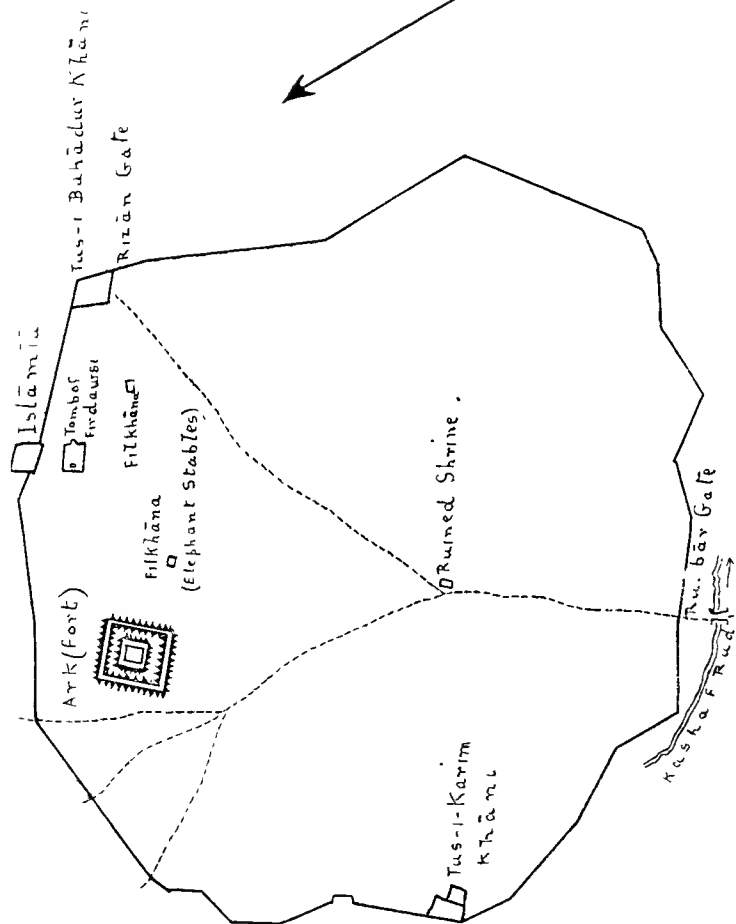
4. *The power of Free (Nitya) and Freed (Mukta) Souls.*

- N. Say that the *Free* and the *Freed* Souls have no power to create, or, for example, make a kosmos.
- S. Say that there are no such restrictions. Any Nitya or any Mukta is capable of doing anything by virtue of God's commands.

5. *Location of Kaivalya.*

- N. Say that Kaivalya is situate in a corner of the *Material* Universe.
- S. Say that Kaivalya, *per se*, by hypothesis, i.e. by endeavour, is a trans-material (metaphysical, so to say) state. Hence it must be located in some corner of the *Spiritual* Universe.
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Scale 4 inches to 1 mile

yards 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

PLAN OF TUS.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON KHURASAN

BY MAJOR P. M. SYKES, C.M.G., His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General, and Agent of the Government of India in Khurāsān

EIGHT years ago I had the honour of reading a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society termed "Historical Notes on South-East Persia". In 1905 I was appointed to Khurāsān, and the following notes are the result of various tours. My thanks are due to *Khun Bahadur Ahmad Din*, Attaché to His Britannic Majesty's Consulate-General, for checking the various inscriptions, and, more especially, for enabling me to give the first clear and accurate account of the famous Meshed Shrine.

Before dealing with the various centres of interest, I would venture to point out that I am referring to Khurāsān in its modern and restricted sense and not to the old province, which consisted of all the countries that owned Moslem rule from the Lut to the frontiers of India. Later, at the period when most of the inscriptions collected by me were written, Khurāsān, although reduced in extent, included Central Asia up to the Oxus, whereas to-day two of its more famous cities, Merv and Herat, are no longer within its borders, and the "Eastern Land" is now bounded by the Hari Rud, known in its lower reaches as the Tajand. Even so, however, Khurāsān is a province of vast extent, and contains historical remains of great interest.

TUS

The origin of Tus is undoubtedly prehistorical, and, according to Professor Browne,¹ it is the Urva of the

¹ *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 35. I would take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Browne's great work.

Vendidad, the eighth of the sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazda. This great antiquity is corroborated by Persian legend as given in the *Shāh Nāma*, where we read that the founder of the city of Tus was the general bearing that name, who served under Kay Khusraw, a semi-legendary sovereign of the Kayāni dynasty. We are on firmer ground when we come to the famous journey of Alexander the Great. During the course of it he travelled to Parthia and "thence to the confines of Areia and to Susia, a city in that Province".¹ I have dealt with this question elsewhere,² and here it suffices to state that, in my opinion, it is most probable that the Susia of Arrian is Tus. It is, of course, unwise to trust too much to legend, but the valley of the Kashaf Rud is, by nature, one of the best watered and consequently one of the most fertile districts of Khurāsān: it is therefore certain that, from early days, it was a centre of importance, as, in addition to its fertility, it possesses considerable nodality. But, when we come to the question of whether the actual ruins termed Tus to-day are those of the most ancient city in the valley, it is difficult to reply in the affirmative. And, again, there is the question whether Tus was the name of a district or only of a city, and, so far as I can learn, it has been used for both at various periods of history. I have discussed the question as to ancient sites with many people in Khurāsān, and the result of my inquiries tends to prove that a ruin now termed Shahr-i-Band, or the "City of the Dam", but originally known as Kahkha, situated 10 miles north-west of Meshed and about 4 miles to the south-east of Tus, is generally considered to be the most ancient site in the valley. It lies on the right bank of the Kashaf Rud and about a mile from it, and as there are the remains of an ancient dam on this river, about 2 miles above Tus, it is

¹ Chinnock's *Anabasis of Alexander*, bk. iii, chap. xxv.

² Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

probable that this prehistorical city was supplied with irrigation water through its agency. To-day the walls of Chah-shahr-i-Band have relapsed into their original mud, and resemble banks more than anything else: but the extent enclosed is considerable, and undoubtedly there was an important town on this site and one of which the walls were built many centuries anterior to those of Tus. Close to it is the marsh known as Ulang-i-Kahkha.

Running past the present village of Kahkha, which thus preserves the ancient name.

Here, then, the question must rest, and we come to Tus in Muhammadan times. In the fourth (tenth) century, according to Le Strange, "Tus was the second city of the Naysabur (Nishapur) quarter of Khurasan, and consisted of the twin towns of At-Tābarān and Nukān. In the 3rd (9th) century, according to Yakubi, Nukān was the greater of the two halves of Tus: but, in the following century, Tābarān had outgrown it, and was the larger city, down to the time of Yakut, when Tus was ruined by the Mongol hordes."¹ The first question is the identification of Tābarān and Nukān. The former is, in my opinion, undoubtedly what is now known as Tus. In proof of this I would refer to an extract from the *Chuhār Maqāla*, translated by Professor Browne and described by him as "the most ancient and important of our extraneous sources of information".² In the extract under reference, Nizāmi of Samarkand states that Mahmud of Ghazni sent his long-deferred gift to Firdawsi, whose story is given below, to Tābarān, but that the poet died before it reached him. Now it has never been disputed that Firdawsi was buried at what is now known as Tus, and consequently Tus of to-day would appear to have been Tābarān.

¹ *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, by Guy le Strange, pp. 388 *et seqq.* There is no single work to which I owe more than to this.

² Browne, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 132 *et seqq.*

The site of Nukān—or Noghān, as it is generally termed to-day—is an extensive area to the east of Meshed, stretching from near the walls of the modern city to the villages of Husaynābād and Mihrābād. I have examined its cemetery, which was enormous and is littered with stone sarcophagi, some of which are exquisitely chiselled with inscriptions in Kufic and *Sals* characters. Several inscriptions were deciphered with dates ranging from A.H. 760 (1359) to A.H. 1099 (1688). Owing to the manner in which Persian cemeteries are neglected, tombstones of an earlier date would hardly be extant or decipherable. Two fine stone baths were unearthed some ten years ago and removed to Meshed. Altogether the ruins give the impression that Nukān was, at its zenith, no mean city. The gate nearest to it, and also the quarter of Meshed adjacent to that gate, are known as Noghān. There is, I believe, no doubt on this point and, this being so, the argument in favour of Tus of to-day being Tābarān is materially strengthened. I have dwelt somewhat fully on this point, as it does not appear to have been clearly brought out by previous writers,¹ many of whom implied, if they did not actually state, that the twin cities touched one another, whereas they were some 16 miles apart and on opposite banks of the river.

It is, however, as having been the home of Firdawsī that Tus is especially famous. According to the *Chahār Maqāla*, the great epic poet was a landowner of Bāzh in the Tābarān district of Tus.² To-day there is no village bearing this name in the district, but some 15 miles to the north of Meshed lies the village of Pāz. This village in ancient documents appeared as Pāzh, پَاز, but under the Arabs as Bāz. To-day it is termed Pāz, and it is

¹ Browne, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 138, n. 1; and article of Barbier de Meynard, which is referred to therein. Also Guy le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-90.

² Browne, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 132 *et seqq.*

reasonable to suppose that this undoubtedly ancient village, situated close to the defiles which lead to Kalāt-i-Nādiri, was the home of Persia's great poet.¹ To resume, the poet completed the *Shāh Nāma*, after a quarter of a century of work, in A.H. 400 (1009), and repaired with it to the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, where his epic pleased the Great Conqueror, who was disposed to treat Firdawsi with liberality. Intrigues, however, resulted in a beggarly sum being actually paid, and this the infuriated poet divided between a bath-man and a sherbet-seller! However, knowing Mahmud's severity, he fled, and after hiding at Herat until the hue and cry had ceased he returned to Tus. His home was not, however, a safe refuge, so he betook himself to Tabaristan, where, in the forests and swamps which cover the country between the south-east corner of the Caspian and the Elburz Range, a scion of the house of Sasan held sway. Here Firdawsi was most kindly received, and here he apparently lived for some years. Ultimately, however, he returned home, and died at a great age. Meanwhile Firdawsi's friend, the Minister of Mahmud, had been working on his behalf, and the monarch, repenting of his former lack of liberality, sent 60,000 *dinars* worth of indigo on the royal camels with his apologies to the poet. "But," to quote again from the *Chahār Maqāla*, "even as the camels entered the Rudbār Gate, the corpse of Firdawsi was borne forth from the Gate of Razān." The later and popular legend is that the camels, laden with gifts, met the funeral procession.

It now remains to identify the Rudbār and Razān Gates, and for some time the nomenclature of the former puzzled me. The gate referred to was undoubtedly the one by which travellers would approach the city from the direction of Ghazni, but to-day there is no Rudbār in this direction nearer than the banks of the Helmand, and

¹ Yakut gives both names of Bāz and Fāz.

this district is clearly out of court. Repeated inquiries, however, have shown that the northern portion of the hill district between Tus and Nishapur, known to-day as Kupayah, was in Firdawsi's age termed Rudbār after the then important village of Bār, which lies some 4 miles to the east of Jāghark.¹ The question of the Razān, or more correctly Rizān, Gate presents no difficulty, as there is still the village of that name situated some 9 miles north-east of Tus and 4 miles north-north-west of Pāz. These identifications are, I would urge, of some interest. To conclude this brief account, the daughter of Firdawsi refused to accept the monarch's largess, and spent it, according to popular belief, on a caravanserai, a dam, and the bridge which spans the Kashaf Rud.

To return to the history of Tus, which was in earlier times the seat of a Nestorian bishop, it would appear to have been remarkable for its men of learning, notably its astronomers: but, like Herat and Nishapur, it drank to the dregs the bitterness of the Mongol cataclysm. In A.H. 616 (1219) it was captured by the forces of Chengiz, and during the following century and a half it was ravaged incessantly. The final blow was dealt by Mīrān Shāh, son of Tamerlane, in A.H. 791 (1389), who turned the city into a desert. The remnant which escaped from the wholesale massacre settled round the shrine, and Meshed from that date became the chief city of Khurāsān.

I will now give some account of Tus as it appears to-day. Approaching it from Meshed, the large village of Khosh Matti, which was noted by Fraser² and which

¹ Rudbār and also Bār are, I have since discovered, both referred to by Yakut, who mentions that Abu Ah Husayn bin Muhammad, who died in A.H. 403 (1012), was a native of Rudbār. This is the exact period we are referring to. In 1908 I visited Bār and found that it was a large village, with an ancient fort, situated on a river which joins the Jāghark River near Gulistan.

² *A Journey into Khorasan*, pp. 517 et seqq.

was founded by Mahdi or Mehdi,¹ the father of Harun-al-Rashid, is passed about half-way. Then comes the ancient site of Kahkha referred to above, and the track descends to the brick bridge spanning the Kashaf Rud and called by Firdawsī's name. Crossing it, the walls are distant about a hundred yards. They are constructed of huge sun-dried bricks, and, although much weathered, they still rise to a height of some 30 feet. Bastions are frequent, but the city was not particularly strong, nor indeed was it of great size, a reference to the plan proving that its circumference was only $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Upon passing through what was undoubtedly the Rudbār Gate, the first object which attracts attention is a ruined shrine, known by the various names of *Ganbad* or "Dome", *Mazār* or "Shrine", and *Kasr* or "Castle". Inside all is desolation, and there is nothing to prove in whose honour it was erected. On the east side, in some plaster-work, "The world is but an hour" is repeated, but nothing else. Two dilapidated tombstones, obviously brought from outside, show by their inscriptions that they covered the remains of a certain Mahvash Khānum and of a *Sayyid* respectively. Fraser² gives a legend and also mentions the ruins of a minaret close by. Leaving this unidentified dome, a track to the north leads to the ancient *Ark* or "Fort", which is apparently situated on an artificial mound. It consists of an outer and an inner portion, the latter being oblong and measuring 65 by 45 yards. To the south-east of the fort are two ruins of buildings, known as *Filkhana* or "Elephants' Stables", probably without any sufficient reason.

I have left the question of Firdawsī's tomb to the last, and before expressing a definite opinion it is necessary to refer again to our authorities. The writer of the *Chahār Maqāla* states as follows: "Now at that time there was

¹ The word is a corruption for Kas-r-i-Mahdi or "The Tower of Mehdi".

² Op. cit., p. 518.

in Tābarān a preacher, whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsi's body to be buried in the Musulman Cemetery because he was a Rāfiḍī (sc. a Shia) . . . Now outside the gate (sc. of Rizān) there was a garden belonging to Firdawsi, and there they buried him and there he lies to this day. And I visited his tomb in the year A.H. 510 (1116)."¹ This statement, which is corroborated by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi and other later writers, proves without doubt that the great epic poet of Persia was buried outside the walls of Tābarān; but his tomb is shown to admirers inside, and duly appears on my plan. Not until my third visit did I elicit the truth. It appears that a generation ago a worthy Governor wished to build a dome over the mortal remains of the poet, and made inquiries as to the exact site. Nothing was known on the subject, but to remedy this a *Sayyid* had a dream which indicated the site, and on this somewhat flimsy authority the dome was commenced; but the Governor was dismissed, and nothing more was done! Outside the Rizān Gate there are no signs of a tomb, and here, then, the question must rest, until archæological researches can be made, which may perhaps bring to light the actual resting-place of the great poet.

KHWAJA RABĪ

The shrine of Khwāja Rabī occupies a charming site 2 miles to the north of Meshed, on the southern edge of the valley of the Kashaf Rud. just before it dips down to that muddy stream. Approaching it from the Sacred City, a tank is first passed, shaded by a fine Turkestan elm. It was built by Umm Kulsum Khānum, sister of the then Governor, in A.H. 1083 (1672), as the inscription proves, which runs as follows:—

¹ Browne, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 138.

در عهد سلیمان شاد عالی مغدار
 همشرد مرزا محمد طالب
 در خواجه ربیع بن خثیم او سر صدق
 بنیاد نمود برکت همچو بیشت
 کردید بسی مرزا صدر الدین
 نارنج بنیادی این مقام دلکش
 تاکه از غیب هانگی گفت جواب
 خورشید سریر شرف و عز وجلال
 ام کلثوم خانم ار سال حلال
 وز بهسر توابع یوم لیتفع مال
 حوضی اوت آب زسد دکی مال مال
 این طره بنا تمام بی نقص زوال
 صالح از سر عقل چون کرد سوال
 نعمت بریزد کن بنوش آب حلال
 ۱۰۸۳

The translation is—

"In the era of Sulayman,¹ the Shah of noble house like the sun, sat on the throne of Highness and Honour and Glory.

"The sister of Mirzā Muhammad Tālib,² Umm Kulsum Khānum, from her lawful money, in (the shrine of) Khwāja Rabī bin Khusaym, in sincerity and for a good deed against the Day when money is of no avail,³ Built the tank like Heaven, a tank full of the water of Life.

"Mirzā Sadr-ul-Din was the builder of this beautiful building: he finished it faultless and perfect.

"When Šālīḥ from his ancient wisdom demanded the date of this choice building, at once, from the Unseen a speaker made reply: 'Curse Yazid, drink the lawful water.'"

Note A. By *hindust* this works out at A.H. 1083 (1672).

Note B. Āghā Muhammad Sadik, who was in charge of the lands of the shrine, repaired the tank in A.H. 1272 (1856). This is mentioned below the original inscription.

From the tank an avenue of trees was planted to the entrance to the shrine; but the track, avoiding the avenue.

¹ Shāh Sulayman reigned from A.H. 1077 (1667) to A.H. 1105 (1694).

² Was guardian of the shrine and Governor of Meshed.

³ *sc.* the Day of Judgment.

leads to the two-storied gateway, which is in a dilapidated condition — albeit there are remains of coloured brick-work. In the triangular lintel-stone two inscriptions are chiselled, the larger of which sets forth in grandiose language that Shāh Abbās, who was the contemporary of King James I of England, completed the shrine in A.H. 1031 (1621). It runs as follows:—

بِأَيِّ أَيْنٍ عِمَارَتٍ رَفَعَ الشَّانَ فَلِكِ أَساسٍ وَأَيِّنْ بِنَايَ مَنِيعِ
 الْبَنَمَانِ عُرْشِ مَسَالِسِ أَعْلَى حَضْرَتِ سُلْطَانِ سَلَاطِينِ عَالَمِ قَرَمَا
 نَفَرَمَايَ سِلْسِلَةِ بَنِي آدَمَ حَافِظِ بِلَادِ اللَّهِ وَبَاعِزِ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ
 ظِلِّ اللَّهِ تَرَابِ عَتَبَةِ سَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ وَكَلِّبِ آسِنَانِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
 مُرَوِّجِ مَذْهَبِ حَقِّ أَلَمَةِ الْمُعْظَمِينَ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ
 بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ وَالْخَافِئَانِ بْنِ الْخَافِئَانِ شَادِ عَبَّاسِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ
 الْمَوْصَوِيِّ الْقَسْفَوِيِّ بِنَارِ سَمِجِ حِزَارِ وَبِيْكَ هَجَرِيَّ بِسَعْيِ كَمُتَرِّينِ
 غَلَامَانِ دُعَاكُوِي الْعِلْمِ الرَّغْوِيِّ الْخَادِمِ اِتْمَامِ يَافَتِ

The translation is—

“The Founder of this edifice of sublime construction, with foundations like the sky, and this building strong in its work and touching the Ninth Heaven, is His Majesty, the Sultan of Sultans of the world, the Sovereign of the Race of Men, the Protector of the Cities of Allah, the Helper of the Servants of Allah, the Shadow of Allah, the Dust of the Threshold of the Lord of the Prophets, the Dog of the Porch of the Commander of the Faithful,¹ the Propagator of the true creed of the Innocent *Imāms*, a King, son of a King, and a Khākān, son of a Khākān, Shāh Abbās, Husayni, Musavi, Safavi, in the date one thousand and thirty-one of the *Hijra*,² by the efforts of the lowest of the slaves who prays for the King, Ulugh Rizavi the Gate Keeper, it was completed.”

¹ sc. Ali.

² sc. A.D. 1622.

The smaller inscription, which is modern—the date is A.H. 1257 (1841)—contains a curse on anyone who should damage the building or its trees.¹ Upon entering the precincts, the shrine appears at the end of an avenue of fine plane-trees gigantic aspens, Turkestan elms, and in spring the general impression is delightful. The fine dome which surmounts an octagonal building is, alas! falling into decay: but, fortunately, most of an inscription in tiles, partly white lettering on blue and partly gold lettering on blue, is still legible, and it runs as follows:—

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَلَا إِنَّ أَوْلِيَاءَ اللَّهِ لَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ
 وَلِلرَّسُولِ اللَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ قَدْ أَمَرَ بِمَعَارِطِهِ هَذِهِ شَادَّ شَبَّاسُ
 الْحُسَيْنِيِّ الْمَوْسَوِيِّ النَّصَّوِيِّ حُورِ (?) خَلَّالٍ مَطْرُ بَوْضِ نَوْشْتِ، شَدَّدَ اسْتِ
 كَتَبَهَا غُلَامُنا الْعَبَّاسِيُّ

Allah the Almighty said: "Learn that the Friends of Allah know no fear and no sorrow." The Prophet of Allah said (may Allah show mercy on him and his family!) [here the inscription is broken away, the tiles having fallen off], (in gold letters) "Shāh Abbās Husayni, Musavi, Safavi ordered the construction of this (dome). Ali Rizā Abbāsi wrote this."

The exterior of the building, in spite of much neglect, is interesting, each side consisting of an arch decorated with coloured bricks, tiles, and mosaics. On the west side, on the yellow and blue brick, two heads of a grotesque beast, half-wolf and half-stag, are delineated. This may be the Persian idea of a dragon, as that fantastic animal would not bear a family likeness to a camel in the East as it generally did in mediaeval Europe. The tiles are similar to those at the shrines at Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jam, at Nishapur, and at Kadamgāh, and it seems almost

¹ Colonel Yate's *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 338 *et seqq.* A translation of these two inscriptions is given, and a somewhat brief description of the shrine.

certain that they were manufactured by the same tile-makers, who, according to the custodian, were inhabitants of Kum. On the farther side of the shrine the ground slopes down somewhat steeply, and the view across the fertile valley, backed by the grim gorges which lead to famous Kalāt-i-Nādiri, is one of the pleasantest in Khurāsān.

Before entering the shrine it would be as well to give some account of the saint whose dust lies buried in it. Khwāja Rabīʿ, son of Khuṣaym, was one of the band of eight famous men who are known as زُهَدَاءُ, Zohhād, or "the Devotees". He was a companion of Ali, and was sent by the Commander of the Faithful to Meshed with a force of 4000 sowars. He apparently ruled the province successfully, as but little is recorded about him, and when he died was duly buried on the site now occupied by the shrine. One burning question on the subject of the saint is whether he was a Sunni or a Shia, and this is referred to in one of the inscriptions. Popular opinion has it that he was a Sunni, and orthodox Shias consider that, in any case, he lost all claims to sanctity by, on one occasion, refusing Ali's orders to attack on the plea that his men were exhausted. However this may be, Sunnis who die at Meshed are all buried round the shrine, and regard Khwāja Rabīʿ as their patron saint in Khurāsān.

Upon entering the mausoleum, the tomb is seen to occupy the position of honour underneath the dome. It is concealed by a wooden covering painted red. The internal decoration of the shrine is of great beauty and in a perfect state of preservation. All round it, for some 8 feet above the ground, are panels of exquisite tile-work, dark blue, light blue, gold, and white being the principal colours. On the tiles is the legend يَا حَنِيْفُ, or "O Guardian" (sc. God)! The angles are finished off with the black Meshed stone, which shows up the ceramics to perfection. Above the tiles the walls are artistically

frescoed, and the broad belt of inscription in white *Nashh* letters on a blue ground is particularly effective. It runs as follows :—

عَنْ جَابِرِ ابْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ لَمَّا نَزَلَ
قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ
وَأَطِيعُوا أُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ قُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَدْ عَرَفْنَا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَمَتَى أُولُو
الْأَمْرِ الَّذِينَ قَرَنَ اللَّهُ مَعَ خَلْقِهِمْ بِطَاعَتِهِمْ فَقَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ دُمَ
خُلَفَاؤِي يَا جَابِرُ وَأَيُّهُمْ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بَعْدِي أَوْلِيكُمْ عَلِيُّ ابْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ
ثُمَّ الْحَسَنُ ثُمَّ الْحُسَيْنُ ثُمَّ عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ ثُمَّ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ
الْمَعْرُوفُ فِي السُّوَرَةِ بِالتَّوَاتُفِ وَتَدْرِكُهُ يَا جَابِرُ فَإِذَا لَمْ تَجِدْهُ فَأَفْرَادَ
السَّلَامِ وَسَيِّدِي ثُمَّ الصَّادِقُ جَعْفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ ثُمَّ مُوسَى بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ ثُمَّ
عَلِيُّ بْنُ مُوسَى ثُمَّ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ ثُمَّ عَلِيُّ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ ثُمَّ الْحَسَنُ
بْنُ عَلِيٍّ ثُمَّ تَسْمِيَّتِي وَكُنْيَتِي حُجَّةُ اللَّهِ فِي أَرْضِهِ وَبَغْيَتُهُ فِي عِبَادِهِ ابْنُ
الْحَسَنِ عَلِيُّ ذِيكَ الَّذِي يَفْتَحُ اللَّهُ عَنْ وَجْهِ عَنِّي كَذَا وَمَشَارِقُ الْأَرْضِ
وَمَغَارِبُهَا وَذَاكَ الَّذِي يَعْثُبُ عَنْ شَيْعَتِهِ وَأَوْلِيَانِهِ فَلَا يُشْبِثُ فَبَيْنَا
عَلَى الْقَوْلِ بِإِمَامَتِهِمُ الْأَمِينِ امْتَحَنَ اللَّهُ قَلْبَهُ لِإِيْمَانٍ قَالَ جَابِرُ
فَلَمَّا كَذَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَقِيلَ لَشَيْعَتِهِ انْتِفَاعٌ فِي غَيْبَتِهِ بِهِ فَقَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَالَّذِي بَعَثَنِي بِالسُّبُودِ أَنْتُمْ يَسْتَفِيدُونَ بِزُورٍ وَيَنْتَفِعُونَ
بِوَلَايَتِهِمْ فِي غَيْبَتِهِمْ كَمَا يَنْتَفَعِ النَّاسُ بِالشَّمْسِ وَإِنْ تَجَلَّلْنَا السَّحَابُ
يَا جَابِرُ هَذَا مِنْ مَكْنُونِ سِرِّ اللَّهِ وَمَخْرَجِ عِلْمِ اللَّهِ فَانْكُمُوهُ إِلَّا عَنِ أَهْلِهِ
قَالَ الْعَلَامَةُ فِي النِّجَاحَةِ رَبِّيعُ بْنُ خُثَيْمٍ بِالْحَاءِ الْمَعْجَمَةِ
الْمُضْمُومَةِ وَالشَّاءِ الْمُنْتَهَطَةِ فَرَوْقًا ثَلَاثُ نَحْوِ قَبْلِ الْبَاءِ الْمُنْفَعَةِ
نَحْنُهَا نَقْطَتَيْنِ أَحَدُ الْفُرْقَانِ الشَّامِيَّةِ كَتَبَهَا الْعَبْدُ الرَّاجِي عِلْمُهَا
الْعَبَّاسِيُّ فِي سَنَةِ سِتٍّ وَعِشْرِينَ كَذَا وَالْأَمْرُ مِنَ الْبُحْثِ

“From Jābir, son of Abdullah, Ansāri (may Allah be pleased with him!) (Jābir), said: “Since the word of Allah, the Almighty, came to earth, “O ye men who have accepted the faith, obey Allah, and obey the Prophet and the chief from amongst yourselves,” I (Jābir) said: “O Prophet of Allah, we have recognized Allah and his Prophet. But who are the Governors whom Allah has made equal with himself in respect of obedience?” Then said (the Prophet) (may Allah have mercy on him and on his family!): “They, O Jābir, are my successors and the spiritual heads of the Mussulman after me. The first of them was Ali son of Abu Tālib. Then Hasan, then Husayn, then Ali¹ son of Husayn. Then Muhammad son of Ali, known in the Taurāt as Bākīr.² And you will soon see him, O Jābir. Then when thou hast seen him, give him the salutation of peace from me. Then the truthful Ja’far son of Muhammad. Then Musa son of Ja’far. Then Ali son of Musa. Then Muhammad son of Ali. Then Ali son of Muhammad. Then Hasan son of Ali. Then an individual who bore my name and who was the father of a son named like my son: he will be a demonstration of Allah on earth, and he is a remnant of Allah among Allah’s servants, son of Hasan. Through him Allah, who is Glorious and Great, triumphs over the Eastern portions of the world and the Western. And he is such that he will be hidden from his followers and friends. Then no one will remain firm in the belief of the proof of his disappearance, or of his *Imamate*, but he whose heart Allah has tested for the faith.” Jābir said: “Thus we said it, O prophet of Allah. Then for his friends is there profit in his hiding?” Then said (the Prophet) (may Allah show mercy to him and his family!): “I swear by Him who appointed me his Prophet that those followers

¹ Zayn-ul-Abidin, i.e. “Ornament of the Worshipers”, the fourth *Imām*.

² The Plougher (in wisdom).

receive light from his light and obtain profit from his friendship whilst he is in hiding. Just as men receive profit from the Sun, however covered the Sun may be by the clouds. O Jābir, this is of the hidden things of the secret of Allah and the treasure-house of the wisdom of Allah. Therefore conceal it, except from those who are worthy.”

“Said Al-Allāma in the book of Khulāsa, Rabī bin Khusaym is with ح with a dot with zamma, and ت with three dots above before the ي with two dots underneath. This was a man who was one of the eight devotees. The Slave, full of hope, Ali Rizā Abbāsi wrote in the year six, twenty, one thousand of the *Hijra* (A.H. 1026).”

Above three striking bands of inscription, the interior, including the dome, is covered with beautiful frescoes of convention-designs, the general effect being one of considerable richness. The English traveller Fraser, who visited the shrine nearly a century ago, writes that “along with the dome, it is magnificently and very tastefully decorated with gilded flowers, and various fanciful devices, upon an azure ground”.¹

I have already touched on the question of whether the saint was a Summi or a Shia. On the northern side of the interior of the shrine is an inscription which, at any rate, tends to prove that Khwāja Rabī was highly revered by the *Imām* Rizā. It is in *Suls*, and runs—

مَسْتَوِلٌ عَنِ تَرْضَا عَلَيْهِ سَلَامٌ مَا حَصَلَ مِنْ مَسْرُورٍ إِلَّا زِيَارَةٌ رُبِيعٍ
ابن خُثَيْمٍ

“It was said by Rizā (peace be with him!) that there was no profit in the journey to Merv, except the visit to the shrine of Rabī, the son of Khusaym.”

I have left to the last the second tomb which is in the shrine: and yet Fath Ali Khān Kājār, the ancestor of the

¹ Fraser's *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*, p. 521.

present royal family of Persia, is an historical figure of no slight interest. As chief of the Kājār tribe, which supported Shāh Tahmasp in his dire need, he excited the jealousy of Nādir, who slew him on the pretext that he was corresponding with the enemy. His grandson, Āghā Muhammad, was the first Shah of the Kājār line. The tomb is covered by a truly magnificent slab of yellow marble, measuring 6 by 3 by 2 feet. The inscription, which is beautifully incised, runs—

أَنْتَ الْبَاقِي وَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
عَلَى وَآلِي اللَّهِ

دريغ از خان و آلاشان قدر قدر قضا فرمان
حېان عزروشان فتحعلي خان آن فلک قدری
در دریای تمکین آن بلند اقبال فرزانه
زمین گشتی میکرد نازان فلک در سوکش تازان
و کریمه اش دیدی ز جان نوسید کردیدی
برای دفع یا جوج ستم سدی شدی محکم
بر عالم رفت ناله در غم او فلک را دائم
شهادت یافت چون آن نوجوان و کرد کار آخر
سوال سال تاریخش چو کردم از خرد گفتم
اساس عدل را بنیان بنای شرع را بسای
کداد اروی شرف قاجار را حق در جمان بانی
که بودی در خورش خاقان اگر میکرد در بانی
نمودی در صف همجا چو آغاز سرافشانی
بمعالم تبغ او آن ساد و او اسکندر ثانی
فروریزد ز جرع دیددها یا فوفت رومانی
بپشت جاودان دادش بدل زین دار ظلمانی
مقامش سایه طوبی پناهش لطف یزدنی

۱۱۳۹

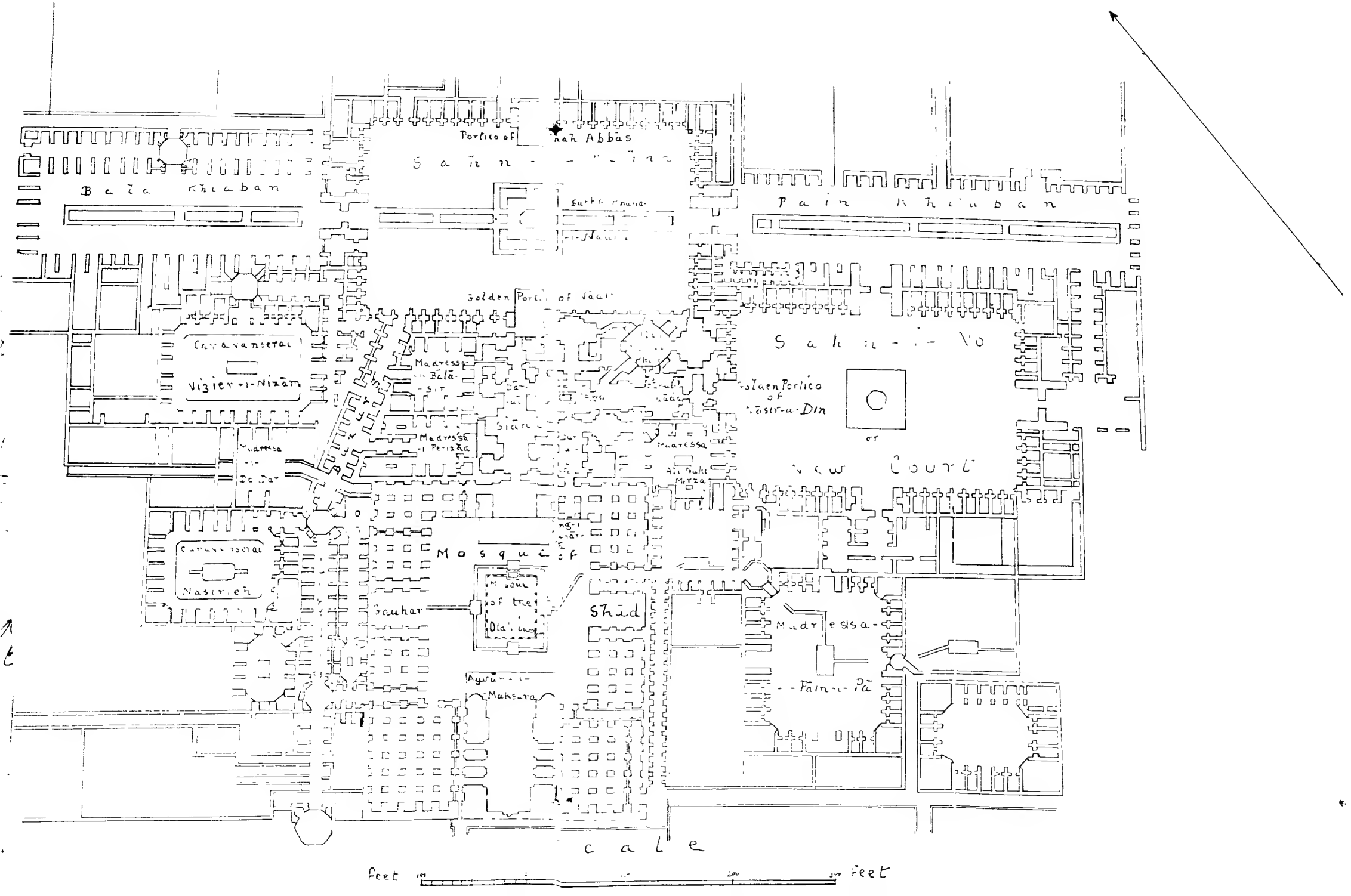
دور این قطعه چهارده معصوم منظوم شیخ بهائی علیه الرحمه کتبه
شده است

The heading of the inscription is an Arabic verse in *Naskh* character: "Thou (sc. O Allah) ever art, whereas all else perisheth. There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah, Ali is the Vice-regent of Allah." Below is the body of the inscription in Persian.

"Grief for the noble Khan, the great, the executor of

4

5



Baza Khwabān

Portico of Shah Abbas

Sahn-i-Naw

Surkh Mahal

Pain Khwabān

Caravanserai

Vizier-i-Nizam

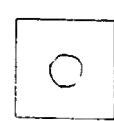
Golden Porch of Na'ib

Madressa-i-Bala

Madressa-i-Payza

Sahn-i-Naw

Golden Porch of Nasir-u-Din



or

New Court

Nasir-ud-Din

Mosque of



Shah

Madressa-i-Payza

Fair-ud-Din

Feet 0 100 200 feet

sentences, the house of justice he constructed, and the house of the faith. The world of Honour and Glory was Fath Ali Khān, great as the Universe, Allah gave honour to the Kājars on his account, in Sovereignty. He was a Pearl in the Sea of Greatness. His fortune was high, and he was so wise that the Khākān was but fit to be his doorkeeper. When he entered the field of battle, and cut off the heads of his foes, the earth he trod was happy and the heaven sped in his train. When his foe saw him attacking, he became hopeless of life. When the sun of his brightness appears, Suhā¹ is obliterated. For keeping at bay the Yajuj of Tyranny he has become a strong barrier. In the world his sword is that barrier and he a Second Alexander. He suddenly quitted the world. Its inhabitants ever grieve for him. There fall from their eyes tears of pomegranate colour like rubies. When that youth obtained martyrdom, Allah gave him everlasting life in Heaven in exchange for this abode of gloom. When I inquired the year of his date, wisdom replied, 'His home is the shadow of Tūbā (i.e. the tree of Paradise), his refuge is the mercy of Allah,' " i.e. A.H. 1139 (1726).

To conclude, although the shrine of Khwāja Rabī' cannot vie with the exquisite gem of Saracenic art at Mahun, yet, both in itself, in its surroundings, and in its historical inscriptions, it is not only well worth repeated visits, but it ranks among the most interesting shrines in Khurāsān.

MESHED

Meshed,² or, more correctly, Mashhad, "the Place of Martyrdom" of the *Imām* 'Alī ar-Rizā, is now the capital

¹ Suhā is an obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

² In Colonel Yate's *Khurasan and Sistan* there is a good deal of information about Meshed which this paper to some extent supplements. In the *Maṭla' ash-Shams*, by the Ṣanī' ad-Dawla, there is also much information; but, as the writer was a courtier, there are important omissions.

of Khurāsān, and is situated some 5 miles from the right bank of the Kashaf Rud, or about half-way between that river and the low range which bounds the valley to the south. The ancient twin city of Nukān is partly incorporated in its north-east quarter, and partly lies outside the city gate, which, as mentioned when dealing with Tus, still retains the same name, albeit in a slightly changed form.

Legend has it that Alexander the Great, who undoubtedly descended this valley, built an "enclosure" on the site where the shrine now stands, as he dreamed a dream, in which he learned that "one of the great men of the world" would be buried on the sacred spot. Possibly, owing to this legend, a *hadis* written by *Shaykh* Saduk in the book of *Ikmal-ud-Din* runs as follows: "There will be buried in a city built by the beneficent servant Iskandar Zulkarnain, in the soil of Tus, a descendant of mine. The name of it is Sanābād." In this connexion Sanābād is still the name of the *kunāt* or watercourse which enters Meshed by the Sarāb Gate. We are on historical ground in stating that when, in A.H. 193 (809), Harun-ar-Rashid died, Sanābād was a large garden and apparently owned by Hamid ibn Kahtaba of the Tai family, and that the great Caliph was buried there. Over his grave his son Mamun built a shrine, and in it the *Imām* Rizā was buried in A.H. 202 (817). For nearly two centuries the shrine was neglected, but Mahmud of Ghazni, who reigned from A.H. 388 (998) to 421 (1030), also dreamed a dream, as the result of which he ordered the Governor of Nishapur to add to the shrine and also to construct a wall round it. Just about this period Mukaddasi refers to a mosque built by Amir Fāik Amid-ud-Dawlah, "than which there is none finer in all Khurāsān." To-day this ancient and tottering mosque, with its small dome and its two short minarets of brick, with blue tiles let in at intervals, is the only ruin of

interest inside Meshed, apart from the shrine. It has evidently been repaired more than once, and the following inscription refers to the re-tiling and other repairs of Malik Shāh. The inscription, which consists of verses of the Koran, ends as follows :—

الْأَمِيرُ الْمَلِكُ شَاهُ الْإِسْلَامِ مَعَارِجَ دَوْلَتِهِ فِي رَجَبِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ
وَحَمْسِينَ وَثَمَانٍ وَهَاتَةِ الشَّجَرَةِ

“The Amir Malik Shāh, may Allah elevate the grandeur of his royal state, in the year A.H. 855 (1451).”

The architect is Ibn Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, Tabrizi. In A.H. 1119 (1707) a second reparation is recorded.

In A.H. 617 (1220) the whole of Khurāsān was stricken by the Mongols, and it is probable that, as the native historians state, the shrine was sacked: and a similar fate befell Nishapur, Tus, and other ancient and prosperous cities.

A century and a half later, in A.H. 791 (1389), as narrated in the section of this paper dealing with Tus, the rebellion of a Mongol noble caused the final overthrow of the older capital of Tābarān, and the wretched survivors appear to have settled round the shrine. Mustawfi, who wrote in the eighth (fourteenth) century, is perhaps the first historian to use the term of Mashhad, by which the city is now known. Ibn Batutah, a few years later, describes the great dome over the shrine, and refers to the adjacent mosque and *madrasa*. He describes the silver doors, the beautiful tiles, and adds: “Every Shia, on entering, kicks with his foot the tomb of Harun-ar-Rashid, while he invokes a blessing on that of *Imām Ridā*.” As we shall see later, the modern Shia, too, has not forgiven the Great Caliph for having been the father of so wicked a son. In A.D. 1405 Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo—the account of whose embassy from the court of Castile to that of Tamerlane has been published by the Hakluyt

Society¹—was much impressed by the magnificence of the shrine, which, more fortunate than we are to-day, he was allowed to visit. He refers to the large tomb, which is covered with silver-gilt. He adds: "On account of this tomb, the city is crowded with pilgrims, who come here in large numbers every year."

The shrine which the adventurous Castilian visited had recently been repaired by Sultān Uljaitu Khān Bahādur, who reigned from A.H. 703 (1304) to A.H. 716 (1316). In A.H. 808 (1405) Shāhrukh, who was Governor of the province at the time of Clavijo's visit, spent enormous sums on the shrine, which owes perhaps more to him and his pious wife, Gauhar Shād, than to any other benefactors. To the Sefavi dynasty, however, Meshed is indebted for many of its chief glories, as, for political as well as religious reasons, its kings wished to increase the importance of the only great Shia shrine on Persian soil; and so down to modern times, as the account shows, monarch after monarch has added to its wealth and dignity, until it is perhaps the richest shrine in Central Asia.

To describe the shrine in detail would need a volume, and, consequently, I propose to refer briefly to its chief glories.

The pilgrim from the north would enter the sacred buildings by the Bala Khīyābān or "Upper Avenue", which, at the point where the property of the *Imām* Riḍā commences, is shut off from the non-Moslem world by chains. Thenceforward to the *Ṣahn-i-Kuhna*, or "Old Court", there are shops on both sides, which are amongst the best in the city. On the outside of the fine brick gateway, which is surmounted by a clock, is a lengthy inscription warning the pilgrim that he is approaching holy ground. Passing through, he enters the grand *Ṣahn-i-Kuhna*, which, as the Plan shows, is about 290 feet from east to west and 200 feet from north to south. There are

¹ *Embassy to the Court of Timour*, by Sir Clements Markham, pp. 109-10.

four superb gateways, and the buildings are two-storied : the lower being occupied by doctors, watchmakers, book-binders, seal-engravers, and even schools : the upper chambers constitute the offices of the shrine officials. The courtyard is paved with hewn blocks of the Meshed black stone, many of which serve as tombstones. Keeping to the left, the first great portico is that of Shāh Abbās II. who added three sides to this court. The merit of building that portion which is adjacent to the tomb belongs to Amir Shir Ali, Vizier of Sultān Abu-l-Ghāzi Husayn Baykara, who reigned in Khurāsān from A.H. 878 (1473) to A.H. 912 (1506). The portico of Shāh Abbās II is covered with fine tile-work with florid arabesques. There is a long *Sols* inscription, consisting of the Sura-i-Jum'a : the letters are white on blue. The inscription ends as follows :—

أَمَرَ بِتَعْمِيرِ هَذِهِ الْعِمَارَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ الرَّضَوِيَّةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ
وَالْخَافَانِ الْمَعْظَمِ مَوْلَى مُلُوكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ
أَبِي الْمُظَفَّرِ شَادِ حَبَّاسِ الشَّابِّي الضَّنَوِيِّ الْمُؤَسَّسِي الْحُسَيْنِيِّ بِيَادِرْ خَانَ
خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مُلْكَهُ كَتَبَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رِضَا إِمَامِي فِي ١٠٥٩

“The Sultan, the Greater, and the Mighty Khākān, the Lord of Sovereigns of the Arabs and of Ajam, the Sultan, son of a Sultan, the Father of Victory, Shāh Abbās the Second, Safavi, Musavi, Husayni, Bahādur Khān, may Allah make his reign eternal, ordered the erection of this auspicious Rizavi building. Muhammad Rizā Imāmi wrote it in A.H. 1059 (1649).”

In the centre of the court, down which runs the stream which flows from Chashma Gilās, is the famous *Sakḳā Khāna-i-Nādirī*, or “The Water Carriers’ house of Nādir Shāh”. Cut from a monolith of white marble in the shape of an octagon, the height is 4 feet and the circumference 20 feet. The angles are decorated with flowers,

and the top is hollowed out like a font : copper cups are fastened round. Above it is a wooden cover richly gilt. It is stated that the great Afshar agreed to pay a large sum for the transport of this monolith from Herat to Meshed, a distance of 231 miles, in twelve days. The contractor, by dint of great exertions, completed his task in nine days and waited on the monarch, hoping for a rich reward. However, the relentless tyrant accused him of breach of contract, and his eyes were put out ! This story I was told by a descendant of the much-wronged man.

The portico leading into the *Pāyīn Khīyābān*, or "Lower Avenue", is that from which the *Naqqāra khāna*, or Kettle Drum music,¹ is played morning and evening, in honour of the ever-living *Imām* ; and, passing on, the pilgrim comes to the richest portico of the shrine, which is held to be without a rival in the Muhammadan world. As mentioned above, the building was the work of Amir Shir Ali, whose inscription is as follows :—

فِي أَيَّامِ دَوْلَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ وَالْخَاقَانِ الْمُعَظَّمِ مَا لَيْكَ رَفَابِ
أَمَمَ مَوْلَى مُلُوكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ حُسَيْنِ مِيرْزَا بَايْقَرَا
بِيَادُرْ خَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مُلْكُهُ
كَتَبَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رِضَا الْإِمَامِي ١٠٨٥

"In the era of the reign of the Sultan, the Greater, and the Mighty Khākān, the Lord of the Necks of Mankind, the Master of the Kings of the Arabs and of Ajam, Shāh Sultān Husayn Mirzā, Baykara, Bahādūr Khān, may Allah make his reign eternal. Muhammad Rīzā Al-Imāmi wrote this in A.H. 1085 (1675)." ²

¹ Vide my "Notes on Musical Instruments in Khurāsān" in *Man* (vol. ix, No. II, of November, 1909).

² As Sultān Husayn died in A.H. 912 (1506), it would seem probable that the above date refers to the tile-work.

The "Golden Portico" is paved with blocks of white marble from distant Maragha, and is also panelled with the same costly material, drawn by forced labour from the western frontiers of Persia. Above are the copper bricks covered with plates of gold. The inscription in *Nast'ulik* character is in large gold letters on a blue ground in the interior: outside are tiles with an inscription from the Koran, white letters on blue, in *Suls* character. Nādir's inscription runs as follows:—

کرد تجدید بنما آبخا سکندر طالعی * کرغلامان در سلطان علی موسی رخواست
 کلب درگاه امیر المؤمنین نادر علی آنکه در هر کار امیدش بتوفیق خداست
 والی ملک خراسان آنکه از اخلاص و صدق نیت صافش بحق از روز اول آشناست
 هم ز فیض نسبت او در جهان افشار را تا قیامت بر تمامی خلق ایران فخرهاست
 تاج بخش عرصه عالم که از شمشیر او فتنه و آشوبها ساکن بکج انزواست
 چون ز دست جود او آنجا بمصرف میرسد ابن طارا هر که دست افشار میکوید رواست
 آنکه از چین جبین قهرمان مولتش رای هند و قیصر و خافان بمحنت مبتلاست
 شمع عدلش در آن مملکی که شبکبری کند دزد را رنگی نباشد کر همه دزد خاست
 شکر او زین خطاب غیب کز اصحاب شد در حقیقت حامی شرع متین مصطفاست
 آبخواد میش از کردگان بود در عهد او شیر و آهوا ز عدل او بیگ مرتع چراست
 در قزلباشی علم تا کشت شخص متش صف و گلدست صحن مقدس را طلاست
 شد بتوفیق خدا گلدست و ایوان تمام باد باقی تا اثر از گردش دورای بیابست
 از زبان کعب گفتم بهر تبار بخش ندیم ده بدم زان صف ایوان هویدا صد صفاست
 کتب محمد علی بن سلیمان الرضوی غفر ذنوبهما فی سنة خمس و اربعین و مائة و الف

۱۱۴۵

بخط این عاصی محمد علی الرضوی در تریلت قشاعی و افیمام محمد طاهر ولد
 میرزا مسیح شیرازی تمام شد ۱۱۴۶

“Nādir Ali, the Dog of the Porch of the Commander of the Faithful, who is among the Slaves of the Abode of the Sultān Ali Musa Rizā, whose Destiny is like Alexander's, repaired this Building. The Vali of the Province of Khurāsān. He who is Truthful and Faithful. He whose Disposition is Pure, is a friend of Allah from the Beginning. Also, from the Grace of his Relationship in the world with the Afshar, until the Day of Judgment, there is Honour (to them) above the whole nation of Persia: Throne Giving of the Breadth of the world is from his Sword: Strife and Discord are stilled in the Corner of his Protection. Since from the Hand of his Generosity he employs this gold. He who says that this gold is malleable is right :¹ When he from the wrinkles of his forehead is mighty in his Fury, the Rai of Hind and the Kaisar and the Khākān are afflicted with gloom. When the Police officer of his Justice patrols by night in the City, there is no sign of a thief: even if all the thieves be henna (they would have no colour). His army from this saying from the Unseen, which was from the Companions of the Prophet in truth, is the Helper of the Firm Religion of Mustafa (sc. the Prophet).² In his time the sheep may inquire of the wolves for the water. From his Justice the lion and the gazelle graze in one pasture. When his generosity has become conspicuous among the Kizilbash,³ the arch and the minaret of the Holy Court have been gilded. The Minaret and the Arch, by the Grace of Allah, have been completed: May it last as long

¹ The story runs that Khusrāu Parviz, among other unique possessions, possessed a lump of gold as big as an apple which was so soft that, without melting, it could be used to make a figure, etc. This is termed *افشار*, i.e. gold malleable by hand. There is also a play on the word Afshar.

² This refers to a dream of Nādir's to the effect that he should restore the true religion.

³ The Kizilbash, or “Red Head”, consisted of seven tribes who united to support the Safavi. Among them were the Afshar.

as there is any sign remaining of the changing seasons of the world! From the word of the Ka'ba I said, 'O my friend,' for its date, 'every time from that conspicuous arch and gateway there are one hundred lights.'¹

"Ali, son of Sulayman, Rizavi (may Allah forgive the sins of these two men!), wrote this in the year 1145.

"By the writing of this sinner Muhammad Ali Rizavi and the skill of the goldsmith and the endeavour of Muhammad Tahir, son of Mirzā Masih Shirazi, it was completed in A.H. 1146."

It now remains to describe the golden minarets, one of which rises from Nādir's portico and the other from that of Shāh Abbās. They are said to be 110 feet high, and for about 50 feet they are covered with tiles. The upper portion is cased with copper bricks, overlaid with gold. The minarets are both of brick, with a wooden stand for the *mi'rza'in*, and both bear the date of A.H. 1142 (1730).

Before quitting the *Sahn-i-Kuhna* it is as well to refer to the golden dome that dominates it, which is here seen to the best advantage.

The dome of the shrine, which, like all the other buildings, is built of the yellow Persian brick, is covered with copper plates, on which thin gold plates are overlaid. There are two inscriptions, the more important of which consists of two rows of golden letters on blue. So enormous are these letters that the learned pilgrim in the *Sahn-i-Kuhna* can read how Shāh Abbās recorded his own virtuous acts. Below are four *turanj*, or lozenge-shaped inscriptions, which touch one another. Three of the *turanj* are filled with quotations from the Koran, and the fourth sets forth how Shāh Sulayman, who terms himself "the Reviver of the ancient ruins of his Ancestors", repaired the dome after an earthquake in A.H. 1086 (1676). This inscription I do not propose to

¹ This works out at A.H. 1145 (1733).

give. The great inscription of Shāh Abbās runs as follows :—

مِنْ عَظَائِمِ تَوْفِيقَاتِ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ أَنْ وَفَّقَ السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ مَوْلَى
مُلُوكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ صَاحِبِ النَّسَبِ الطَّاهِرِ النَّبَوِيِّ وَالْحَسْبِ
الْبَاهِرِ الْعَلَوِيِّ تُرَابِ أَقْدَامِ خُدَّامِ هَذِهِ الرَّوَضَةِ الْمُنَوَّرَةِ الْمَكْتُوتَةِ
مُزَوَّجِ آثَارِ أَجْدَادِ الْمَعْصُومِينَ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ أَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ
شَادِ عَبَّاسِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ الْمَوْسَوِيِّ الصَّفَوِيِّ بُهَادُرِ خَانَ فَاسْتَسَعَدَ
بِالْمَجْبَىءِ مَا شِئِيَ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ مِنْ دَارِ السُّلْطَنَةِ إِصْفَهَانَ إِلَى زِيَارَةِ
هَذِهِ الْحَرَمِ الْأَشْرَفِ وَقَدْ تَشَرَّفَ بِرِبْطَةِ هَذِهِ الْقُبَّةِ مِنْ خُلَصِ مَالِهِ
فِي سَنَةِ أَلْفٍ وَعَشْرٍ وَتَمَّ فِي سَنَةِ أَلْفٍ وَبِئَتْ عَشْرَ

عَمَلِ كَمَالِ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدِ الْيَزْدِيِّ فِي هِزَارٍ وَبَانِزَةٍ

كُتِبَهُ عَلَیْ رِصَا الْعَبَّاسِيِّ

“From the great grace of Allah, who is Pure, it happened that the Greater Sultan, the Lord of the Kings of the Arabs and of Ajam, possessing pure kinship with the Prophet : and the notable qualities of Ali, the Dust of the steps of the servants of this shrine, the Giver of Light to the Angels. The propagator of the Laws of his Ancestors, the Innocent, the Sultan, the son of a Sultan, the Father of the Victorious, Shāh Abbās, Husayni, Musavi, Safavi, Bahādur Khān obtained happiness, owing to his travelling, walking on his two feet, from the capital Isfahan to the Pilgrimage of this Noble Precinct. And he was so ennobled by beautifying this dome, from his private funds, in the year one thousand and ten : and it was completed in one thousand and sixteen.”

(In small *Suls* letters underneath.)

"The work of Kamāl-ud-Din Mahmud, Yezdi, in one thousand and fifteen."

(In *Nasta'lik*.)

"Ali Rizā Abbāsi wrote it."

From the *Ṣuḥn-i-Kuhna* the pilgrim passes through a room where his shoes are deposited: thence by the back of the Golden Portico to a second *Saḳḳā Khāna*, which opens on to the most magnificent hall in the shrine, known as the *Dār-as-Siyādah*, or "Place of Greatness". Its length is 107 feet, with a width which varies, as the hall consists of a central dome, supported by two small domes. Built by the munificent spouse of Shāhrukh, the walls of this great building are cased with slabs of white marble for perhaps 2 feet above the ground. Resting on this are panels of tiles which are finished off by a belt of inscriptions, containing two lines of verses of the Koran, etc., in *Nasta'lik* character. Above, the ornamentation is of plaster-work, in which mirrors and glass facets are set. This latter style of decoration is highly appreciated by the Persian, but does not commend itself to Europeans. On the left, or north-east, side of the hall is a silver grating, through which the pilgrim can gaze at the tomb of the saint: and just beyond he turns to the left and passes into the adjacent *Dār-ul-Huḡḡūz*, or "Place of the Koran Reciters", which is a hall built by the same pious dame on similar but smaller lines, with panels of black stone on which verses, poems, and flowers, etc., are chiselled. Here prayers are recited, and the pilgrim at last approaches the threshold of the *Haram*, which is the sacred goal of the Shia Muhammadan. Coming from the *Dār-ul-Huḡḡūz*, the *Dar-i-Pish-Ru*, or the "Facing Door",¹ is passed, and it

¹ This refers to the fact that a corpse is buried with its face towards Mecca, this position being termed *Pish Ru*.

is impossible not to admire the splendour of its golden plates. The sacred chamber which is now entered is 33 feet square, with gold-plated doors on two sides, a silver door on the side of the *Sahn-u-Kuhna*, and the silver grating on the side of the *Dār-as-Siyādah*. As there are no windows, with the exception of four small skylights at the base of the dome, the light is distinctly dim and religious. The walls are panelled with exquisite polygonal tiles of many colours—blue, green, and white predominating: with patterns of conventional flowers and an inscription in small *Sals* characters. This inscription, the oldest and perhaps the most important in the shrine, runs as follows:—

(جَرِي تَجْدِيدُ دُحْدُ الْعِمَارَةِ) [two words fallen] (أَلَدَهْرُ ضَمَّةُ
الَّذِينَ صَفْوَةٌ) (الْكَبِيرَةُ زُبْدَةٌ) (نِسَاءُ أَهْلِ الْمَبِيتِ بَيْتِ طَاهِرِ الْمُؤَسَّوِي)
[name fallen] (بِرِيَاةِ الْأَمِيرِ السَّيِّدِ الصَّدَقِ الْكَبِيرِ قَوَامِ الْمَلِكَةِ وَالَّذِينَ
شَرَفِ الْإِسْلَامِ) (وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ أَحْدَلِ الْمُلُوكِ) (السَّيِّدِ الْأَجَلِ)
(دُسْتُورُ خُرَاسَانَ أَبِي) (الْمَعَالِي بْنِ أَحْمَسِينَ) (صَاحِبِ) (بَرَكَاتِ اللَّهِ
مَنْحَعَهُ) [tile missing] (بْنِ يَحْيَى بْنِ عَلِي بْنِ جَعْفَرِ الْمُؤَسَّوِي
أَنَارَ اللَّهُ بُرْهَانَهُ) [tile missing] (سَيِّدِ سُلَاطِينِ الْعَرَبِ) (وَالْعَجَمِ
الْمَنْصُورِ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ) (الْمُعْظَمِ عَلَى الْأَعْدَاءِ) (شَاهِدِ شَاهِدِ الْأَعْظَمِ)
(الْمُعْظَمِ السُّلْطَانِ) (سَنَجَرِ أَبِي الْفَتْحِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سُلْطَانِ)
[tile missing] (بْنِ طَغْرَلْبَغَانَ أَنَارَ اللَّهُ بُرْهَانَهُ) (بِتَارِيخِ شَيْخِ اللَّهِ
الْمُبَارَكِ) (سَنَةِ إِثْنَيْ عَشَرَ) (وَحَمْدُ سَمَائِهِ وَمِنْ الْبُحْرَةِ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامِ) [tile inserted] (عَمَّتْ بَرَكَتُهُ) (تُرْكَاةِ زَمْرُودٍ مَلِكِهِ بَيْتِ
سُلْطَانِ شَيْخِ مُحَمَّدٍ) (بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ) [tile fallen] (الْعَبْدِ الْمُذْنِبِ
عَدُوِّ الْعَالَمِ) (الْقَبْرِ الْمُحْتَاجِ إِلَى رَحْمَتِهِ) (الْحَسَنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ
بْنِ يَحْيَى)

"The renovation of this building was undertaken by (a tile missing, supply the Unique ?) in the world, the Chastity of the Religion, the Beloved, the Great, the Chosen Handmaid of the House (sc. of the Prophet), the daughter of Tahir-ul-Musavi (name missing), by the order of the Amir, the Sayyid, the Great Vizier, the supporter of the Nation and of the Faith, the Glory of Islam and of the Mussulman, the more Just of the Sovereigns, the Sayyid the more Noble, the Vizier of Khurāsān, Abul Ma'ālī bin Husayn, Sahib, may Allah keep cool his Grave . . .¹ bin Yahya bin Ali, bin Jafar al-Musavi, may Allah enlighten his resting-place! (title missing probably).

"(In the time of the reign) of the Lord, the Sultan of the Arabs and of Ajam, the Helped from Heaven, the Victorious over his Foes, the Great Shah of Shahs, the Great, the Honoured, the Sultān Sanjar, Father of Victory, Muhammad son of a Sultan . . . son of Toghrul Khan, may Allah enlighten his resting-place, in the date of the month of Allah (sc. Ramazan), the Blessed, in the year twelve and five hundred from *Hijra* of the Prophet, on Him be Peace (tile inserted 'May his blessings reach all men'), Turkān Zumurrud the Queen, the daughter of the martyred Mahmud son of Muhammad . . .

"The Sinful Slave Sadr-ul-Aalam the Poor, the man who needs His Mercy, Hasan Ali bin Muhammad bin Yahya."

In the above inscription some of the tiles are missing and others have apparently been reset in wrong positions; but there is no reasonable doubt that the tiles were baked and set by the order of the great Seljuk monarch. In this connexion there is a legend that the Vizier of Sultān Sanjar had a son who was afflicted with a lingering disease and went to Tus for change of air. When shooting he pursued a gazelle, which took refuge inside the then neglected

¹ The dots show lacunæ in the inscription.

shrine of the *Imām*. His horse refused to pursue the quarry thither, and the youth ultimately understood that he was on holy ground, where he was miraculously cured of his disease. He accordingly wrote to his father, with the result that the Sultan ordered Sharaf-al-Din Abu Tahir, Kummi, who was Governor of Merv, at that time the capital of Khurāsān, to repair the dome. He was, for forty years, Governor of Merv and also the agent of Turkān Khātun, the heroic wife of Sultān Sanjar, and the daughter of his nephew Mahmud. Above these polygonal tiles is a belt of later tiles in large blue *Suls* letters on a white and gold ground. These letters stand out in bold relief, and the inscription, which is almost perfect, runs as follows:—

هَذِهِ الرُّوْحَةُ الْمُتَقَدِّسَةُ الْمُعَظَّمَةُ الْمُكَرَّمَةُ الْمُطَهَّرَةُ لِمَوْلَانَا لَوْثَامِ
الْمَعْصُومِ الشَّهِيدِ الْمَظْلُومِ الرَّضَا عَلِيِّ بْنِ الْكَاضِمِ مُوسَى ابْنِ
الضَّادِقِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ الْبَاقِرِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ زَيْنِ الْعَابِدِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ
الشَّاهِدِ بِكَرْبَلَا حُسَيْنِ أَخِي الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَإِمَامِ الْمُتَّقِينَ وَوَصِيِّ رَسُولِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ مُحَمَّدِ
بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ابْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ
الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ وَأَعْلَانِهِ الْمُتَنَجِّبِينَ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ
وَمِنْ عَمَلِ الْعَبْدِ الْمَذْنُبِ الرَّاجِي رَحْمَةً رَبِّهِ مُوسَى الْإِمَامِ عَلَيْهِ
الْصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ الْمُتَمَرِّي غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ . . . أضعف
عبد الله محمد بن أبي طاهر بن أبي الحسن . . . بعد ما عمله
وصنعه في تاج غرة جمادى الأولى سنة اثني عشر وستمائة غفر
الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات بمحمد وعترته
الطاهرين

“This sacred, great, honourable, pure tomb for our Lord the innocent *Imām*, the Martyr of tyranny, Rizā Ali, bin

Kāzim Musa, ibn Sadik Ja'far, bin Bakir Muhammad bin Zayn-ul-'Abidin Ali, bin Husayn, the Martyr of Kerbela, brother of Hasan, bin Ali, bin Abi Talib, the Commander of the Faithful, the Pious *Imām*, the Trustee of the Prophet of the God of the Nations, Muhammad bin Abdulla, ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, the Blessings of Allah be on Him and his Family, the Pure, the Spotless, and on his Noble Companions and the Mercy of Allah and his Blessings. From the work of the Sinful Slave, the Hopeful of the Mercy of God. The slave of the *Imām*, on Him be Blessings and Peace, Ali bin Muhammad, Al-Mukri,¹ may Allah forgive him . . . The weaker of the slaves of Allah, Muhammad bin Abi Tahir bin Abi-l-Hasan. . . . After that he worked it, he made it in the date of the first of the month of Jumādi-al-Ūla, in the year Six hundred and twelve, may Allah forgive him and his parents and all the men believers and the women believers by Muhammad and his Family, the Pure."

The date A.H. 612 (1215) marks the period when Ala-u-Din Muhammad Shāh of Khiva had conquered Afghanistan and was preparing to attack the Abbasid Caliphate. Suddenly, however, the Moghul hordes of Chengiz Khan appeared on his northern frontiers, and a few years later he was a refugee. I cannot gather any details as to the individuals whose names are recorded.

Perhaps the greatest importance of these two inscriptions, still almost perfect, is that they prove beyond reasonable doubt that the Moghuls who sacked Meshed did not destroy the shrine of the saint, even if they stripped it of the gold and jewellery which it contained. In other words, the dome over the tomb may well be the very one under which the saint was buried. To continue, some 20 feet from the ground, just below the point where the dome takes off, there is an inscription consisting of verses from

¹ *Mukri* are reciters of prose or versified prayers, which they frequently chant an hour before dawn.

the Koran in glass letters set in plaster. The height of the chamber under the dome is some 40 feet, and the walls are adorned with mirrors set in plaster-work, this part of the decoration being comparatively modern. The floor is paved with blocks of the beautiful marble quarried close by in the hills at Shandiz. Jewelled swords, daggers, shields, bracelets, and *jika* or aigrettes, presented by sovereigns and great nobles, are placed in high recesses, which are prudently covered over with glass.

The *Imām* does not lie in the place of honour under the centre of the dome, as that was already occupied by the mausoleum erected over the Caliph Harun-al-Rashid, of which, however, there is no trace to-day above ground. Indeed, the sacred tomb is set near the north-east corner. It is surrounded by three gratings, the outside one of which rises to a height of some 5 feet and is of steel. A second grating, of brass covered with gold, encloses yet a third grating of steel in which emeralds and rubies are set. This latter was the gift of Shāhrukh, the unhappy grandson of Nādir Shāh who, as an inscription shows, presented it in A.H. 1160 (1747). Between the gratings the floor is covered with glass bricks. A very richly jewelled dummy door, the gift of Fath Ali Shāh, is set in a projection at the foot of the tomb. Above, the oblong mausoleum is completed by a wooden cover plated with gold. There are four great golden candlesticks at its corners, and the richest embroideries cover it. To conclude this description I cannot do better than give a brief account of the ceremonies pilgrims perform in this Holy of Holies.

Upon entering the tomb-chamber they prostrate themselves on the threshold, and then rising approach the grating round the tomb and, seizing the lock and kissing it, pray to the *Imām*, not only on their own behalf, but also on behalf of all their friends and relatives who have so desired it. Then they move round to the *Pāyīn-i-Pā*,

or the "foot" of the grave, and here, after prostration, a second prayer is read. Continuing on, they move slowly and solemnly to the *Pusht-i-Sar*, or "behind", facing the *Ṣaḥn-i-Kuhna*. Thence there is just room to pass to the *Bālā-i-Sar*, or the "head". In this narrow part all the enemies of the *Imām* are cursed, the *mulla* crying out "A curse be on Harun and on Mamun!" To this a reply is made, "Let it be more!" At the head of the tomb the grating is again kissed, and after prostrations two prayers are read. Thrice is the tomb encircled and thrice are the curses pronounced, after which, with tears of joy and in deep humility, the pilgrims lift up their hands to heaven and each says: "O Allah, accept my prayers and receive my praises of Thee, and bind me to Thy chosen people . . ." This concludes what is a most moving ceremony.

The *Ṣaḥn-i-Nau*, or "New Court", needs but a short description, as it is a smaller and altogether less important pile of buildings: in fact, it obviously suffers from being an imitation on cheap lines of the *Ṣaḥn-i-Kuhna*. Commenced by Fath Ali Shāh, of the Kājār dynasty, it was added to by Muhammad Shāh, his successor, and Nāsir-ad-Dīn Shāh presented a second but smaller golden portico. The inscriptions are in grandiose language and modelled on the older ones, but everyone agrees that, compared with the *Ṣaḥn-i-Kuhna*, the New Court is insignificant.

It now remains to describe the mosque of Gauhar Shād, the third and the finest of the great courts which surround the golden dome. Approached from the *Dār-us-Siyādah*, a noble quadrangle, with four great arches, is entered. That to the south-west, known as the *Aywān-i-Makṣūra*, supports the blue dome, which somewhat dwarfs the golden dome of the shrine, and robs the pile, when viewed from a distance, of symmetry and unity of design. In this portico is set a wooden pulpit which is kept locked, the legend being that the Mahdi, when he reappears, will first

show himself to the faithful from this structure. The loftiness and elegance of the quadrangle, together with its perfect proportions and beautiful tile-work, combine to make it the noblest mosque in Central Asia, so far as I can learn. In large white *Suls* letters on a dark-blue ground the following inscription covers the front of the unrivalled *Aywan-i-Makṣūra* :—

قَدْ أَنْشَأَتْ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ أَجْمَاعُ الْأَعْظَمِ وَالْبَيْتِ الْمُحَرَّمِ فِي
 أَيَّامِ دَوْلَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُعَظَّمِ وَالْخَاقَانِ الْأَعْدَلِ الْأَكْرَمِ مَوْلَى
 مُلُوكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ أَبُو
 الْمُظَفَّرِ شَاهِرُخْ بِنِ تَيْمُورْ كُورْكَانِي بِيَادَرُ خَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مُلْكُهُ
 وَسُلْطَانُهُ وَأَفَاضَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ بَرْدَ وَعِذْلَهُ وَأَحْسَنَهُ الْخَفَرَةَ الْعُلْيَا
 وَالْجَلِيلَةَ الْكِبْرَاءِ شَمْسُ سَمَاءِ الْعِزَّةِ وَالسِّدَادِ الْمَوْصُوفَةِ بِالشَّرَفِ
 وَالْعِزِّ وَالرَّشَادِ كُوْخَرْشَادِ أَبَدَتْ عَظَمَتُهَا وَدَامَتْ عَظَمَتُهَا وَكَثُرَتْ
 بَرَكَاتُهَا بِالْبَيْتِ الصَّادِقِ الْقُدْوَى وَالْعَقِيدَةِ الرَّاسِخَةِ الْعُظْمَى الْحُصُولِ
 الْمَامُولِ رَاجِيًا مِنَ اللَّهِ بِأَحْسَنِ التَّبَوُّلِ مِنْ عَيْنِ مَا إِلَيْهَا لِحُسْنِ
 مَا إِلَيْهَا وَإِصْلَاحِ مَا إِلَيْهَا يَوْمَ تُجْزَى كُلُّ نَفْسٍ أَعْمَالُهَا إِبْتِغَاءً لِرُوحِهِ
 اللَّهُ وَطَلَبًا لِمَرْضَاتِهِ وَشُكْرًا عَلَى الْإِنِّمِ كَسْبِهِ رَاجِيًا إِلَى اللَّهِ
 بِأَيْسَرِ بَيْنِ شَاهِرُخْ بِنِ تَيْمُورْ كُورْكَانِي

في ٨٣١

“Her Highness, the Noble in Greatness, the Sun of the Heaven of Chastity and Continence, Famous for Nobility and Honour and Piety, Gauhar Shād, may her Greatness be eternal and may her Chastity endure and may her Charity increase with true Thought and high, and with Pious Intent of Heart of Lofty Ideal for fulfilling and accomplishing her hopes in Allah, may He accept it; from her private property for the benefit of her future state and

for the Day on which the Works of every one will be judged. with Zeal for Allah and with Desire to please Allah and with Thankfulness for the Benefits of Allah and for Praise of the Benefits granted by Allah, built this Great Masjid-i-Jāmi' the Holy House, in the era of the reign of the Great Sultān, and the more Just Khākān, the more Generous, the Lord of Rulers of the Arabs and of Ajam, the Sultan, son of a Sultan, the Father of Victory, Shāh-rukh, son of Taymur Gurakāni, Bahādur Khān, may Allah make eternal his Kingdom and Empire; and may He (i.e. Allah) increase on the inhabitants of the world his Goodness, his Justice, and his Generosity. Thus may Allah accept her work with beneficent acceptance and may He bless her with His choice blessings and may He grant her the greater of the boons which He has promised to the good. Baisunghur, son of Shāhrukh, son of Taymur Gūrakāni wrote this inscription with hope in Allah in 821."¹

In the middle of the above inscription "The Kingdom belongs to Allah" (المَلِكُ لِلّٰهِ) is written in Kufic letters. Heading the inscription are two lines in small writing on tiles, as follows:—

اِتَّفَقَ تَحْرِيرُهَا فِيْ اَوَّلِ شَهْرِ النَّوْ الْمُبَارَكِ رَجَبِ الْمُرَجَّبِ
سَبْهَ اَحَدِ وَعَشْرَيْنَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ

"The writing of this inscription happened towards the beginning of the auspicious month of Rajab 821 of the *Hijra*."

At the end of the inscription the following two lines are written:—

عَمَلُ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيفِ الْفَقِيرِ الْمُحْتَاجِ لِعِزَّةِ الْمَلِكِ الرَّحْمَنِ
قَوَامُ الدِّينِ ابْنِ زَيْنِ الدِّينِ شِيرَازِي الطَّيْلِانِ

¹ Shāhrukh reigned from A.H. 807 (1404) to A.H. 850 (1447).

"The work of the slave, weak and poor, needing the favour of the Gracious Allah, Kiwām-ud-Din, son of Zayn-ud-Din Shirāzi, the mason."

No description of this great mosque would be complete without referring to the *Masjid-i-Pīra-zan*, or "Mosque of the Old Woman". The legend runs that an old dame owned part of the land required by Gauhar Shād and declined to sell it at any price; but insisted that a separate mosque should be built in the interior of the courtyard. This has been done and the "Mosque of the Old Woman", which is roofless and open on all four sides, is still there to-day, as the plan shows.

To take the stately pile of buildings as a whole, it can be safely said, on the unique authority of Professor Vambéry, that the actual tomb-chamber, or *haram*, surpasses in richness the most renowned shrines of the Muhammadan world in Central Asia, and the great traveller also considers that the mosque of Gauhar Shād may be awarded "the palm of superior beauty to those of Samarcand and Herat". Consequently, it is rather sad to think that fanaticism bars the way to the European traveller who would fain appreciate to the full this the Glory of the Shia world.

KHAF AND THE MADRASA OF KHARGIRD

In "A Fifth Journey in Persia"¹ I described the district of Khāf, the Arab Khwāf, and earlier still, Khwāb. I also referred to the once famous college of Khargird, which word is stated to be a corruption of Khusraugird or "the building of Khusrau". The *Madrasa* is perfect, so far as the brickwork is concerned, and covers an area of five-sevenths of an acre. The main gateway is a noble piece of work, inlaid with coloured bricks, and beautified by an inscription of white *Suls* lettering on a blue ground. The

¹ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for November and December, 1906; also Guy le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

right half of the inscription, consisting of verses from the Koran, has been defaced, but, fortunately, the left half was legible and runs as follows:—

أَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ نُبَادُرْخَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مُلْكَهُ وَ سُلْطَانَهُ أَفْتَابِ
 دُرُجِ دَوْلَتِ آسْمَانِ عَدَلِ وَ دَادِ بِإِدْشَادِ رُبْعِ مَسْكُونِ خُسْرُو
 صَاحِبِ قُرْآنِ بِسَعْيِ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيفِ الْمَحْتِاجِ الْخَافِي الْبُزْجِرَانِ
 أَحْمَدُ ابْنِ إِسْحَاقَ وَ فَخْرُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدُ الْخَافِي
 سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَارْبَعِينَ وَ ثَمَانِمِائَةٍ

“The Father of the Victorious, the Valiant Lord, may Allah, the Omnipotent, make his Empire and Kingdom everlasting! The Sun of the Tower of Empire, the Heaven of Justice of Equity, the King of the inhabited quarter of the Globe, the Khusrau, the Lord of the Conjunction of the Planets. By the endeavour of the Slave, the Weak, the Poor, the Bare-footed, the two Viziers, Ahmad son of Ishāk and Fakhr-ud-Din Muhammad of Khāf. In the year Eight and Forty and Eight hundred.”

This inscription is of value as proving that the college was built in A.H. 848 (1445), during the reign of Shāh-rukh, who is the “Khusrau” in the inscription and who died two years later. It is also of interest to be able to identify the two founders, Ahmad ibn Ishāk, Ghiyās-ud-Din, and Fakhr-ud-Din, Muhammad. These two individuals were joint viziers of Shāhrukh, and history relates that they were friends to the last!

The interior is a quadrangle in the usual style, with four open arches. The coloured bricks are still intact, but the mosaics, which are exquisite, are almost all defaced. Their colours are sapphire-blue with green, yellow, and white, the motive of the pattern being conventional Kufic letters. Fine dark-blue mosaic tiles, with conventional flowers in light blue, white, and gold,

originally covered the arches, the finest being great stars : but, alas ! these have almost all been removed, and now adorn collections in Europe. On either side of the main gate is a domed building, which is decorated with exquisite specimens of the lovely old Persian plaster-work. The panelling consists of dark-blue tiles relieved by hexagons of a milk-white marble. Yet another inscription was copied, which we found in mosaics at the back of the arch facing the gateway. It runs—

بُنِيَتْ هَذِهِ الْمَدْرَسَةُ الْمُبَارَكَةُ الْكَافِيَّةُ بِعَمَلِ الْعَبْدِ الْمَرْحُومِ
أُسْتَاذِ غِيَاثِ الدِّينِ شِيرَازِيِّ وَتَمَّتْ بِعَمَلِ الْعَبْدِ أَسْتَاذِ قِوَامِ
الدِّينِ شِيرَازِيِّ

“ This auspicious and spacious *madrasa* was built by the work of the deceased slave the master-craftsman Ghiyās-ud-Din, Shirāzi, and was completed by the work of the slave the master-craftsman Kīwām-ud-Din, Shirāzi.”

Kīwām-ud-Din was the architect of the Gauhar Shād mosque at Meshed, and also, I believe, of the *Muṣallā* at Herat, which latter building was destroyed for military reasons by the late Amir. About Kīwām-ud-Din a story has come down the ages, according to which he fell into disfavour with Shāhrukh and absented himself from court for the space of a year. During this period of leisure he wrote a treatise on astronomy and sent it to his royal master, hoping thereby to be restored to favour. In reply came a distich—

تُو كَارِ زَمِينِ رَا نَكُو سَاخْتِي
كَ بِا آسْمَانِ نِهَزِيدِ اَخْتِي

“ Thou didst work well indeed on Earth,
That thou also aspiredst to the Heaven.”

The photographs of this college by no means do it justice : but if one sees the superb tiles and the lovely

mosaics, it is possible to estimate what a dazzling blaze of splendour this stately college must have presented at the time of its completion, a generation before Alfred the Great sat on the throne of England.

KALAT-I-NADIRI

The extraordinary natural fortress of Kalāt-i-Nādiri, enclosed by hills, rising sheer for thousands of feet, and the famous thesaurus of Nādir Shāh has been described by me in detail in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for November and December, 1906. The only inscription that I saw or heard of has hitherto been attributed to Arghun or Argawān Shāh, presumably because it is cut in the living rock near the *Darband*, or Natural Gateway, called after him.¹ The inscription is not perfect, the water having cut a channel in it: but both its contents and also the ornamentation show that it was the work of and in honour of Nādir Shāh. It runs as follows:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 ابتدا نام خدای احد فرد و قدیم
 احمد مرسل مکی قرشبی نور یقین
 آل واصحاب هم رحمت بسمیار

سربر شده نادر شل امیر
 مک چون قدرت حق صاحب فرشد بایش
 مصطفی خلق و مسیحادم و یوسف طلعت
 بوعلی دایم و حاتم کف و تقمان حکمت
 تخت شهبی حلق عمیم

هر شرافت که نویسم ز مناقبش کامل

“In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

1. First the name of Allah, One without Peer, and Ancient, Powerful, Eternal, and Immortal and Wise.

¹ Vide Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 128.

2. Ahmad, the Prophet of Mecca, of the K̲uraysh, a Certain Light. He displayed justice and concluded the number of the Prophets and the Honour of the Earth.
3. His family and his Companions were a great mercy . . .
[Second verse of No. 3 blank.]
4. [First verse of No. 4 almost blank.]
Became the throne of Nādir . . . like a King.
5. But like the Power of God he, who built the building,
was the Lord of Power . . .
[Second verse of No. 5 nearly blank.]
6. With the courtesy of the Prophet, with the breath of
the Messiah, and with a visage like Yusuf.
Like Bu Ali in learning, like Hatim in generosity, and
like Lukman in learning.
7. [First verse of No. 7 and most of second verse wanting.]
The royal throne . . . benign to all.
8. All the praise I write is suited for his praise . . . "
[Second verse of No. 8 wanting.]

Note. There are a few more verses which are illegible.

THE MUSALLA

About three-quarters of a mile from the city, on the Herat road, is situated the fine *Muṣallā*, or "Place of Prayer". Such mosques were built outside Persian cities for the special prayers at the end of Ramazan, i.e. the *Id-i-Fitr*, and also on the *Id-i-Kurbān*. These special services at a special mosque outside the city have fallen into disuse among the Shias, but are still observed by Sunnis. To-day the *Muṣallā* would be used, if at all, in case of dire calamity such as war, drought, or pestilence.

The building consists of a gigantic arch, with an interior height of about 60 feet and a depth of 30 feet. Its width is 36 feet. There are two *gushvar*, or side chapels, used by women.

Like most public buildings in Persia, the *Muṣallā* is

in a state of decay; but the tile-work, which is almost all mosaic, is still in a fair state of preservation. On the main arch are verses from the Koran in fine white *Suls* letters on a blue background. On each side are ten lines of a Persian inscription on a blue ground with yellow letters and *Nast'ulik* character, which run as follows:—

بدور نسلممان شه کامکار ؟ کدهست از وجودش جهانرا نظام	Inscription on the right side of arch.
فلک دارکاد و کوکب حشم سکندر وفار و قباد احتشام	
بتوفیق فرمان دد کن فکان بتائید مسمار بیت الحرام	
باللهام حی الذی لا یموت بخرمان سواب والا مقام	
ابو صالح انصدر دین کز ازل بود دولتش تا ابد مستدام	
برکاری وسی حاجی ملک کد کارها باشدن اهنمام	Inscription on the left side of arch.
زبس جهد کرد از سر صدق گشت بانندک ز ساز مصلی تمام	
چو مستغنی از بهر تباریخ ان نهادم بشکرای اندیش گام	
بسکوش دلم کفشت پیر خرد بود این بنا مجمع خاص وعام	
عمل حاجی شجاع اغفرانی کتب محمد حسین مشهدی	

Inscription on the Right Side of Arch.

“In the time of Sulayman Shāh, the Fortunate, who has given order in the world. His Audience Chamber is the Sun: His Army the Stars. His Authority like Alexander's and his Greatness like that of Kūbād. By the guidance of Allah and by the Power of the Builder of the Bayt-al-Haram (sc. God). By the inspiration of He who is alive eternally: by the order of the Great Personage of High family: ¹ Abu Sālīh Sadr-ud-Din, from the beginning of the world to the end of the world may his wealth remain.”

¹ The name of the “Great Personage” is not given: it is presumably Sulayman Shāh, who reigned from A.H. 1077 (1667) to A.H. 1105 (1694).

Inscription on the Left Side of Arch.

“By the superintendence and labour of Haji Malik, who, in his work, is thorough. From the trouble he took in the path of Sincerity in a short period he completed this *muṣallā*. Like an inquirer on the subject of the date, I wandered in the plain of thought. The wise Old Man said to the ear of my heart, ‘This Building is the Place of Assembly for the Multitude.’¹

“The work (sc. the tile-work) of the Haji Shujāʾ, Isfahani.

“Muhammad Husayn Mashhadi wrote the inscriptions.”

¹ i.e. A.H. 1087 (1677).

XXVI

HINDUISM IN ASSAM

BY SIR CHARLES N. E. ELIOT

DURING a recent visit to Assam I made some notes on the religion of the country which may possibly prove of interest. The forms of Hinduism prevalent there merit attention for two reasons. Firstly, they present some special developments of the Vaishnava faith in which monasticism and puritanism attain a prominence unusual in contemporary India and, secondly, they illustrate clearly and compendiously the methods by which the propagation of Hinduism in areas originally not Hindu is effected. The historical record, if not ancient, is exceptionally authentic for the last few centuries, and though the Assamese sects have features of their own yet the circumstances of their rise and subdivision may throw light on what occurred elsewhere.¹

Assam has played in the east much the same part as the Panjab in the west, that is to say it has been the door and vestibule through which a long and turbulent procession of invaders has entered from the north. But whereas in the west the majority of the invaders belonged to powerful races importing their civilization with them and moving with an impetus which carried them far beyond their point of entry, in the east they were obscure tribes, who lingered in the border provinces and showed little disposition to impose their languages or institutions on others. It is difficult to trace the migrations of the earlier arrivals, but they seem to have met and

¹ I am indebted for much information to Gait's *History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1906, the *Assam District Gazetteers*, and the Report on Assam in the last census of India, 1901. The article on Assam in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* unfortunately did not come into my hands until after the present paper was written.

blended with another race, thus forming the present population of Bengal. The historians of later Assam are occupied with the doings of four principal states founded by the Koches, Kacharis, Jaintias, and Ahoms. The Manipuris, though not inferior to their neighbours, stand somewhat apart in political isolation, whereas the other tribes were continually colliding. The most important of the four were the Ahoms, and the story of their advance at the expense of the others forms the major part of Assamese history. They belonged to the same race as the Siamese and Shans and can be traced as far as southern China, whence they descended at the end of the thirteenth century. Their chronicles, called *Buranjis*, go back to 568 A.D. and though mythical in their earlier portions are said to be very trustworthy from the reign of Sukapha (1228 A.D.) onwards. This prince arrived from Burmah and conquered parts of the present Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. The Ahoms continued to advance in the following centuries, although they had to contend not only with other local tribes but also with various Moslim invasions. In 1671 they had a decisive success over the Mohammedans and annexed the district of Kamrup. For the next hundred years their power was at its height, but subsequently it declined and suffered much from the attacks of the Burmese.

The Koches are allied to the Bodo and belong to the Tibeto-Burmese division. At present their political power is represented by the little state of Koch-Bihar, but in the sixteenth century, before the supremacy of the Ahoms was assured, they were for a short time practically masters of the greater part of Assam. The Kacharis are nearly allied to the Koches and as early as the thirteenth century possessed a kingdom on the south bank of the Brahmaputra which included the Naga Hills and North Cachar. In spite of conflicts with the Ahoms this kingdom lasted with varying boundaries until the nineteenth century. The ruins of Dimapur, the old Kachari

capital, on the River Dhansiri show that in the sixteenth century they had attained a relatively high state of civilization. The Jaintias resemble the Khasis in their physical type and language, which latter belongs to the Mon-Khmer family. It is possible that these two tribes represent the remnants of the first invaders who once occupied the whole of Assam, but were in most parts submerged by fresh waves of immigrant population. It does not appear that the Khasis ever formed a political unit, but from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth the Rajas of the Jaintia Hills reigned in regular succession and kept up a conflict with their neighbours.

Most of these tribes seem to have brought with them religions of the same type, which are not yet extinct and include creation legends together with a belief in the existence of the soul after death and in benevolent deities. In practice, however, the evil spirits who injure mankind, beasts, and crops, unless propitiated, receive more attention. Divination and ceremonies for obtaining good luck are held important and the priests or diviners sometimes form a special class, as the Deodhais among the Ahoms, and the Deoris of the Chutiyas. A special feature in these aboriginal religions was the cult of goddesses who were worshipped with human sacrifices and immoral rites. Thus we hear that the Chutiyas of Sadiya used to adore a goddess called Kesai Khati, or the eater of raw flesh, and that criminals or voluntary victims were offered to her. As in ancient Mexico the victims were treated with honour and lived in luxury during the period preceding the ceremony. Similar sacrifices were performed by the Tipperas, Kacharis, Koches, Jaintias, and others.¹

It seems clear that these cults are related to the form of Hindu religion called Śāktism, and two stages in the

¹ See E. A. Gait, "Human Sacrifices in Ancient Assam": JASB., 1898, p. 56.

relationship can be distinguished. In the later stage, which may be witnessed even at the present day, an aboriginal goddess or demon is identified with one of the aspects (generally the "black" or fierce aspects) of Śiva's spouse. But such identification is facilitated by the fact that such goddesses as Kālī, Bhairavī, and Chinnamastakā are not products of purely Hindu imagination, but represent an earlier stage of amalgamation in which Hindu and aboriginal ideas are compounded. It is probable that the Śāktist form of worship originated in Bengal and Assam. It is true that a goddess who requires to be propitiated with human victims has temples in most parts of India, but Śāktism in the sense of a definite sect with scriptures of its own, if not confined to the north-east corner, at least has its head-quarters there. It has deeply affected the Buddhism of Tibet, and it also tainted the decadent mediaeval Buddhism of Bihar, but, so far as I know, there is no evidence that Buddhism suffered similar corruption in the north-west.¹ Except in Bengal and Assam, I doubt if there are any temples in India which admittedly countenance the rites of Śāktism, and its adherents elsewhere are largely recruited from among Bengali clerks. There is therefore every reason to ascribe to it a local origin, and many of the chief Tantras² show distinct local colour. For instance, the fish to be used in the *panca-makāra* rites are described by Bengali names.

One of the principal Tantric legends relates how the body of the Śakti was cut into pieces, which were scattered over Assam and Bengal. This story has an uncouth and barbarous air, and seems out of place even

¹ But Udyāna is traditionally connected with magic and Tantrism, and it would appear that the goddess Anahit, who was revered in Bactria and who figures on the coins of the Kushans, was worshipped with immoral, if not with bloodthirsty rites. It would consequently not be surprising if Tantric elements were found in Kushan Buddhism.

² That is to say, the Tantras inculcating Śāktic worship. The name is commonly restricted to such works, but it means merely abridgement and Vaishnava Tantras from South India are quoted.

in Puranic mythology. It recalls the tales told of Osiris, Orpheus, and Hafdán the Black,¹ and may be ultimately traceable to the idea that the dismemberment of a deity or a human representative ensures fertility. It makes its appearance late in Sanskrit literature, and I have not seen any authority quoted for it earlier than the Tantras or Upapurānas (e.g. Kālikā).² Various reasons are given for the dismemberment, and the incident is rather awkwardly tacked on to other legends. One common version relates that when Satī died of vexation because her husband Śiva was insulted by her father Dakṣha, Śiva took up her corpse and wandered distractedly, carrying it on his shoulder. In order to stop this penance Viṣṇu followed him and cut off pieces from the corpse with the quoit Sudarśana, until the whole had fallen to earth in fifty-one pieces. The spots where these pieces touched the ground are held to be sacred, and are called *pīṭhs*. At most of them are shown a rock supposed to represent a portion of the goddess's body, and some object called a *bhairabi*, or guardian left by Śiva to protect her, which generally takes the form of a lingam. The most important of these *pīṭhs* are Kāmākhyā near Gauhati, and Faljur in the Jaintia Parganas, where the pudenda and left thigh respectively are said to have fallen. Another one, inferior in sanctity but even better known on account of its position, is Kālighāt. Surely we have here an amalgamation of Hinduism with more savage beliefs, and the Śāktic ritual, especially the

¹ See for these stories of dismemberment Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, pp. 269-73.

² Gait's note (*History of Assam*, p. 11) seems to me misleading in so far as it implies that the germ of the story is found in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The germ of Dakṣha's sacrifice is found there, but hardly of Satī's dismemberment. In the Purānas Satī dies of vexation, but is not cut in pieces. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa she is consumed by self-produced fire. The late appearance of the legend does not of course mean that it is late in itself, but merely that it was not known or not countenanced by Sanskrit writers until mediaeval times.

immolation of human victims, tells the same tale. Such sacrifices no doubt formed an occasional part of the earliest Aryan religion, and the burning of widows and various forms of religious suicide which continued until the nineteenth century show that the taking or surrender of life as a religious ceremony was not shocking to many Hindu sects. But though instances of human sacrifices can be cited from most parts of India, it would be hard to find a parallel elsewhere to the hecatombs regularly offered in Assam with the full official sanction of the Brahmans and of the modern scriptures.

At first we hear of these rites being performed by tribal priests, but the transition to Hinduism took place when they were celebrated under Brahmanic auspices. As in all districts and sects of India, the really important point was not the character of the god, the doctrine, or the ceremony, but the admission that the right to worship, teach, and officiate resided in the Brahmans. In return for this acceptance of their spiritual pre-eminence, the Brahmans were ready to support the authority of tribal chiefs, and to supply them with unblushingly fabricated Hindu pedigrees. Thus when the Koch chief Bisu or Bisva Singh became powerful about 1515 they declared him to be a son of Śiva, and his tribesmen to be Kshatriyas who had lost their sacred threads when fleeing before Paraśurāma. The Manipuris are declared to be the descendants of Arjuna, who is said to have lived in their country with a Naga woman.¹ As late as 1790 the

¹ At the present day converts to Hinduism are generally enrolled in the Koch caste. Koch was originally a tribal name, but in Assam it now signifies merely a caste with no racial character, but divided into many subdivisions in which the rules of Hinduism are observed with varying strictness. The families of converts often pass through several subdivisions in successive generations. They begin in the lowest, where eating flesh and drinking alcohol are permitted, and then pass into higher classes where these practices are forbidden. New converts are called *Saranīyas*, i.e. those who have repeated the *Saranam* formula to a Guru.

Kachari Raja of Khaspur and his brother "entered the body of a copper effigy of a cow. On emerging from it they were proclaimed to be Hindus of the Kshatriya caste, and a genealogy of a hundred generations reaching to Bhīm, the hero of the Mahabharat, was composed for them by the Brahmans".¹ Throughout its history in Assam Śāktism seems to have been allied with the Rajas and aristocracy, and often to have combined with them in persecuting the more democratic forms of Vaishnavism. Until the sixteenth century it was the main form of Hinduism in these regions, but it was probably confined to the upper classes and the mass of the people were not hinduized. The traces of ancient Buddhism which have been reported appear to be not authentic, and though there are indications that Indian influence reached Burma by land, Yuan Chwang states² that in his time Buddhism was not and never had been known in Kāmarūpa. Legend connects Kṛishṇa with Assam, and temples to him and Viṣṇu are mentioned, but before the sixteenth century it does not appear that Vaishnavism was a serious rival of Śāktism, or even clearly distinguished from it.

Before treating of contemporary Śāktism, it may be well to put together what we know of it in the past. The story is simple, for the religious history of the Ahoms is a record of the continuous progress of Śāktism and Brahmanic influence among the upper classes, diversified by the spread of popular forms of Vaishnavism which were not perfectly under the control of either the Brahmans or the Government. The old tribal religion could oppose to both movements little but a surly conservatism, for Hinduism, even in its degraded forms, meant the adoption of a relatively higher civilization. In 1397 we hear that

¹ Gait, *History of Assam*, 1906, p. 351.

² Watters, ii, pp. 185-6. But possibly Yuan Chwang's own visit to the Court of Assam may have led to the introduction of Buddhism. In any case it is probable that a few centuries later, when it had been accepted as the religion of Tibet, it did not remain wholly unknown to Assam.

a prince named Sudangpha became king of the Ahoms. According to the story, his mother had been driven from the palace by a court intrigue, and was sent adrift on a raft down the Brahmaputra. The river carried her to a Brahman village in Habung, where her son was brought up. On ascending the throne he summoned his foster-father to be his adviser, and introduced many Hindu rites and beliefs among the Ahoms. We hear little about religion during the fifteenth century, but it is significant that after 1497 the kings have usually Hindu as well as Ahom names, often of religious significance, such as Swāmi Nārāyaṇa. The great religious event of the sixteenth century is the introduction of popular Vaishnavism, of which I will treat subsequently. But though it spread rapidly among the masses, its effect was to increase the zeal of the Śāktist Brahmans and their royal patrons. We hear that Brahmanic influence increased, notably during the reign of Pratap Singh (1603-41), who erected temples to Śiva at Dergaon and Bishmath, and sacrificed prisoners of war at Kāmākhyā. But this monarch was apt to judge of theology by inconveniently practical tests, for when his son died shortly after a distribution of gifts to Brahmans he was so enraged that he executed many of the recipients. Under his successors both Ahom and Hindu rites seem to have been countenanced by Government. Official sacrifices were offered to Śiva and the Ahom gods simultaneously, and solemn oaths were administered, with double formalities. But Gadadhar Singh (1681-96) was a definite patron of Śāktism. He built the temple of Umānanda on Peacock Island, opposite Gauhati, and made numerous grants to Brahmans. He also persecuted the Vaishnava sects. His successor, Rudra Singh (1696-1714), reversed his policy in this last respect, but in his later years embraced the Śākta faith, even more definitely than his predecessors. He refused to let any of his own subjects exercise spiritual authority over him, and

therefore summoned to his court Krishṇarām Bhaṭṭācārya, a famous Śāktist Brahman from Nadia, and became his disciple. But even then his royal spirit rebelled against the requirement of the ritual that he should prostrate himself before his Guru, and the learned doctor was departing in anger when an earthquake occurred, which caused the king to recall him in haste. He still, it appears, remained obstinate about the obeisance, but he made his son Sib Singh become a disciple in due form, and managed to pacify the holy man.

It was in the reign of Sib Singh (1714-44) that Hinduism became the national religion of the Ahoms, those who adhered to the old tribal beliefs and ceremonies being regarded as a separate and inferior class. The people gradually abandoned their old customs, especially the use of meat and alcohol. Large grants were given to Brahmans and many temples were built at Sibsagar, Gaurisagar, and elsewhere. The Vaishnavas, especially the sect called Moāmariās, were persecuted, but favours were heaped on the Śāktas. Krishṇarām was entrusted with the management of the temple of Kāmākhyā, and his descendants, known as the Parbatiya Gosains, are still regarded as the head of the sect. But when Lakshmi Singh, the younger brother of Sib Singh, ascended the throne in 1769, the Parbatiya Gosain declined to recognize him, maintaining that he was illegitimate. The king accordingly imported another family of priests called the Na (or new) Gosains from Bengal, who became the rivals of the earlier foundation. Probably the people began to feel the weight of the Brahmanic yoke in this reign, for there appears to have been a double reaction. The Moāmariās raised a formidable rebellion, and the Deodhais or tribal priests attributed the misfortunes of the country to the neglect of the ancient Ahom rites. For a time the Deodhais regained their influence, but their religion was hardly capable of competing with Hinduism. Shortly

afterwards the chroniclers record that a solemn ceremony was held in honour of the goddess Tārā and great largess distributed to Brahmans. We hear of no further resistance to the progress of Hinduism, but there are even now a few Deodhais who practise divination and preserve some knowledge of the old Ahom language.

The Koch kings became active patrons of Hinduism earlier than their Ahom rivals, which is not unnatural as their possessions lay nearer to India proper. Bishwa Singh (1515-40) rebuilt the temple of Kāmākhyā and imported families of Brahmans. His successor Nar Nārāyaṇa (1540-84) again restored Kāmākhyā, which had meanwhile been destroyed by the Mohammedans. On the occasion of its consecration a hundred and forty men were sacrificed, their heads being offered to the goddess on copper salvers. He also protected the rising Vaishnava sects, but made no attempt to impose Hinduism on his subjects. On the contrary he set aside special tracts of land for the performance of aboriginal rites. A later Koch king, Raghu Deb, restored and endowed the temple of Hajo, which had also been destroyed by Mohammedans, and dedicated it with human sacrifices, although in his inscriptions he describes himself as a worshipper of Kṛishṇa.

The mass of the Jaintia people do not appear to have ever been much under the influence of Brahmans. The chiefs, however, were Śāktas, and human sacrifices were offered annually at Faljur on the ninth day of the Durgāpūjā.

According to the Census Report of 1901 the Śāktas number only 702,185, as against 3,500,000 Vaishnavas. But these figures probably do not represent their real strength. The sect has not a good reputation among Hindus, and many who belong to it prefer to call themselves by another name. Still, it cannot be said that any odium attaches to the designation Śākta, at any rate in Kamrup, and officials of good position in the Government

service describe themselves as such. The chief sanctuary of the sect is at Kāmākhyā (or Kāmākshā) on the Nilachal hill, which stands on the banks of the Brahmaputra, about two miles below Gauhati. It is mentioned in the Padma Pīṇā. As observed above, the temples have been rebuilt several times, and about 1715 were munificently endowed by the Ahom king, and placed under the management of the Parbatīya Gosains. Considerable estates are still assigned to their upkeep, but it is complained that a large proportion of the revenues is diverted to private uses. There are ten¹ shrines on the hill dedicated to various forms of the Śakti, such as Kālī, Tārā, Bhairavī, Bhuvanesvarī, etc. The situation is magnificent, commanding an extensive prospect over the Brahmaputra and the plains on either bank, but none of the buildings are of much architectural merit. The largest and best is the temple dedicated to Kāmākhyā herself, the goddess of sexual desire. It is of the style usual in Northern India, an unlighted shrine surmounted by a śikra or dome, and approached by a rather ample vestibule, which is also imperfectly lighted. An inscription has been preserved recording the restoration of the temple by Nar Nārāyan and his brother, but only the present basement dates from their time, most of the superstructure being recent. Europeans may not enter the temple, but an image of the goddess can be seen from a side door. In the depths of the shrine is said to be a cleft in the rock, adored as the Yoni of Śakti. In front of the temple are two posts to which a goat is tied, and decapitated daily at noon. On festivals large numbers of goats are killed, and it is remarkable that similar sacrifices are offered to Śiva in the temple of Umānanda, although as a rule he is not, like his spouse, propitiated with animal victims. Pūjā is performed only once a day, but it is said to last from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., and in the

¹ So I was told, but I saw only six.

course of it offerings of hot food are made to the goddess. A noticeable feature at Kāmākhyā is the great number of little girls called Kumāris, aged from 6 to 10, to whom pilgrims are expected to present alms. My guides maintained that they are merely the ordinary population of the villages on the hill, but their numbers seem out of all proportion to the boys, and I think they are brought from various districts and dedicated to the goddess. At one temple I saw a female ascetic dressed in yellowish clothes. She said she had lived four years at Kāmākhyā, but was not connected with any particular order or confraternity. Below the principal shrine is the temple of Bhairavī. Human sacrifices were offered here in comparatively recent times, and it is not denied that they would be offered now if the law allowed.¹ Also it is not denied that the so-called left-hand rites comprising "the five m's" (matsya, mudrā, madya, māmsa, maithuna) are frequently performed in these temples, and that Aghoris may be found in them. The spot attracts a considerable number of pilgrims from Bengal, and a wealthy devotee has built a villa on the hill and resides there for the purpose of taking part in the rites. One of the principal ceremonies is called Cakra, apparently because at its commencement the devotees sit in a circle. It is performed at midnight and is of five kinds (Viracakra, Rājac., Devac.,

¹ The rules for these sacrifices are given in the Rudhirādhyāya (Chapter of Blood) of the Kāhikā Purāṇa, which, however, appears to prohibit them for the three highest castes. It is translated in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. 1798, pp. 371-91, and specially mentions Kāmākhyā as one of the goddesses who are pleased with human victims. Before the immolation the sacrificer worships Brahmā and other deities as if they were present in different parts of the victim's body, and then adores the victim himself as an assemblage of all the deities. An axe is consecrated to Kālī by the recitation of special mantras, and with it the victim is decapitated. His head is offered to the goddess on a salver of gold, silver, copper, brass, or wood, but not of iron. Offerings of the sacrificer's own blood drawn from the upper parts of the body may also be presented, as also a lamp with which he has burnt himself in various places.

Mahāc., Paśuc.), some of which require the assistance of five women of various castes. I was informed that the chief scriptures of the sect are the Kālikā Purāṇa, the Joginī (= Yoginī) Tantra, and the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra.¹ The Śākta Brahmans make no pretension to a knowledge of the Vedas, and few of them are well versed in Sanskrit. I saw, however, a man reading the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa aloud to an apparently appreciative audience.

It is remarkable that this barbarous and immoral worship, though looked at askance except in its own holy places, is by no means confined to the lower castes. A series of apologies composed in excellent English (but sometimes anonymous) attest the sympathy of the educated. So far as theology and metaphysics are concerned, these defences are plausible. The Śakti is identified with Prakṛiti or with the Māyā of the Advaita philosophy and defined as the energy, coexistent with Brahman, which creates the world. But attempts to palliate the ceremonial, such as the argument that it is a consecration and limitation of the appetites because they may be gratified only in the service of the goddess, are not convincing. Nor do the Śāktas when able to profess their faith openly, deny the nature of their rites or the importance attached to them. An oft-quoted Tantric verse represents Śiva as saying *Maithunena mahāyogī mama tulyo na saṁśayaḥ*. And for practical purposes that is the gist of Śāktist teaching.

It must be confessed that the temples of Kāmākhyā leave a disagreeable impression—an impression of dark evil haunts of lust and bloodshed, akin to madness and unrelieved by any grace or vigour of art. For there is no attempt in them to represent the terrible or voluptuous aspects of Hinduism, such as find expression in sculpture elsewhere. All the buildings, and especially the modern

¹ A translation of this work has been published by Manmatha Nath Datt, 1900. Printed by H. C. Dass, Elysium Press, Calcutta.

temple of Kālī, which is in process of construction testify to the atrophy and paralysis produced by erotic forms of religion in the artistic and intellectual spheres, a phenomenon which finds another sad illustration in quite different theological surroundings among the Vallabhācārya sect at Muttra.

It is not surprising if such a creed, bloodthirsty, licentious, and disposed to support tyrannical government, offered a favourable ground for the missionary enterprise of other sects. The beginning of the sixteenth century was remarkable for the rise of two great Vaishnava leaders, Caitanya in Bengal and Vallabhācārya further west. This wave of religious feeling which inundated northern India from Bengal to Kathiawar had its origin in the teaching of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda. All Vaishnavism is characterized by the doctrine that salvation can be won only by devotion to Rāma, Kṛishṇa, or some Vaishnavite deity regarded as the supreme and only god (other deities, if recognized at all, being on a lower and only quasi-divine plane) and by a theistic rather than a pantheistic view of this deity's nature. The Advaita of Śaṅkara is modified, and the individual soul is treated as more or less definitely distinct from the deity at all periods of its career. The northern sects of Vaishnavism are further marked by a tendency (sometimes counteracted by a subsequent reaction) to relax the distinctions of caste and by an emotional or even hysterical devotion which sometimes led them into excesses as bad as those of the Śāktas. This emotional aspect is connected with the worship of Kṛishṇa as a child or young man and with the veneration of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The special doctrines of Caitanya did not materially differ from those of Vallabha. He enjoined devotion to Kṛishṇa, the highest form of such devotion being *mādhurya*, or love such as Rādhā felt for him, and as conducive to religious fervour he recommended singing, dancing, and incessant repetition of the divine names.

He paid no attention to caste and admitted even Mohammedans as converts.

The Vaishnavism which entered Assam was of Caitanya's school. Its first apostle was Śankar Deb, a Kayasth, of the Nowgong district, who is credited with having lived 120 years, and who appears to have died in 1569. At the time of his preaching the sovereignty of the Brahmaputra valley was divided between the Ahoms, who had their capital at Garhgaon, and the Koches, who were masters of the lower part of the river. The former were destined to prevail in the long run, but for the moment the Koch king, Nar Nārāyan, was the stronger. Śankar Deb preached first in Ahom territory, but the king was under the influence of Śāktist Brahmans, and the reformer was obliged to retire. He found a refuge at Barpeta, and under the protection of Nar Nārāyan his doctrine spread rapidly. He composed several works which are still held in high esteem. Among them are a translation of the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and a collection of Kīrttans or hymns, each consisting of a short text or Ghosha followed by a longer poem styled Pada.

The harmony of the Vaishnavas was not untroubled even in Śankar Deb's lifetime. A Sudra among his followers, named Aniruddh, quarrelled with him and founded the sect which attained considerable political notoriety under the name of Moāmariā. I have not been able to obtain any precise information about the theology of this sect, if indeed they have anything worthy of the name. They are said to worship aboriginal deities as well as Kṛṣṇa. They reject the authority not only of the Brahmans but of Śankar Deb and his successors, and they venerate a magical copperplate bequeathed by Aniruddh. It bears an inscription which is kept secret. It is clear that the Moāmariās represent a democratic and anti-sacerdotal movement. At present they are repudiated by all the other Vaishnavas and are of no religious

importance, though, in the eighteenth century, they were a considerable political force. They are restricted to the extreme east of Assam, and I have not had an opportunity of seeing them. Their principal religious establishment, which has been frequently shifted, is at present near Chabua in Lakhimpur.¹ The name Moāmariā is currently derived from a fish called moa, caught in large numbers by the original disciples of Aniruddh, who were fishermen.

Śankar Deb appears not only to have inculcated the worship of Kṛishṇa as the sole divine being, but also to have denounced sacrifices, idolatry, and the observance of caste. He designated as his successor Mādhav Deb, another Kayasth, who held these views even more strictly than himself. Mādhav Deb was a man of ascetic life and a writer of repute. He composed a sacred poem in thirteen books called the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*, and a collection of hymns or ecstatic verses, often consisting of little more than the names of the Deity, called *Nām-ghosha* (in Assamese pronunciation Ghokha). But he was not able to hold the sect together. The Brahmans, who appreciated the importance of Vaishnavism as a religious force, were not disposed to let it pass out of their control and become an anti-brahmanic movement. Many of Mādhav's Brahman disciples, such as Damodar Deb, Hari Deb, and Gopal Deb,² seceded from him at the end of the seventeenth century and founded separate communities. Of Gopal Deb it is related that he was once crossing the Brahmaputra with his master on a stormy day when the boat seemed about to capsize. In this extremity he apostrophized Varuna, conjuring him to stay the tempest till the teacher should have landed. But no danger from the elements could modify the convictions of Mādhav. He accused Gopal of idolatry, and then and there flung him into the river.

¹ Assam District Gazetteers, Lakhimpur, 1905, p. 126.

² Aniruddh, the founder of the Moāmariās, is said to have been this Gopal Deb's immediate disciple, and to have seceded from him.

Such a return for his loyal, if irregular, prayers was more than Gopal could stand, and as he spluttered among the waves he announced his secession and intention to found a new sect. These schismatic leaders were known as the Banunia Gosains, and were connected with large monastic establishments called *sattras*,¹ which form a special feature in the religious life of Assam. The title Gosain is roughly equivalent to abbot. The various communities exhibited slight differences in doctrine and practice, but insisted on the observance of caste and especially on the necessity of religious teachers being Brahmans, while they were tolerant of idolatry and even of the worship of non-Vaishnava deities. They also allowed the flesh of goats, pigeons, and ducks to be eaten. The adherents of Mādhav Deb were distinguished by the name of Mahāpurushias: they repudiated idolatry and the ascendancy of Brahmans, admitting, and even preferring, Sudras as religious guides.

Whereas the history of Śāktism is little more than a chronicle of successful sacerdotal ambition, the fortunes of Vaishnavism have been more varied. It produced martyrs as well as prince-bishops. In the first generation after Mādhav Deb, all branches of the faith seem to have made rapid progress in both Ahom and Koch territory. Somewhat later we hear that Jayadhwaj Singh (1648-63), the Ahom monarch, was much under the influence of Brahmans, both Vaishnava and Śākta. He founded the great *sattrā* of Auniati, but at the instigation of his priestly advisers persecuted the Mahāpurushias and killed some of their leading men. But on the whole Vaishnavism—particularly Brahmanic Vaishnavism—still flourished. The country became full of religious establishments, and the inmates claimed exemption not only from military service but from the obligation to labour in the

¹ This is the usual spelling of the word, but it appears to be really the Sanskrit *chattrā*, an umbrella or shelter for pupils. In Eastern Bengal and Assam *ch* is generally pronounced as *s*.

construction of roads and public works, to which all subjects of the king were liable. This pretension brought upon them the wrath of Gadadhar Singh (1681-96), who feared the growing power of the Gosains and had also a private grudge against them because they had opposed his accession to the throne. Ram Bapu, head of the great monastery of Dakhinpath, was mutilated and had his property confiscated: his colleague of Auniati escaped the same fate only by flight, and many others were killed or sacrificed to idols. Assam was given over to murder and brigandage until Gadadhar Singh, seeing that the prosperity of his kingdom was in danger, ordered the persecution to stop. The same considerations doubtless weighed with his son Rudra Singh (1696-1714). He effected a compromise by which the Brahman Gosains were shown all honour, but he assigned to them the Majuli Island in the Upper Brahmaputra as their chief, if not only residence. The abbot of Auniati was recalled and made the king's guru. The Sudra Gosains were not persecuted, but were obliged to wear a distinctive badge consisting of a small earthen jar hanging on a string round their necks, and Brahmans were forbidden to show them reverence.

As already mentioned, the next king, Sib Singh, was entirely under the influence of Brahmans, and took so seriously to heart an astrological prediction that his reign would soon come to an end that he sought to fulfil the decree of heaven by the subterfuge of resigning the insignia and authority of royalty to his chief wife, Phulesvari, who was a bigoted Śākta. It was reported to her that the Sudra Gosains refused to worship Durgā. She accordingly ordered the chief of the Moāmariās and other prominent Gosains to be taken to a Śākta temple and have the Śākta sectarian marks imprinted on their foreheads in the blood of the victims. This outrage seems to have sowed the seeds of the Moāmariā rebellion

which broke out about forty years later in 1769. In the interval the country was peaceful and prosperous. military ardour decayed, and we hear that the nobles were unwilling to go on warlike expeditions. Sectarian disputes became rife, and in 1769 the Moāmariās revolted. There seems to have been little real religious enthusiasm or fanaticism in these conflicts, but as the hinduized Ahom government grew weaker, other vigorous, if less civilized, elements tried to assert themselves. For some forty years we have a melancholy alternation of disorder and misgovernment in the provinces held by ephemeral Moāmariā rulers and of atrociously cruel vengeance exacted by the Ahoms when they had the chance. The principal rebellions were in 1769, 1782, 1786, 1795, and 1805, when the insurgents invoked the help of the Burmese. The movement appears to have gradually worn itself out, but the Moāmariās remained quasi-independent in the district between the Buri Dihing and the Brahmaputra under a chief with the title of Senapati, and when Assam was made a British province in 1826 this autonomy was allowed to continue for a time, and the district was excluded from direct British administration until 1842.

At the present day the arrangement made by Rudra Singh, in virtue of which the Majuli Island became the head-quarters of the Vaishnava Gosains, is still in force, and the chief monasteries or sattras are situated there, But the centre of the Mahāpurushia faith is Barpeta in the district of Kamrup, and there is one large Brahman monastery called Karua Bahi in Nowgong. The long island of Majuli, commonly called *the Majuli*, has an area of 485 square miles. It is quite flat, and much of it is covered with reed jungle and picturesque forest. In the rainy season large tracts are under water. It lies in the Upper Brahmaputra, within the district of Sibsagar, and in some ways may be compared to Mt. Athos,

for it contains no less than 188 monasteries, large and small, but women, though not allowed to enter the precincts of the monasteries, are not excluded from the island as they are from the Holy Mountain. Roads are few and elephants are the only means of transport. The sattras fall into two classes, those in which the abbots must be Brahmans, and those belonging to the Mahāpurushias in which the head is generally a Sudra. The Brahmans will not willingly give such Sudras the title of Gosain, and speak of them as Mahants. I heard of no Moāmariās on the island. The Mahāpurushia sattras have preserved the faith of Sankar Deb and Mādhav Deb with little change. The other or Bamunia monasteries represent the brahmanized form of the same faith. Its democratic tendencies and intolerance of deities other than Kṛishṇa have been toned down, and it has been brought within the pale of Hindū orthodoxy. Thus these monasteries exhibit to some extent a secondary corruption of Assamese Vaishnavism, but at present they are wealthier and better organized than the others, and are typical of the predominant religion. Three establishments stand out among many others on the Majuli, namely, Dakhinpath, Auniati, and Goramur. I visited the first two; Goramur is said not to differ from them materially, and is less accessible.

Dakhinpath lies close to the river. The Gosain has built a guest-house for travellers on the bank, and a road leads straight from it to the sattra, which is approached through three gates, women not being admitted beyond the third. The outer courts, however, resemble an ordinary village, and contain women and children. In the centre is a spacious quadrangle planted with trees. At the sides of it are long, low buildings with thatched roofs, divided into chambers for about three hundred monks. In all parts of the grounds there are many tanks, and the roads are raised. In the rainy season I believe that nearly all

the sattrā is under water, except these roads and the central quadrangle. On the right hand of the latter, and close to the last gate, is the temple or Namghar, a long, low, wooden building with a somewhat incongruous roof of corrugated iron. This type of temple, which is unknown, so far as I am aware, in other parts of India, is characteristic of Assamese Vaishnavism.¹ The roof is sometimes thatched and sometimes of metal, but in no case have I seen any towers or sculptures, or indeed any external sign that the building was used for religious purposes. Close to the Namghar is a reception hall and the private apartments of the Gosain. In all the sattras which I have visited the buildings, though very extensive, are of wood, not of stone, and the fact that no stone is obtainable may have something to do with the style of architecture. All the Gosains accorded me a most ceremonious and dignified reception, which seemed to indicate that they considered that their status was as high as that of any Bengali Raja.

The inmates of the sattras are styled Bhakats (i.e. Bhaktas) or devotees. Unlike Buddhists and other monks they take no vows and wear no distinguishing dress, though the simplicity of their garments produces a certain uniformity. They wear their hair long, except when in mourning. During their residence in the monastery they are obliged to be celibate, and in this respect and in conduct generally they have a good reputation, which is confirmed by their appearance. They rigidly observe distinctions of caste. Unlike most Indian religious orders, they make no pretence of living on alms. The lands of the monastery supply grain and other food, which is received by the steward and distributed to the Bhakats

¹ Though the general appearance of an Assamese sattrā is *sui generis*, the plan of the interior seems to be much the same as in Sikhim. Waddell's diagram of a Sikhim temple (*Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 291) would represent a Namghar if it were longer in proportion to its breadth.

in monthly doles. A Bhakat may abandon the religious life and marry, but it is thought discreditible if he does so after the age of 50. As long as they remain in the sattra they are supposed to be occupied exclusively with their religious duties, that is to say, the services held in the temple and meditation. Many of them, however, are inclined to dabble in commercial transactions, and the legality of such doings is a fruitful source of dispute. The majority of Bhakats are devoted to the religious life by their parents, and enter the sattra when little children.

The temple ritual is sufficiently lengthy to occupy the Bhakats for a great part of the day, or at least a certain number of them, for they attend the services in relays. The interior of the building consists of a long nave divided by two rows of wooden pillars. Near the entrance are two large figures of Garuḍa,¹ with their backs turned to the door, and on the walls are several pictures representing Kṛishṇa, Rāma, and Sitā, and also Durgā carrying the infant Kṛishṇa. Half-way down the nave is seated during the time of service a choir of men and boys arranged in two rows on either side, exactly as in a Lamaist temple or Roman Catholic church. They sing sacred texts such as the Bhagavad Gītā or the Ghosha, to the accompaniment of a peculiar kind of cymbal, of which every chorister has a pair. When heard within the building this music is too noisy to be agreeable, but from a distance the solemn cadence of the chant, followed by the clash of cymbals at the end of every verse, is most impressive, and suggests the roaring of waves that break on a rocky shore. Further on, in front of the choir, are low lecterns on which lie copies of the scriptures (such as the Bhagavat Gītā, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and Ghosha) wrapped in cloths. The sanctuary is at the end of the

¹ They perhaps correspond to the images of the kings and other guardian deities placed at the door of Buddhist temples, and like them are of grotesque appearance.

building, and divided from it by a screen similar to the ikonostasis in a Greek church. Behind this are gilt shrines containing images of Kṛishṇa at various periods of his life. Before them stand candles and vases containing flowers. The whole arrangement of the Namghar and its ritual differs strikingly from the ornaments and pūjā usually seen in a Hindu temple, but reminded me in many respects of Lamaistic worship as performed for instance in the Lama temple at Peking. On the rafters beneath the ceiling were hanging a number of figures of horses and other theatrical properties. These are used in dramatic performances called Jātras (= Yātras), in which various incidents of the life of Kṛishṇa, particularly his birth and childhood, are represented. The performances are held outside the temple. They appear to be strictly moral, but I did not gather from the accounts given of them that they offer any striking resemblance to the representations of Christ's nativity seen in Roman Catholic countries, as is often stated. It was denied, for instance, that the scene of Kṛishṇa's birth resembles a stable.

The Gosain or abbot is an elderly man of great intelligence, and acquainted with Sanskrit. He has absolute authority in all matters affecting discipline and the management of the sattrā property, but though he is treated with great respect I did not gather that he or his colleagues in the other monasteries are regarded as avatāras. They wear white robes and high white turbans of a peculiar shape. Though very courteous they will not shake hands with Europeans or otherwise touch them. Each Gosain appoints his successor during his lifetime, usually soon after his own accession, so that the latter has time to become imbued with the traditions of his superior. All the Gosains informed me that the significance of their title (Goswāmi in Sanskrit) is Lord of the Vedas, but the real meaning (as is admitted, I believe, among the Gosains of Muttra) appears to be possessor of cows. This word

being applied to Kṛiṣṇa in his pastoral aspect became a title of honour and was transferred to religious teachers. Others explain it as meaning lord of the senses, that is, self-controlled. The Gosain of Dakhinpath would not allow that his sect was in any sense founded by Śankar Deb or Mādhav Deb. He admitted that their works (the Kīrtans, the translation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book x, the Ghosha, and the Ratnāvalī) are used in the temple worship, but this, he said, was due to the excellence of the sentiments they contained, not to the authority of the writers. He stated that the Vaishnava faith represented the teaching of Nārada, and that when this was becoming forgotten God took human form as Dattātreyā, who made Sankarācārya of Benares his disciple. The Gosain claimed to be the thirty-fourth¹ in spiritual descent from this Sankarācārya, whom he identified with the well-known author of the Advaita philosophy. But when I asked him if he accepted that philosophy he became confused and seemed indisposed to pursue the subject, saying that bhakti or faith was the foundation of religion.

The Dattātreyā mentioned is said to have been a son of the ancient Rishi, Atri, and an incarnation of Vishnu. The Majuli Gosains have little knowledge of Hinduism in other parts of India, and I do not think any importance can be attached to their statements, except as regards the

¹ The following is the list of the teachers of the sect as given me. I preserve the orthography of the original. (1) Sankaracharjya, (2) Podmacharjya, (3) Mundanacharjya, (4) Kēbalacharjya, (5) Sodanundo, (6) Nityanundo, (7) Bhobanundo, (8) Kanchananundo, (9) Brahmacharinunda, (10) missing, (11) Choitonya Swarupanundo, (12) Ramadutta, (13) Nimadutta, (14) Madhobacharjya, (15) Brahmanunda Bharoti, (16) Krishnanunda Bharoti, (17) Biswanath Bharoti, (18) Hrudoyanunda Bharoti, (19) Bishnu Bharoti, (20) Sri Choitonya, (21) Damodardev, (22) Bolodev, (23) Bonomali Dev, (24) Ramadev, (25) Krishnadev, (26) Atmadev, (27) Kamdev, (28) Sohodev, (29) Rokitidev, (30) Bishnudev, (31) Bibhudev, (32) Basudev, (33) Subhudev, (34) Narodev, the present Adhikar.

religious history of Assam from 1500 onwards, about which they are well informed. It will be observed that the line of teachers includes Caitanya, but not Sankar Deb or Mādhav Deb. The twenty-first Gosain, Damodar Deb, is said to have founded the sattra of Dakhinpath, and to have lived from 1510 to 1601. The twenty-fourth, Ramadeb, was persecuted and mutilated by Gadhadar Singh.

The Gosain is occupied every day from about 5 a.m. until noon with religious observances, including the preparation of his food, which has to be done by himself. He stated that he belonged to the same sect as the Gosains of Auniati and Goramur, as far as doctrine was concerned, but that each monastery had some peculiarities in details of ritual and discipline. The worship of Kṛishṇa was the essence of religion in all of them, but at Dakhinpath there was no objection to the worship of Durgā and other Śaktis as an accessory. This combination of deities, though it may seem strange, is not alien to the spirit of modern Vaishnavism. Tulsi Das, for instance, enjoins the worship of Śiva, not indeed as the supreme Being, but as a deity who is both very powerful and deeply devoted to Rāma.¹ Though the Gosain expressed many tolerant and unsectarian views, he spoke of the Mahāpurushias with bitterness and of the Moāmariās with contempt.

In all essential points Auniati resembles Dakhinpath, both as to appearance, discipline, and doctrine. It is said

¹ See especially his Rāmāyaṇa, book vi, Doha 3, and the preceding Chaupai (p. 67 in Growse's translation), where Rāma, after moulding a lingam at Ramesvaram, says: "There is none other so dear to me as Śiva. No man, though he call himself a votary of mine, can ever dream of really finding me if he offend Śiva. If he desire to serve me in antagonism to Śiva his doom is hell. He is a fool of no understanding. They who either out of attachment to Śiva dishonour me or who serve me but dishonour Śiva shall have their abode in the deepest hell until the end of the world . . . To all who serve me unselfishly and without guile Śiva will grant the boon of faith."

to be the largest of the *sattras* when it has its full complement of *Bhakats*, but at present the numbers are reduced owing to an internal schism, which is giving rise to a lawsuit, as Indian religious disputes often do. The present *Gosain* is a young man who only recently succeeded to his office. When he did so he was asked to designate his own successor, according to custom, and was apparently induced to select a *Bhakat* who was the head of a powerful faction. Subsequently, becoming convinced that this individual was unfit for the office to which he was destined, he cancelled the nomination. His right to do so was challenged, and many *Bhakats* left the *sattra*. Apparently the real motive of the *Gosain* was to introduce certain reforms, such as the stoppage of trading. Others attributed the dissensions to the intrigues of the *Mahā-purushias*, who, since they advocate democratic principles, find sympathizers among the *Bhakats* belonging to the lower castes. In spite of the schism the monastery is well kept, the only sign of trouble visible being the large number of empty quarters. It was founded about 1655 by the Ahom king Jayadhwaj Singh, who appointed Niranjan Bapu as the first *Gosain*, and it was from the beginning under strong Brahmanic influence. The temple is in the same style as that of Dakhinpath, and has a roof of corrugated iron. The interior is ornamented with many pictures. In the shrine at the end are about five images of *Kṛishṇa*, before which *pūjā* is performed in the ordinary Hindu manner. But there are also choral services, and the whole of the *Bhagavad Gitā* is recited twice daily. I saw no traces of Śāktist worship, but the ceremonial came nearer to the ordinary Hindu type than at Dakhinpath. The *Gosain* disclaimed all knowledge of philosophical questions, such as *Dvaita* and *Advaita*, and said that simple *bhakti* or faith was the teaching of his sect.

The larger *sattras* are very wealthy and own considerable estates which pay no taxes. Thus Auniati owns

21,000 acres and Dakinpath 10,400. The Gosains, however, do not always receive the rents due to them and are reluctant to recover their debts by an action at law, for they prefer to regard the payment as a religious rather than a legal duty. They are greatly respected, and are said to use their influence in the interests of the British authorities and the maintenance of law and order. They receive offerings as well as rents from their lands. In every village where a Gosain has a considerable number of adherents, he appoints a representative or Medhi who enjoys a position of social importance and collects from each of the faithful a small annual contribution in kind (rice, cloth, silk, etc.) or cash, amounting only to a quarter or half rupee. The offerings are remitted to a superior officer or Raj-Medhi, who pays them into the treasury of the sattra, and the accumulated amount is considerable.

I also visited a Mahāpurushia sattra at Kamala Bari, not very far from Daklinpath, but a little distance inland. In general plan and appearance it resembled those which I have already described, but the interior of the temple offered some differences. There was no separate shrine, but near the end stood a high throne or gaddi on which lay a copy of the Nām-ghosha of Mādhav Deb. I specially inquired if the work which received such marked reverence was not the Bhagavad Gītā, but the abbot stated positively that it was not and that the Nām-ghosha was the principal scripture of the sect. To the left of the throne stood a small image representing Kṛishṇa under the form of Vaikuṇṭha-Nātha, who is the only deity acknowledged. There were no other statues or pictures. In a separate shrine outside the main building were the footprints of Śankar Deb and Mādhav Deb, which receive veneration.

The abbot was a young man who had lately succeeded, and was still in mourning for his predecessor, on which account he wore no turban. He is a sudra and bears the

title of Atta. He claims to be the twelfth¹ in spiritual descent from Śankar Deb, who is here recognized unreservedly, although Mādhab Deb shares in the honour accorded to him. The monastery was built by Bandula Atta, the successor of Mādhab Deb. The principal divergences between the Mahāpurushias and the Brahmanic Vaishnavas appear to be the following: Firstly, they acknowledge Śankar Deb and Mādhab Deb as their founder. These are the Mahāpurushias or great men from whom the sect takes its name: their footprints are worshipped; their compositions are regarded as scripture and are treated with extreme reverence, receiving worship almost like images of deities. This form of bibliolatry is rare in India, but something like it is found among the Sikhs. Secondly, their Gosains are not Brahmans and enjoy a less autocratic position than in the Brahmanic monasteries, since all important questions have to be settled not, as there, by the Gosain alone, but by a council of all the Bhakats in which the Gosain merely presides. Thirdly, they lay little stress on caste, though they do not absolutely condemn or reject it. Fourthly, they almost entirely reject idolatry, the only exception allowed being the small image of Vaikunṭha-Nātha already mentioned. It is probable that in these last two points the present practice is a modification of a more uncompromising earlier rule which absolutely prohibited idolatry and ignored caste. It is remarkable that many Indian sects which have begun by asserting the equality of all their members (e.g. the Lingāyats and the followers of Caitanya) have ultimately conformed to what is undoubtedly the general opinion and practice of India and have reintroduced caste.

The forms of Vaishnavism described above appear to

¹ The list is, in the orthography of the original: (1) Śankar Deb, (2) Mādhab Deb, (3) Bandula Atta, (4) Parsu Ram Deb, (5) Kamal Lochan Deb, (6) Niranjan Deb, (7) Satananda Deb, (8) Satya Brat Deb, (9) Rudra Kanta Deb, (10) Krishn Kanta Deb, (11) Lakhi Kanta Deb, (12) Śrī Śrī Chandra Kanta Deb, the present Adhikar.

be practically confined to the valley of the Brahmaputra. In Sylhet¹ the religious establishments are called akhra, but have not the same extent, influence, or good moral tone as those on the Majuli. In Goalpara they are called dhams, and are occupied only by a few monks. But in all districts the history of the communities appears to have been similar. Originally they were rigidly puritanical, rejecting idolatry and even the worship of incarnations, but gradually they have become brahmanized, though from time to time new democratic movements may occur.

Thus the history of Assam shows how an extensive country in which there were only scattered traces of Indian religion four hundred years ago, has been brought almost wholly within the pale of Hindu orthodoxy, not always by missionary enterprise but by effective methods of propagating the faith. First came Śāktism, an un-ethical system, itself a hybrid of Hinduism and alien beliefs, appealing chiefly to the passions and fears, more anxious to win the favour of princes than the hearts of the people. But though it may justly be painted in black colours, it can on occasion command the support of theology and philosophy, and it undoubtedly touches the higher as well as the lower emotions of the educated classes in Bengal and Assam. When Śāktism had been to some extent accepted by the chiefs of the various tribes, Vaishnavism made its appearance as a missionary religion in the true sense, that is, it was preached by men who believed it to be the only way to salvation, and wished to teach it to all. It practically taught that men are equal, ceremonies useless, and that God can be known by faith and love. This creed was not preached

¹ *Assam District Gazetteers*, 1905, vol. ii, Sylhet, pp. 84-9. Strange sects called Sahaj Bhajan and Ratikhoa are also reported from Sylhet. They are said to take women as their religious teachers, and worship them as incarnations of Radhā.

by Brahmans at first, but as soon as its popularity was established they took it under their protection and supervision. Hence we have three tendencies: first, popular Vaishnavism, too weak in thought and discipline to be a great religious system, but showing its strength in serious insurrections; secondly, Brahmanic Vaishnavism, which was strong enough to force the authorities to come to terms, and which, while fully recognizing the doctrine of salvation by faith, also made provision for due respect to caste and Brahmanic authority; thirdly, Śāktism, which remained until the last the creed of the kings of Assam, and ultimately made a truce with the brahmanized forms of Vaishnavism, though originally disposed to persecute all varieties of the sect. Such persecution, though often barbarous, never became so systematic as religious persecution in Europe, and perhaps exemplifies the kind of trials which harassed the later days of Indian Buddhism. The history of Vaishnavism in Assam may also illustrate what happened on a much larger scale in other parts of India. The mediaeval Bhāgavatas were a sect of dubious orthodoxy, but when their doctrine penetrated to the south it was taken up by Brāhmanic champions such as Rāmānuja, who associated it with the strictest observance of caste, and by an imposing array of commentaries proved it in harmony with the orthodox scriptures. But, as in Assam, a less orthodox current continued. Even in the Tēngalai division of Rāmānuja's sect we find that Tamil works have replaced the old Sanskrit scriptures, and the subsequent teaching of Rāmānanda sanctioned not only the use of the vernacular in religion but also the neglect of caste, thus leading directly to such admittedly unorthodox sects as the Kabir-pānthīs and Sikhs. Yet the later history of these sects shows how hard it is to withstand Brahmanic influence, for even Sikhism appears to be in process of being reabsorbed into Hinduism.

Another interesting point is the connexion between Assamese Vaishnavism and Buddhism. The doctrine seems to have a purely Hindu pedigree, but the monasticism and ceremonial are not of the usual Hindu type. India is full of institutions called maths, which are often described as monasteries; but the description is misleading, for a math is not essentially a convent but the residence of a teacher. His pupils frequent the place and may become semi-resident: wandering ascetics stop there and in old age may make it their last home, but its inmates are not a permanent body under a particular rule and discipline. Only in the Swāmi-Nārāyana monastery at Ahmedabad¹ have I seen a Hindu establishment comparable to a Buddhist vihāra, and the instance, I must admit, is important, for it is hard to see how it can be due to Buddhist influence. But in the Assamese sattras we have not only more hierarchy and discipline than the Hindu temperament will usually tolerate (though even here there are no vows or monastic costume), but also halls for worship and choral services which find no eastern parallel except in Lamaism. It would be easy to explain resemblances to Burmese Buddhism, but these apparently do not exist, and we must look the other way, towards Tibet and Bhutan. Though recent research has thrown doubt on the ancient existence of Buddhism in Assam, the Bhutias worship certain images at Hajo under the impression that they represent the Buddha. This idea may be erroneous, but the existence of the worship is at least a proof of continuous contact between the two religions. Singrī Parbat, not far from Tezpur, is a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists. Many Tibetans visit the northern districts of Assam, especially in winter, and I am informed that the district officer at Udalgiri regularly receives representatives of the

¹ There is another large one at Wartāl.

Government of Lhasa. Similar communication probably existed in the past. We hear that Rudra Singh, the same monarch who made the Majuli the head-quarters of the Gosains, established an extensive trade with Tibet,¹ and it seems eminently probable that the early abbots of the sattras took some hints from the Lamas in organization and ritual.

¹ Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 175.

XXVII

CHINESE RIDDLES ON ANCIENT INDIAN TOPONYMY

I. CH'A-PO-HO-LO AND KA-P'I-LI

BY COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

THE New History of the Tang dynasty relates that in A.D. 648 the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'ê, having raised an army in Tibet and Nepāl, advanced into Central India as far as the town *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*, which he stormed after three days' siege. The *Na-fu-ti* (or *Ti-na-fu-ti*) *A-lo-na-shun*,¹ an usurper who had just seized the throne after the death of King Śīlāditya (i.e. Harsavardhana Śīlāditya of Kanauj), thereupon fled, but was shortly afterwards taken prisoner. A band of his dispersed followers, however, took position, barring the way across the *Kan-to-wei* River, but were in their turn routed by Hsüan-ts'ê's second in command.²

V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*³ vaguely assumes "the chief city of Tihūt" to have been the town attacked on that occasion, seemingly relying on Professor Sylvain Lévi's suggestion—put forward, however, with all reserve—that the title *Po-lo-mên Ti-na-fu-ti* (occurring in the Tang Annals as well as in an inscription discovered by Professor Chavannes) may be taken to mean "King *A-lo-na-shun* of the *Ti-na-fu-ti* (*bhukti*) State of the Brāhman [of India]".⁴ Along with this Professor Lévi

¹ Aruṇasūra, Aruṇeśvara, or Aruṇa-svāmin(?). See, however, n. 4 below.

² See Sylvain Lévi's "Les Missions de Wang Hsüen-ts'ê dans l'Inde" in *Journal Asiatique*, March, April, 1900, pp. 306-8.

³ Oxford, 1904, pp. 298-9.

⁴ J.A., fasc. cit., p. 300. In J.A. for 1892, p. 337. Professor Lévi had suggested the rendering (discarded in his later paper just quoted) *Senāpati Arjuna*, which V. A. Smith has nevertheless adopted in op. cit. It has been suggested that *A-lo-na-shun* may be *Aṃśu[-varman]*,

éiso proposes the alternative interpretation: "King *A-lo-na-shun*, Emperor of the Brāhman, Emperor of *Na-fu*." I must confess that the equivalent *Ti-na-fu-ti* = *Tirabhukti* = Tirhūt is seductive, but whether it may historically and topographically seem justified the reader is left to judge for himself from what follows.

Beyond V. A. Smith's indirect allusion referred to above no attempt is so far known to me of locating that most puzzling town *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*. I have endeavoured to do so on the basis of the indications supplied in Chinese literature, and gathered together, for the most part, by Professor Lévi himself in the paper already quoted,¹ to which therefore I refer the reader.

In the general account of India in the New History of the Tang dynasty it is pointed out that the capital of the whole of Central India bears the name *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*, 茶 縛 和 羅, and lies on the bank of the River *Ka-p'i-li*.

Ma Tuan-lin in the chapter on India of his encyclopædia states: "The capital lies close to the *Héng Ho* (Ganges) River, which is also called *Ka-p'i-li Ho*,"² and adds further on that the capital stood not far from another stream named *Kan-t'o-wei*.

The Old History of the Tang dynasty does not tell the name of the capital, but points out that "it is 70 *li* [i.e. 10 to 12 miles] in circuit and lies close to the River *Shan-lien*".

a rendering which I consider unsatisfactory on phonetic grounds. From an historical point of view it is also hardly convincing, for Aihśu-varman, the Thākuri prince of Western Nepāl who was seemingly a feudatory of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and became supreme probably on the latter's death in A.D. 648, was not improbably the very personage who assisted Hsuan-ts'ê with troops against *A-lo-na-shun*.

¹ JA., fasc. cit., p. 307, note.

² The *T'ung-chien-kang-mu* (twelfth century) also states that *Ka-p'i-li* is a name of the Ganges (see *Bulletin École Française Extrême Orient*, t. iv, 272, n. 4). In the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* cyclopædia (pub. A.D. 983), Mr. Pelliot observes (op. cit.), it is wrongly spelled *P'i-ka-li*. We shall see below that it was also the name of a kingdom.

To sum up, then, the capital *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* stood—

1. On the bank of the *Ka-p'i-li*, 迦毗黎, River.

2. Near the River *Shan-lien*, 禪連.

3. Not far from the River *Kan-to-wei*, 乾陀衛.

4. Close to the Ganges, here, apparently, also called then *Ka-p'i-li*.

Subjoined I venture to offer my identifications of these toponyms:—

1. KA-PI-LI, which represents phonetically some term like *Kāverī*, *Kapilī*,¹ or even *Kauverī*, *Kaurī*, *Gaurī* (a name, both in this and in its vulgar form *Gaurana*, so frequently occurring in the river nomenclature of India), here seemingly is intended for *Kaurī*[āla] (*Kauryāla* ?), the designation applied in Nepāl to the *Ghaghṛā* (*Ghargharā*) River. Although in the lower portion of its course this stream is known either as *Ghaghṛā*, *Gogrā*, or *Sarjū* (*Sarayū*), it is not impossible that at the period in question it was commonly called *Kauriāla*. At all events, this name may have become familiar, in preference to the other ones, to the Chinese of Hsüan-ts'ê's mission, who must have learnt it from the Nepālese forming part of the joint raid of 648 A.D.

It is interesting to notice that *Ghargharā* is likewise one of the many Sanskrit names of the Ganges, a fact which would to some extent explain the Chinese statement that the Ganges was also termed *Ka-p'i-li* (= *Kauriāla* = *Ghargharā*).

¹ A *Kapilī* River actually exists in Assam, but is obviously out of the question. On the other hand, in Hindū classical literature mention is made of a *Kapilā* (tributary of the *Narmadā*); of *Kapila-dhārā*, as a name of the Ganges; and of a second *Kāverī* which Professor F. Hall thought to be a tributary of the *Narmadā* (see Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 1865, vol. ii, pp. 148, 151). It has been shown quite recently (JRAS., April, 1910, p. 442, and July, 1910, p. 868) that this *Kāverī* joins the *Narmadā* from the south about a mile above *Māndhātā*, and that the confluence, called *Kāverī-saṅgama*, was held sacred. Evidently it cannot be connected with the *Ka-p'i-li* of Chinese records, which is located in the middle and not in the west of Northern India.

2. SHAN-LIEN represents sounds like *San-ran* (or *Sa-ran*), *San-len*, or even *San-lin*. The stream here intended is then possibly the Sundī. Sondī, or Dahā, flowing past Siwān in the Sāran District, where it joins the Ghaghrah.¹

One cannot help being struck by the possible identity *Shan-lien* = *Sāran*, the name of the district through which the Sundī River flows: and, indeed, it is not at all unlikely that formerly this, instead of Sundī, was commonly designated "Sāran River" from *Sāran*, a place-name here extant apparently from a remote period.²

Here, however, a difficulty crops up: for one of the fragments of the Chinese narrative translated by Professor Lévi,³ after noticing that Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva erected seven hundred stūpas in the *Po-lo-nai* (Benares) kingdom, proceeds to state: "Owing to the legion of other saints who have erected stūpas being numberless, upwards of a thousand [of such monuments] exist on the banks of

¹ On Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas a small watercourse, also marked "Soondee" (Sundī), is shown lower down wending its way towards Chhaprā and Cherānd. Whether it is this, rather than the other Sundī (i.e. the Dahā) the Chinese authors had in mind, I am unable to say.

² Cf. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 441, where the name *Sāran* of the actual district is traced to Skr. *sāraṇa*, "refuge," through the legend related by Hwēn Tsang that some demons converted here by the Buddha sought the "refuge" of the Buddhist triad. For this legend see also Watters' *Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, O.T.F., London, 1905, vol. ii, pp. 60-1.

Dr. Grierson kindly informs me, however, that General Cunningham later on abandoned that early theory of his on the derivation of *Sāran*, which has no basis in fact.

Given that the smaller watercourse marked "Soondee N." on Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas was already in existence at the period here treated, and that it is this the Chinese authors meant by their term *Shan-lien*, it is not impossible that the streamlet in question was then better known as *Cherānd* (if not *Sāran*) River, after *Cherānd* or *Chirānd* (a well-known ancient town, Dr. Grierson informs me), close to which it joins the Ganges. If so, the term *Shan-lien* would have to be traced to *Cherānd* rather than to *Sāran*, which would not be altogether unsatisfactory from an etymological point of view.

³ J.A., fasc. cit., pp. 323-4.

the *Shan-lien* River." It seems extraordinary that such a large number of stūpas should grace so unimportant a watercourse as the Sundī, and this almost leads one to doubt that the holy Sarjū (*Śarayū*, *Saranjū*) is implied under the term *Shan-lien*. If so, this stream would have to be identified with the Ghaghrā, and the term *Ka-p'i-li* held to exclusively designate the Ganges. I prefer, however, to adhere to my initial identifications, namely, *Ka-p'i-li* = Kauriāla = Ghaghrā and *Shan-lien* = Sāran River = Sundī. As to the large number of stūpas alleged to have been erected on the banks of the *Shan-lien*, I may point out that on Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas temples are marked close to the Sundī or Dahā in two places from Siwān downwards, while numerous temples existed moreover at Revelganj on the bank of the Ghaghrā nearest to the Sundī.¹

¹ See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 440. In connexion with a river of a similar name to *Shan-lien*, namely, the *Shih-la-na-fa-ti*, mentioned by Hwèn Tsang as flowing past Kuśinagara and identified by Watters (*op. cit.*, ii, 29) with the *Siranyavati* (for *Hiranyavati*)—the *Hsi-lien* or *Hsi-lien-shan*, 希連禪, of Fa-hsien (see Legge's *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886, p. 23 of Chinese text) and other Chinese pilgrims—I would beg to point out that *Shih-la-na-fa-ti* is more probably a transcript of *Sikrāna* (*Sikrāna-ratī*?). This is one of the names of the Būrhī (or *Chota*, i.e. "Little") Gaṇḍak, seemingly also known as *Hiranyavati*, albeit this term appears to more properly denote the Little Gaṇḍak, a quite distinct stream known to this day as *Hirana* (a contraction of *Hiranyavati*).

Some confusion seems to have arisen regarding the correct application of the term *Hiranyavati*; but if, as it seems beyond question, the *Shih-la-na-fa-ti* is, conformably to our suggestion, the *Sikrāna*, all doubt would at once be removed as to the real location of Kuśinagara, and this city should forthwith be looked for on the upper course of the Būrhī Gaṇḍak, i.e. in the North Bettā and South Lauriyā territory, where this stream just happens to be more particularly called *Sikrāna*. The now widely accepted location of Kuśinagara to the north of Lauriyā Nandagarh receives confirmation thereby, but would far earlier have been inferred had the *Sikrāna* been recognized in Hwèn Tsang's *Shih-la-na-fa-ti*, and no fanciful suggestions such as Kasiā and the like would have been put forth. For the same reasons I fear that V. A. Smith's Nepāl theory (see *op. cit.*, p. 139, n. 3, and *JRAS.*, January, 1902) is now untenable.

3. KAN-T'Ō-WEI is evidently a transcript of *Gaṇḍa[ka]vatī*, one of the names of the Great Gaṇḍak River, the *Kondokhatēs* of Pliny and Arrian. It may, however, in the present instance mean the *Gaṇḍakī*, a small stream flowing to the west of the Great Gaṇḍak and joining the Ghangrī, which, in its turn, falls into the Ganges.¹

We thus obtain for *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* a location, referred to modern maps—

1. On the bank of the *Kauriāla* or Ghaghrā.
2. Close to the Sundī (Sāran or Cherānd?) River.
3. Not far from the Great Gaṇḍak (or, may be, from its western smaller namesake the Gaṇḍakī).
4. Close to the Ganges, here also called *Kauriāla* (and in Sanskrit *Ghargharā*).

This argues, not merely a location in the Sāran District as already noticed, but a site at or near its present head-quarter town Chhaprā, which alone would seem to suit in view of both the Ganges and the Ghaghrā flowing of old past it and effecting their junction close by. The smaller Sundī River (whatever its correct name and physical features may be) now wends its course less than half a mile off on the south of Chhaprā, while the other one (the Sundī or Sondī proper, i.e. the Dahā) flows not far away on the north-west. Finally, the Gaṇḍakī and the Great Gaṇḍak pass at no great distance on the east, and are, except the Ghangrī, the nearest streams in that direction. To crown the whole of these topographic and toponomastic coincidences, which can hardly be fortuitous, comes the fact of a most striking resemblance between the names *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* (*Ch'a-pa-ha-ra*, *Ch'a-pa-ga-ra*?) and *Chāpra* or *Ch'aprā*, the unknown old form of the latter of which may have been *Chhaprāgara* or something to that effect.²

¹ See Indian Atlas, Sheet 103.

² In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. x (Oxford, 1908), pp. 174-5, the name is spelt *Chāpra*. Cf. *Chāparmukh* on the *Kapilī* River, Assam: a striking parallel case.

Unfortunately, this place never seems, up to the present, to have possessed any importance, nor are ruins extant even in the immediate neighbourhood,¹ while its name, *Chhaprā*, is an exceedingly common one appearing almost everywhere on the maps of this and neighbouring districts in the forms *Chapra*, *Chupra*, etc. The nearest objects of an antiquarian interest are the numerous temples, already referred to, extant near Revelganj, about 5 miles to the west of Chhaprā, while about 6 miles to the east of the latter rises, as we have pointed out, the ancient town of Chirānd or *Cherānd*. As the results here brought forward forcibly argue in favour of a site at or near Chhaprā, we may reasonably conclude that the location of *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* becomes, at any rate, fixed between Revelganj and Cherānd, and must be sought for in that territory.² It is to be hoped that further exploration in this area may disclose the exact site, which would be highly desirable, in view of the sidelights that the identification of *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* would throw on that obscure period of the history of India which immediately followed the reign of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.

¹ Cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 441. Quite recently an archaeological tour in the Sāran District yielded no very brilliant results (see JRAS. for April, 1910, p. 546). *Chupra*, the Chhaprā in question, is, however, the only place of a similar name appearing in the maps appended to vol. i of Holwell's *Dalostan*, London, 1766.

² It may be possible to ultimately fix it at Cherānd itself, and, if not, at Revelganj, either of which may have of yore borne appellations resembling *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*. Professor Lévi has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 307, note) that the first three syllables of this name recall the term *Ḍavāka*; but the *Ḍavāka* "frontier country" conquered by Samudra Gupta in A.D. 345-80 was certainly not in this neighbourhood (see JRAS., 1897, pp. 29 and 879; also V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 250), unless we assume the existence of a second *Ḍavāka*=*Ātavī*, *Ālavī* (?) in the Sāran District, and locate here the legend of the demons' conversion to Buddhism related by Hwēu Tsang (see Watters, *op. cit.*, ii, 61). *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* undoubtedly is a rendering of something like *Ch'a-par-ha-ra*, *Dabargah*, or *Davarhara*, and about the only approach in the area in question is, besides Chhaprā, *Dehluwāra* (for which see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 442).

While in favour of our proposed location of *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* there stands the fact of the practical impossibility of finding another set of place-names in the neighbouring districts which will collectively suit the Chinese topographical data on *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*, against it but negative arguments can be brought in the present state of our knowledge. These, though obviously of a doubtful value, may briefly be mentioned on the ground of the rather important side issues that some of them involve.

To begin with, there is the fact, already adverted to, of extensive remains being unknown to exist in the tract extending from Revelganj to Cherānd, such as would be expected in a territory where rose a city—capital of the whole of Central India as the Chinese accounts assert—which was, according to the same accounts, 70 *li*, i.e. 10 to 12 miles, in circuit. This measurement at once recalls the one recorded at the same period by Hwên Tsang for Pāṭaliputra, “above 70 *li* in circuit”: but the coincidence is hardly worth insisting on because, fortunately, Hwên Tsang clearly states that Pāṭaliputra “had long been a wilderness”,¹ and that the capital of Harsavardhana Śīlāditya was then at Kanauj. This will at once dispose, it seems to me, of the suspicion that the identity in circuit may arouse as to *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* being, after all, one and the same with Pāṭaliputra, and the *Shan-lien* River, mentioned in connexion with the former, being the Sōn, flowing of old nearer the latter than is now the case.

Next comes the negative argument of Hwên Tsang's silence about *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*, which causes no little surprise in view of the fact that the pilgrim, although he may not have travelled across the lower part of the Sāran district via Revelganj, Chhaprā, and Cherānd, should have heard at any rate of so important a town while proceeding along the Ganges from Benares to Patna in 636 or 637 A.D. One would expect that *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*

¹ Watters, *op. cit.*, ii, 87.

had by this time attained considerable importance, since it was already a city when stormed a few years later (648), being besides—unless it became afterwards—the seat of the capital.

If great stress is to be laid on Hwên Tsang's silence about this centre, the argument is nevertheless hardly strong enough to sweepingly condemn its identity with either Cherānd, Chhaprā, or Revelganj, for the omission may be due to other causes besides oversight and the like. Namely, the pilgrim may have passed at some distance off,¹ thus ignoring the city, or this was then as yet a petty hamlet which did not rise in status till a few years afterwards, when *A-lo-na-shun* established there his head-quarters—whether as chief of the district under King Harṣa, or as sovereign after the demise of the latter in 646–7.

It is not, on the other hand, altogether unlikely that *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* had not yet come into existence in Hwên Tsang's time (636–7), and that it was founded, for pressing strategical or political reasons,² some years afterwards, becoming in the course of time the capital of the region. For the passage in the New History of the Tang dynasty, relative to Hsüan-tsê's storming of *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*, merely terms it "a city", and at what date the section on India in the same History refers its status as a capital of the whole of Central India is not clear. I am afraid that such a statement is tinged with exaggeration; perhaps *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* was simply the chief city of a district.

If so, the question here crops up as to what district

¹ The route he followed from Mahāsāla (Masār?) on to Vaiśālī is yet far from settled, but he seems on the whole to have travelled along the northern bank of the Ganges.

² The position at or near the confluence of two important streams like the Ganges and the Ghaghrah must have been in past ages of considerable strategical as well as commercial importance, so as to justify the foundation, or spontaneous growth, of a town.

this was, and from the fact of *A-lo-na-shun* being given in the Chinese text (already quoted at the beginning of the present paper) the title *Ti-na-fu-ti*, or something of the sort, the query naturally suggests itself—Was that district *Tirabhukti*?

If it be considered that Hwên Tsang, besides ignoring such a designation for Tihūt, mentions this district under the name of Vaiśālī Country, and that probably the same did not extend westwards farther than the Great Gaṇḍak River, it seems logical to answer that query in the negative.

On the other hand, the pilgrim (and if not, the history of his life, more explicitly) states that he proceeded north-east to Vaiśālī from the *Chan-chu*, 戰主, country.¹ This he had reached shortly before that by travelling from Benares for above 300 *li* (50 to 60 miles), following the course of the Ganges.² The puzzling term *Chan-chu* has hitherto been thought to be a translation of Skr. *Yuddha-pati*, *Rāṇa-pati*, or something of the sort;³ but I venture to suggest that it may be a rough phonetic rendering of *Sarjū*, in which case it would mean the wedge-shaped tract of land between the Ganges below Benares and the Sarjū (that is, the Ghaghrahā), thus corresponding to the present Ghāzīpur and Balliā Districts.⁴

¹ Watters, *op. cit.*, ii, 63.

² *Ibid.*, 59.

³ Cunningham (*op. cit.*, 438-9) identified it with Ghāzīpur (ancient Garjapur, *Garjana-pati*?): but it seems to me that this town is not far enough from Benares to suit as a site for the capital of *Chan-chu*. If this term really be a translation of *Yuddhapati*, such a name may still survive in *Juddhōppoor* (Yuddhapur?), a place marked above Korantadih in the Garha *pargana* (Balliā District) on Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas.

⁴ And, it may be of interest to notice, to the territory of the later mediaeval Jaunpur kingdom, the name of which (variously recorded in the forms *Jaunpur*, *Juānpur*, *Jauranpur*, *Jamanpur*) is notoriously of uncertain origin, but may have existed from a far earlier period in connection with the older town, which, judging from ancient remains, stood on the present site of Jaunpur. If so, *Chan-chu* might refer to this territory, being a transcript of *Juan-pati* or something of the sort. See, however, note 3 on p. 1199 below in connexion with *Chao-no-p'ō*.

It may or may not have also included the Sāran District on the other side of the Sarjū or Ghaghrā. Now, if the equivalent *Chan-chu* = *Yuddha-pati*, *Raṇa-pati*, etc., is at all founded on fact, it would not be impossible for the term *Ti-na-fu-ti* to be somehow connected with it, despite the improbability that *fu-ti* may represent *pati*, and *ti-na* be a slip for *raṇa* or may stand for another term of a similar meaning. *Tīrobhukti* is certainly a far more logical, and withal seductive, interpretation; but against it stand the reasons adduced above, from which follows that *Cha-po-ho-lo* not improbably stood in the territory styled *Chan-chu* country by Hwèn Tsang, although not being the chief city of the same, at any rate in Hwèn Tsang's time, for this pilgrim locates the *Chan-chu* capital far more westwards, as we have seen.

It may be, however, that between *Chan-chu* and Vaiśālī there still existed another district of which Hwèn Tsang forgot to make mention, corresponding roughly to the present Sāran District. This is the State of *Ka-p'i-li* of earlier Chinese records, which must have been so named after the *Ka-p'i-li* River already referred to in connexion with *Cha-po-ho-lo*. Owing to this relation, whether real or merely apparent, existing between this city and the *Ka-p'i-li* River and State, it may not be uninteresting to briefly examine the information supplied on the latter in the Chinese records.

The earliest mention of the *Ka-p'i-li* State occurs in the *Sung Shu*, or History of the first Sung dynasty (A.D. 420-79), where two embassies are recorded as having been sent to China from *Ka-p'i-li*, viz. in A.D. 428 and 466.¹ In connexion with the first one of these² the

¹ See JA., fasc. cit., 307, note.

² In the *P'i-wén-yün-fu* the following account of it occurs, culled presumably from the *Sung Shu*:—"The Indian [*T'ien-chu*] State of *Ka-p'i-li*. In the 5th year of *Yuan Chia* [A.D. 428], the King sent an envoy with a letter and offering, of diamond finger-rings and *Mo-lei* [*Marak* = *Marakata*, *Marakta* = 'Emerald'] gold rings" (see *China*

name of the *Ku-pi-li* king has also been put on record in the form 月愛, *Yüeh-ai* = "Moon-beloved", which is not unlikely a loose translation of *Chandra-gupta*, "Moon-protected."¹

The date A.D. 428 makes it impossible to identify him with Chandragupta II of Magadha, who reigned in about 375-413, or till 415 at the very latest; it can seemingly thus apply only to his successor Kumāragupta I (c. 413-55), who may also have been known as Chandragupta, or styled Chandragupta - Kumāra. For otherwise we must admit either that Chandragupta II reigned till 428, or that the Chinese through some mistake understood so and ascribed to him the embassy which was sent instead by his successor.

Where the capital was at this period is unknown. In the opinion of Indianists Pāṭaliputra had, since about the middle of the fourth century, "ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns."² Ayodhyā "appears to have been at times the head quarters of the government of both Samudragupta [c. 326-75] and his son [Chandragupta II, c. 375-413], the latter of whom probably had a mint for copper coins there".²

Since it is impossible to admit of a separate kingdom, free to entertain relations with foreign powers, in Central India at this period, after the extensive and drastic conquests of the Gupta kings, it follows that the *Ku-pi-li* Kingdom of the Chinese can hardly mean anything else than the Gupta Empire. The reason for such a curious designation, taken, as we have surmised, from the *Kauriāla*

Review, xiii, 339). Mas'ūdī (A.D. 915) states (*Les Prairies d'Or*, t. iii, p. 47, Paris, 1864) that the *Sindān* (=Sanjan) and *Kambāya* (Cambay) Districts produced a sort of emerald (=beryl from the Jaipur District in Rājputāna?). Beryls from the Hazāribāgh District in Western Bengal are, however, presumably meant in the passage quoted above.

¹ Cf. Hwên Tsang's 月光, *Yüeh-kuang* = *Chandraprabha* (Watters, op. cit., i, 244), and 出愛, *Ch'u-ai* = *Udayana* (ibid., i, 368).

² V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 257.

or Ghaghṛā,¹ may be explained from the fact of this river, the great waterway of Oudh, flowing past Ayodhyā, the possible capital at that time.

On the other hand, if *Ka-p'i-li* was a term applied to the Ganges (*Ghaghṛā*)—presumably in that portion of its course where it receives the Ghaghṛā (Sarjū)—the *Ka-p'i-li* State may correspond to what two centuries later Hwèn Tsang recorded under the name *Chan-chu*.²

If not, we must conclude either that the *Ka-p'i-li* State had ceased to exist by Hwèn Tsang's time, or that, though it was still extant and the pilgrim not unlikely travelled through part of it, he forgot to enter its name in his narrative.³ In this second hypothesis we may assume

¹ The classing of *Ka-p'i-li* in Eitel's *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism* (Hong-Kong, 1888, p. 70) among the alternative Chinese transcripts of *Kapilavastu*; the Sanskrit equivalent *Kapila* adopted for it by Professor Schlegel in *Toung Pao*, x, 160, and so forth, are evidently absurd and, topographically, unjustified in so far as they are made to apply to Kapilavastu, a city which had long ceased to exist: Fa-Hian in 405-11 found it deserted. If *Ka-p'i-li* is at all to be regarded as a transcript of the Sanskrit term *Kapila*, it can only apply to the Ganges, also known as *Kapila-dhātṛā*, as we have pointed out above; and this view finds its confirmation in the Chinese texts, which tell us that *Ka-p'i-li* was likewise a name of the Ganges.

² And, though far less probably, to Hardwār, which according to tradition was also named *Kapila* after the sage of that name who is said to have had his hermitage there. See, however, the note on next page as regards *Kampilla*.

³ Were we to accept for *Ka-p'i-li* the seemingly wrong spelling *Pi-ka-li* occurring in the *T'ao-p'ing-yü-luo*, we might locate it at Bikapur, a village 1 mile to the east of Balliā, where Cunningham (op. cit., 439) places Hwèn Tsang's Avuddhakaraṇa monastery. The correct spelling unquestionably is, however, *Ka-p'i-li*, which occurs in all other known Chinese texts on the subject.

⁴ The *Ka-p'i-li* State is still mentioned (retrospectively no doubt) in the *Hsiung-chiao-p'i-p'ien*, a well-digested Buddhist cyclopædia of the Ming dynasty, in the following passage: "Pang-ko-la [Bangala, Bengal] is in the east of *T'ao-chu* [N. India]; *Chao-no-p'o* [Jaunpur?] in the middle; † Magadha in the south; *Ka-p'i-li* in the west; and *Ka-shê-na* [Kāśia, Kāshipur, Kusinārā, (Northern) Kosala?] ‡ in the north" (et. JRAS, for July, 1896, p. 496, note. I have here, however, suggested new identifications for all the above Chinese toponyms except the first one). It will be seen from the context that *Ka-p'i-li* lay to the west (or rather, north-west) of Magadha (i.e. Bihār), and cannot therefore

that *Ka-p'i-li* roughly corresponded to the present Sāran District, and that *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*, if then already existing, be Kapilavastu, nor, more probably, Kapāla (Hardwār). No better chance seems to be offered by other similarly named places (e.g., the *Kāreri-saigana*, Old *Kālpī*, the famous stronghold on the Jammu, etc.), *Kampilla*, now Kampil (long. 79° 14' E., lat. 27° 35' N.), the ancient capital of Northern Pañchāla, may, however, be intended after all. Owing to its proximity to Kanauj the Gupta sovereigns may have made it their residence in the fifth century. Not unlikely it is the place alluded to by Hwên Tsang as *Ka-pi-t'a*, 劫比他 (= *Kalpita*, *Kapita*, *Kap[shu]la*? see Watters, op. cit., i, 335). If so, we would have the equation *Ka-p'i-li* = Hwên Tsang's *Ka-pi-t'a* = *Kampilla* = Kampil, from which latter the Ganges may have been termed the "Kampil [*Ka-p'i-li*] River". We prefer anyhow to adhere to the location of *Ka-p'i-li* proposed above, namely, between the Ganges and the Ghaghrah.

† Cf., however, n. 4, p. 1196. *Chao-no-p'o* cannot obviously be, despite toponomastic resemblance, *Chenāh* (the *Chanāh* of Bābāi, *Memoirs*, see JRAS., 1898, pp. 803-4), nor *Sauāh[-pur]* (the former name of Multān). I would not even think of connecting it with Ptolemy's *Sannaba*, which, if not actually Sankisā, must have stood not far from it. For the location assigned to *Chao-no-p'o* to the west of Bengal and to the north of Magadha (Bihār) argues a site somewhere between Jaunpur and Bhāgalpur. The Chinese characters of the original text not having been given in the extract quoted above from the JRAS., the identification of the toponyms occurring therein is rendered far more difficult than would otherwise be the case.

After writing the above I came across a further reference to *Chao-no-p'o* (in the form *Chao-na-p'u-érh*) in the following passage translated by Dr. Bretschneider from the *Ming Shih* (concluded 1724) in *China Review*, iv, 388:—"召納樣兒 *Jao-na-pu-r*. This country lies west of *Bang-k'o-la* (Bengal) and is also known under the name 中印度 *Chung In-du* (middle Hindu [= *Madhyadeśa*]). In ancient times it was the kingdom of Buddha. This is, I think, the same as the *Zuangpur* on Fra Mauro's map (fifteenth century; see Yule's *Cathay*, cxxxviii)." And further on (op. cit., p. 389):—"底里. This country adjoins *Jao-na-pu-r* [see above]. . . . It seems that *Di-li* denotes Delhi"—in which I fully agree.

This fixes the position of *Chao-na-p'u-érh* or *Jau-na-pu-r* (evidently the same as *Chao-no-p'o*) between Bengal and Delhi (politically the historical continuation of *Ka-p'i-li*), and confirms our suggested identification of it with Jaunpur. As Magadha (Bihār) lay in the south of *Chao-no-p'o*, this state evidently embraced the country to the north of the Ganges between Jaunpur and Bengal. *Ka-p'i-li*, adjoining *Chao-no-p'o* on the west, must then be the Ayodhyā (= *Kampilla*?)—later Delhi—State, as we have surmised.

‡ "Gazna" (Ghazni) is suggested as an equivalent in JRAS., loc. cit. But this relatively modern place, or some town in its neighbourhood, is

may have been its chief city; while the capital of the empire, till, at any rate, the death of King Harṣavardhana in 647-8, was at Kanauj.

To sum up, we have thus four solutions of the puzzle concerning the identity of the *Ka-p'i-li* State, of which the last three are alternative and still require sifting—

1. KA-P'I-LI State (fifth century) = Gupta Empire; capital Ayodhyā (or Kampilla?).

2. KA-P'I-LI State	Seventh century	{	= <i>Chan-chu</i> country : capital Garjapur (now Ghāzīpur) ?
3. KA-P'I-LI State			= Sāran District; capital <i>Ch'a-po-ho-lo</i> (Cherānd, Chhaprā?).
4. KA-P'I-LI State			No longer existing in 636-7, the date of Hwên Tsang's journey that way.

It is now for Indianists to thrash out the matter thoroughly and decide, according to their own lights, which, if any, of the solutions I have ventured to offer above is the most likely to prove correct.

NOTE BY DR. GRIERSON

At Colonel Gerini's request I have the honour to submit the following note on certain points suggested by the preceding paper.

p. 1190, n. 1. I know only one Sundī or Sondī River in the Sāran District. It is the one also called Dahā.

referred to by Hwên Tsang in the form *Ho-hsi-na*, and seems too far away in the north-west to suit the purpose. Nor would Hwên Tsang's *Ka-shang-na* (*Kasanna* = Kesh), *Ka-shé-pu-lo* (*Kāśāpura*, in the Unāo district?), and *Ku-shé-ka-lo-pu-lo* (*Kuśāgṛa-pura*). Appearances are therefore in favour—till the original Chinese characters are placed before us—of either Kāsia, Kāshipur, Kusinārā, [Northern] Kosala, as proposed above, or even Kesariyā.

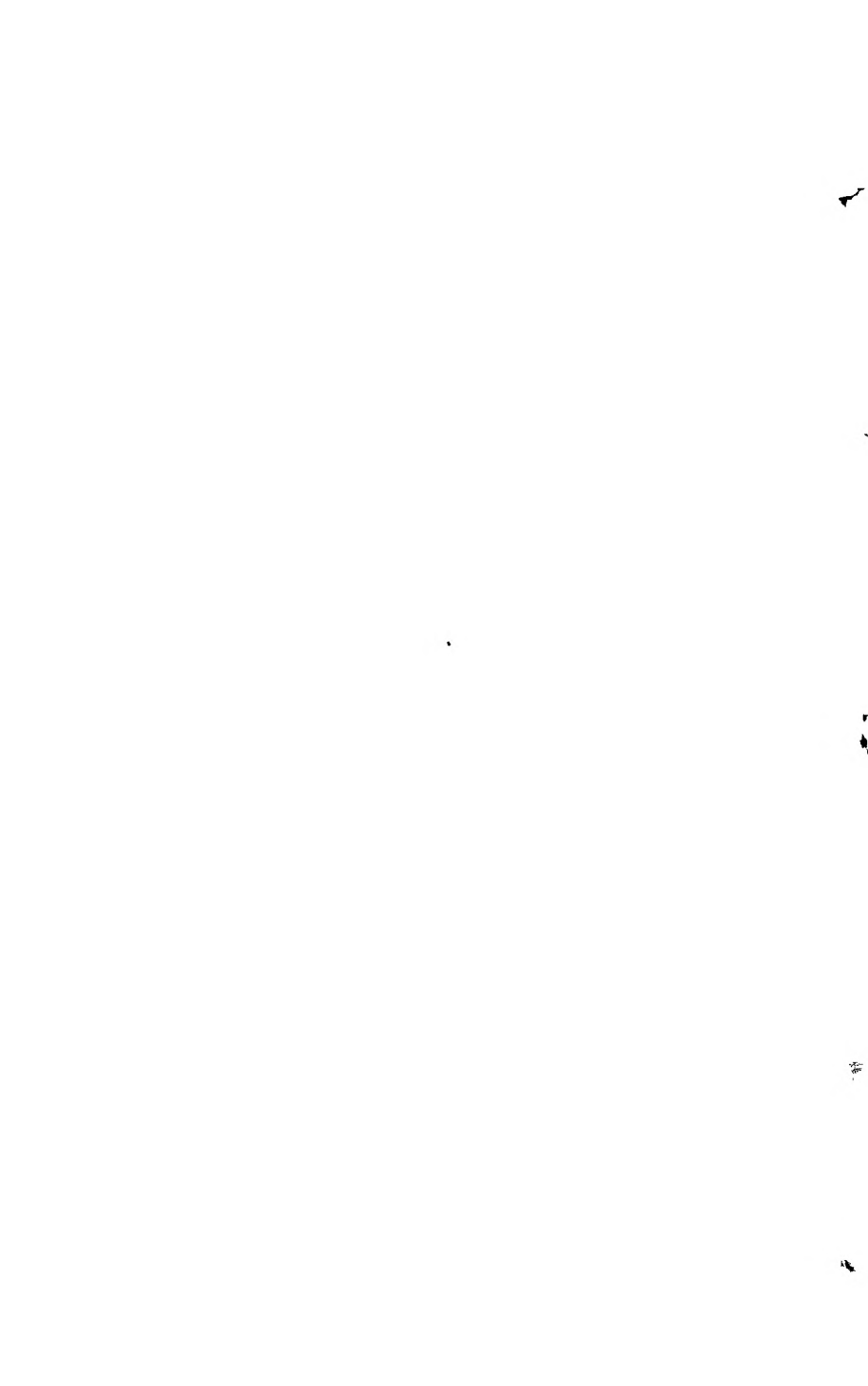
Dr. Hoey, loc. cit., p. 82, derives the name from *surarṇa-nadī*, which, from the point of view of phonetics, is not impossible, provided the real name is "Sōn-nadī". We should, however, expect *surarṇa-nadī* to become "Sōn-naī" or something of that sort.

p. 1190, n. 2. Cunningham's derivation of "Sāran" from *śuraṇa* cannot now be accepted. He himself must have abandoned his early theory, for in Arch. Surv. Ind., iii, 72, he locates the legend about the cannibal demons, upon which it depends, in the district of Shāhābād, near Arrah, and not in Sāran. There are two contiguous districts, Campāran (*vulgo* "Champāran") and Sāran. The former was once part of Sāran, but became a separate district in 1866. In the word "Campāran" the last two syllables represent the Sanskrit *araṇya*. Of this there is no doubt. "Campāran" is *campaka-araṇya*, the "Campaka Forest". The inference is that the *āran* of "Sāran" has the same origin. If I understand Dr. Hoey aright, he derives "Sāran" from *Śakra-araṇya* (JASB., 1900, lxix, p. 81), but the phonetics of Bihārī render this impossible. The *kr* would be simplified to *kk* or *k*, but would not disappear. Speaking merely from the point of view of phonetics, "Sāran" could well be derived from *Śaka-araṇya*, "the Forest of the Śakas," but of course this is only a guess. Anyhow, the word can have nothing to do with *śuraṇa*.

p. 1192, n. 2. Wherever Ch'a-po-ho-lo may have been situated, I do not think that it is possible to equate the name with "Chaprā". Note, *en passant*, that the name of the town is not "Cāpra" (चापरा) or "Capra" (चपरा), but "Chaprā" (छपरा), or, to use the same system of spelling as that employed for the Chinese word, "Ch'aprā." Even with this spelling I do not think that the equation can be supported, and see no reason for doubting the popular explanation of the name. This explanation is that the word is not a proper name at all, but is the

ordinary common noun *chaprā*, meaning "a collection of thatched huts". It is a modern word, derived from the Sanskrit *chattvāra*. The present town has risen round a village of no importance, once on the bank of the Gogra River, and subject to periodical inundation. Such a village is made up of wattle and daub huts, with thatched roofs, so as to be capable of abandonment at a moment's notice, and is called a *chaprā*. As this village has now grown to be the head-quarters of the district, it is *locally* known as *the chaprā par excellence*, and this name has been adopted all over India by Europeans and in official documents. But, outside the district, natives of the district do not call the town "Chaprā", as it is here no longer *the chaprā par excellence*. Outside the district they call it "Cīrān-Chaprā", i.e. the *chaprā* belonging to, or near, Cīrān, thus clearly showing the meaning of the name, and illustrating the temporary and upstart nature of the original village which has since grown into the town of Chaprā. Cīrān or Cerān is a well-known ancient town, now a mere village, about 6 miles east of the modern Chaprā. It has many remains. Cf. Arch. Surv. Ind., xxii. 74, and Dr. Hoey's article already referred to, p. 78. The latter article may be consulted with advantage in connexion with this paper. I must, however, confess that my phonetic conscience forbids me to accept its learned author's derivation of Chaprā from *capalā* or from *cāpa-ālaya*, or of Cīrān from *chidra-aṅga*.

G. A. G.



XXVIII

NOTE ON THE DALAI LAMA'S SEAL AND THE TIBETO-MONGOLIAN CHARACTERS

By A. H. FRANCKE, Moravian Missionary

REPRODUCTIONS of the Dalai Lama's seal are found in Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 448, and in Walsh's *Coinage of Tibet*, M.A.S.B. vol. ii. p. 16. No attempt to read it has as yet been made, and neither of the reproductions is absolutely correct, though Waddell's is by far the better of the two. In the accompanying plate I give copies of both these versions, together with my own corrected version.

The first column in the plate consists of three groups of characters. The first group is made up of a snake-ornament and a stroke called *shad*. The second group consists of a *ta* and a subjoined *a*: it represents the syllable *ta*. The third group consists of a *la*, a subjoined *a*, and an *i* vowel-sign: it has to be read *lai*.

The second column is composed of three groups. The first group is formed of a *ba* and a *la*, and has to be read *bla*. The second group consists of a *ma*, a subjoined *a*, and an *i* vowel-sign, and has to be read *mai*. The third group consists (probably) of a *ra* and a *u* vowel-sign, and has to be read *ru*.

In the third column also we find three groups. The first group is formed of a *tha* and a *ma*, and has to be read *tham*. The second group consists of a *ka* only, and has to be read *ka*. The third group is composed of a prefixed *r*, a *ga*, a suffixed *y*, and a final *lu*, and has to be read *rgyal*.

The reading of the seal is therefore—

talai blamai ru thamka rgyal.

Translation

“Standard seal of the Dalai lama, *bene*!”

The word *rgyal* at the end is used in a sense similar to the more common *legs*, ‘good’, which is also placed at the end of sentences.

My reading of the seal is based on a Tibetan one-sheet wood-print, discovered in Ladakh. This wood-print is a kind of abridged primer of this character. When trying my primer on Sarat Chandra Das’ Yugur characters (see plates v, *e*. and vii, 1, of his article, “The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,” JASB, vol. lvii, 1888, p. 41) I saw that the specimens given on plate v are but another primer of the same kind of script. Thus the first column, plate v, *e*, has to be read as follows: snake-ornament, *shad*, *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *nga*, *ca*, *cha*, *ja*, etc.

The specimen given as plate vii, 1, has to be read as follows:—

First column: bkrashi.

Second column: s’abar.

Third column: ’agyur.

Fourth column: geig.

bkrashis ’abar ’agyur geig.

Or in a corrected form—

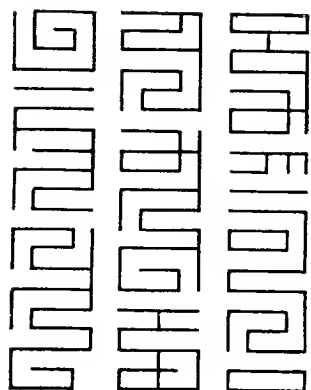
bkrashispar ’agyureig.

Translation

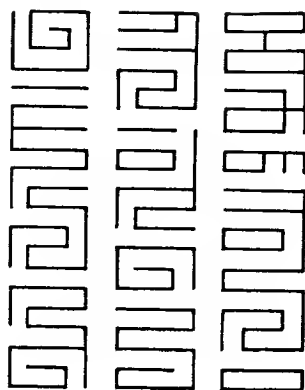
“May you be happy!”

In the accompanying plate I give also the reading *rNam rgyal*, in Tibeto-Mongolian characters, as it is found on the seal of the *rNam rgyal* dynasty of Western Tibet.

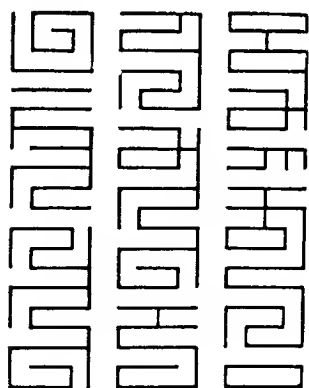
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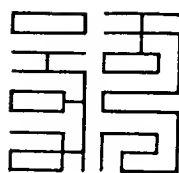
No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



- No. 1. Waddell's reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.
 No. 2. Walsh's reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.
 No. 3. The author's corrected reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.
 No. 4. Seal of the rNam rgyal dynasty of Western Tibet.

THE TIBETO-MONGOLIAN ALPHABET

The following notes on the Tibeto-Mongolian alphabet are based on the specimens published by Sarat Chandra Das in the JASB, vol. lvii (1888), p. 41 ff., on the Dalai Lama's seal, and on a one-sheet wood-print, discovered by myself in Ladakh, which may be styled a primer of this kind of writing.

This type of Tibetan writing, which runs from top to bottom, was invented by the Saskya hierarch Kun dga rgyal mthsan, A.D. 1182-1252, who presented it to the Mongolians. They were to use it for their newly started literature. The characters were, however, too clumsy for general use, and the Mongolians preferred a form of the Uigur alphabet which was founded on the Syriac characters of the Nestorians. S. Ch. Das states that the invention of the Saskya hierarch was actually used in Mongolia for a certain time by the successors of Chingis Khan and Qublai on golden tablets. In Yule's *Marco Polo*, edition of 1903, there are reproduced two of these golden tablets (*Paiza*) which are actually inscribed with this type of characters. They exhibit the more ancient rounded form. The rectangular form was developed later on in Tibet, where it was used for seal inscriptions.

The present article does not deal with the reading of these characters when used for Mongolian, but only with their Tibetan interpretation.

In Tables I and II the alphabet is given in its various forms. The two columns called *Horyig* are from the one-sheet wood-print brought from Ladakh; the *Khong seng* and *Shintu jodpa* characters in the two other columns are from S. Ch. Das' tables. Two different forms of characters are found in most cases, and in several cases (see *ts* to *zh* of Table II) even four different forms can be stated.

The script is written from top to bottom. Characters which form a syllable are joined to one another by

connecting lines at the middle or on the right-hand side of the characters: see Table IV. In the specimens taken from the wood-print this connecting line is invariably found on the right-hand side of the consonants, while the specimens taken from S. Ch. Das and from the golden tablet have it in the middle.

Vowel-signs

The vowel-signs are always joined to the lower portion of the consonant base. The *i* vowel-sign is generally joined to the right corner of the consonant: see Table III, *ki* and *shi*. Only in one case of S. Ch. Das' specimen of Yugur, Table III, *ci*, the connecting line starts from the middle of the lower line of the consonant base. The *i* vowel-sign seems to be mostly of the same shape, but it is somewhat different on the Dalai Lama's seal: compare plate of the latter at p. 1207 above.

The *u* vowel-sign is also fastened to the right-hand corner of the consonant base. The few specimens in Table III show no less than three different forms of it: see *khū*, *ku*, and *gyu*.

The *e* vowel-sign is also joined to the right-hand corner of the consonant base. It consists generally of a single straight line; but in the specimen taken from S. Ch. Das' *Shintu jodpa* the line is angular: see Table III, *ge* and *ke*.

The *o* vowel-sign is joined to the middle of the lower line of the consonant base. There are two different forms of it: see Table III, *ngo*, *ko*, and *mo*.

Compound Consonants

The specimens in Table III contain only two kinds of combinations; consonants with subjoined *y* and those with subjoined *r*. The combination *rgy* is found on the Dalai Lama's seal and on S. Ch. Das' specimen of Yugur. The subjoined *y* seems to be everywhere the same; it is hardly different from the *i* vowel-sign: see Table III, *kya*, *khya*,

gya, *pya*. The subjoined *r* shows two different forms : see Table III, *khra* and *kra*. As the two specimens of *khra* show, it can be joined to the right- as well as to the left-hand corner of the consonant.

With regard to Table IV, the reading of the first seven specimens is given on the wood-print in Tibetan characters. The reading of the following four specimens (given in brackets) is in my opinion a reasonable decipheration. Also S. Ch. Das' specimen of Yugur characters had to be deciphered by myself.

Comparative Tables of Tibeto-Mongolian Characters

TABLE I

































TIBETAN.	HORYIG, a SERIES.	HORYIG, b SERIES.	KHONG SENG.	SHINTU JODPA.	ROMAN.
༩ |					Snake- ornament.
ཀ			ᠭ		k
ཁ			ᠬ		kh
ག			ᠭ		g
ང			ᠨ		ng
ཅ			ᠮ		c
ཆ			ᠬ		ch
ཇ			ᠮ		j
ཉ			ᠨ		ny
ཏ			ᠨ		t
ཐ			ᠮ		th
ད			ᠨ		d
ན			ᠨ		n
པ			ᠨ		p
ཕ			ᠨ		ph
	A	B	C	D	

TABLE II






















































TIBETAN.	HORYIG, a SERIES.	HORYIG, b SERIES.	KHONG SENG.	SHINTU JODPA.	ROMAN.
བ					b
མ					m
ཅ					ts
ཐ					thse
ཎ					dz
ཡ					w
ཟ					zh
མ					z
པ					a
ཇ					y
ར					r
ལ					l
ཤ					sh
ས					s
ཧ					h
ཨ					a
	A	B	C	D	

TABLE III



















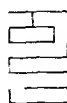

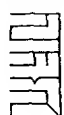
VOWEL SIGNS.		VOWEL SIGNS.	
ROMAN.	HORYIG.	ROMAN.	SCHMIDT'S UGUR.
ki		mo	
khu		COMPOUND CHARACTERS.	
ge		ROMAN.	HORYIG.
ngo		kya	
		khra	
ROMAN.	SHINTU JODPA.	khra	
ki		ROMAN.	SHINTU JODPA.
ku		kya	
ke		khya	
ko			
ROMAN.	YUGUR.	gya	
shi		pya	
ci		ROMAN.	YUGUR.
gyu		kra	

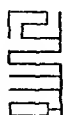
TABLE IV

Specimens of the Tibeto-Mongolian Characters

FROM THE WOOD-PRINT.



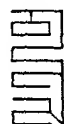
bkras

(lden)
(ldan ?)

shis



(mo)

FROM S. CH. DAS'
YUGUR CHARACTERS.

gyis



bkra



blo



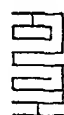
shis



glu



'abar



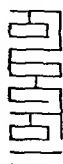
gyur



'agyar



rgyal



ɣcig



(men ?)

(shog)



Mong



kha

XXIX

THE TIBETAN ANATOMICAL SYSTEM

By E. H. C. WALSH.

IN the present article I give a translation and description of the anatomical chart kept in the Temple of Medicine on the *lChags-po-ri* ("Iron Hill") at Lhasa which, together with its connected monastery, forms the medical college of Tibet.¹ The chart demonstrates the Tibetan science of anatomy, and every Tibetan doctor is taught his anatomy from it.

The existence of the chart was discovered by Colonel Waddell,² I.M.S., who when at Lhasa as Chief Medical Officer with the Tibet Mission paid a visit to the *lChags-po-ri* Monastery, together with Captain (now Major) H. J. Walton, I.M.S., medical officer with the Mission, and other medical officers attached to the expedition, and Mr. D. Macdonald, interpreter. It was produced at Colonel Waddell's request, on his inquiring regarding the course of instruction and the methods of teaching that were followed. The chart is painted on a scroll of canvas mounted on cloth, the form in which all Tibetan paintings other than wall-paintings are made. It is $31\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Recognizing the interest and value of the chart, Colonel Waddell tried to secure the Monastery copy, but the Head Lama was not willing to part with it. He, however, allowed Colonel Waddell to

¹ Csoma de Kóros was informed that there are two other medical colleges in Middle Tibet of some repute, called *Byang-zur* (བྱང་ཟུར་), "Analysis of a Tibetan Medical Work," by M. Alexander Csoma de Kóros, *JASB.*, vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, p. 2. I have not heard of the *Byang-zur* school.

² A description of the "Temple of Medicine" and of Colonel Waddell's visit here referred to is given on pp. 376-9 of *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, by L. Austin Waddell.

take the chart with him to have a copy of it made, and Major W. F. O'Connor, Secretary to the Mission, arranged for a Tibetan Lama artist to copy it at the Lha-lu House, where the Mission resided while at Lhasa. Four copies were made—one for the Government, one for Colonel Waddell, one for Captain Walton, and the other for myself, which is the copy now reproduced and described. The copies were all made from the original chart, which was then returned to the Head Lama. The copy made for Government is in the Library of the India Office, and Major Walton's copy of the chart is in the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, to which he has presented it.

In the transliteration of the chart, I have given the silent letters of the Tibetan words (prefixes, superscribed letters, and final *s*) which are not pronounced, in italics, and in the case of proper names, or other words spelt with a capital, the initial silent letters are given in small type, the capital being given to the first letter which is pronounced.

In translating the chart I was fortunate in being able to get the assistance of a Tibetan doctor, Am-chhi Champa Thin-le, from the lChags-po-ri Monastery, who had come on a pilgrimage through Nepal, and was staying at the time at the Ghoom Monastery near Darjeeling.

The chart is known as Pyang-khok Las-thig (བྱང་ཁོག་ལས་ཐིག་), namely "The chart divided by lines", from the fact that the figure is divided up into a number of squares with the object of locating the correct position of the arteries, veins, and other organs marked.

I cannot say what the age of the chart may be. The chart now in use in the monastery is not the original, but is said to have been copied from an older chart, no longer in existence. The lChags-po-ri Monastery and medical school is said to have been built by Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho, the minister of the fifth Dalai Lama, at the same time as the present Potala Palace was built,

1640-80 A.D. But the tradition is that Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho only added to or rebuilt a smaller monastery already in existence there, the foundation of which is attributed to King Sroṅ-btsan sGampo when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, namely about 650 A.D., and the monks are taught that the original chart was in existence long previous to Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho. Moreover, Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho is also credited with having written the medical commentary *Baidurya sñon-po*, which is certainly much older, as it is in the *bsTan-hgyur*.

The Am-chhi ("Doctor") informs me that this is the only anatomical chart used. Each student has a copy of the chart. He had had his own copy, but had sold it to another Am-chhi in Sher-Khong-bu (on the border of Nepal) when he was coming to Darjeeling. The student gets the copy made by a painter in Lhasa, and is allowed to take the original from the Monastery for the purpose. The cost of making a copy varies from 20 to 30 *tankas*, namely from 10 to 15 shillings.

Preliminary instruction is also given from another chart, of which the Am-chhi made me a rough sketch, in which four trees are shown side by side, namely, (1) the healthy tree (ནད་མེད་སྡོང་པོ་ nad med sdon-po), (2) the diseased tree (ནད་ཀྱི་སྡོང་པོ་ nad kyi sdon-po), (3) the tree under treatment (བཅོས་པའི་སྡོང་པོ་ bchos-pai sdon-po), and (4) the tree under nourishment (ཟས་ཀྱི་སྡོང་པོ་ zas kyi sdon-po): and from the analogy of these the benefits of treatment and suitable food in the case of human disease is explained.¹

¹ The Am-chhi explained the use of this chart as follows. In the perfect tree there should be 500 branches. In the diseased tree certain parts are inactive, such as dead leaves and branches; so in the body, disease is shown by certain veins (རྩ་ rtsa) being inactive, but, as the withered tree under care and cultivation can recover and put out fresh leaves, so a patient can recover and the diseased parts be restored under treatment. This chart is referred to in the Tibetan medical work, the *rGyud-bṣi*, which is the source of the Tibetan science of medicine. A translation of an analysis of the contents of this work has been given

The Tibetan system of anatomy and of medicine was derived from India. In its original form it is contained in a work entitled རྩུད་བཤི་ (*rGyud-bṣi*),¹ "The Four Tantras," from the four parts into which it is divided, and which is said to have been spoken by Buddha, although it is not contained in the *bKah-hgyur*, or *bsTan-hgyur*. Csoma de Kőrös has given a translation of an analysis of this work that was made for him by a Tibetan Lama.² The following is the account given in the *rGyud-bṣi* of the manner in which this treatise of medicine found its way into Tibet:—"In the time of Khri-srong Dehutsan [in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era] a Tibetan interpreter Bairotsana or [Vairochana], having translated it in Cashmir, with the assistance of a physician-pandit ལྷ་བ་མངོན་དགའ་ [Zla-ba mÑon-dgah, pronounced 'Dawa Ñon-gah'], presented it to the above-mentioned

by Csoma de Kőrös, in which the above chart is referred to as follows: "The theory of the human constitution is illustrated by a similitude taken from the Indian fig-tree (ཤིང་མུ་ངན་མེད་ *shü mya ñan meü*). Thus there are three roots, or trunks; thence arise nine stems; thence spread forty-seven boughs or branches; thence 224 leaves; two blossoms and three fruits. The single root, or basis of diseases; the stems, branches, and leaves arising thence, taken or considered in a healthy or in a diseased state. Distinctions with respect to wind; ditto with respect to bile; as also to phlegm; their respective offices, operations, or influences." (JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, p. 2.)

¹ There are two block-print copies of the *rGyud-bṣi* in the Library of the India Office, marked D. 1 and D. 2. The title is བདུད་རྩི་མྱིང་པོ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱུད་པ་གསལ་བ་མན་ངག་གི་རྩུད་ (*bdud rtsi zñi-po yan-lag brgyad-pa gsañ-ba man-ñag gi rgyud*), "The treatise of the nectar-essence of the eight branches (lit. 'limbs') of hidden instruction," which is also given in Sanskrit as *Amṛta-hṛdaya-aṣṭa-aṅgaguhyā-upadeśa*. The four parts, ཀྱ, རྩ, གྱ, ང་, of the copy D. 1 consist of 8, 43, 210, and 62 folios respectively, and of the copy D. 2 consist of 11, 43, 226, and 62 folios respectively. There is also a copy in the British Museum in which the second part (རྩ) is wanting. The other parts, ཀྱ, གྱ, and ང་, consist of 5, 226, and 62 folios respectively. The printing of the British Museum copy is the more distinct.

² JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, pp. 1-20.

Tibetan king. At that time it was received by *gYu-Thog*, a learned physician, and by several others, and afterwards it devolved successively to others till *gYu-Thog* (the thirteenth in descent from the first), styled the New *gYu-Thog* to distinguish him from the former physician of the same name, who is called 'the ancient'. This physician much improved and propagated it: and at that time, it is stated, nine men became learned in medicine."

Besides the five volumes on medicine in the *bsTan-hgyur* and the instructions on medicine to be found scattered in the *bKah-hgyur*, there are several subsequent works on medicine in Tibet, the principal of which is the *Baidurya sÑon-po* ("The Lapis Lazuli"), written by *Saṅs-rgyad rGya-mtsho*, the regent of the fifth Dalai Lama, which is a commentary on the *rGyud-bṣi*.¹

The *Am-chhi* says that all the students at the medical monastery of *lChags-po-ri* are taught the *rGyud-bṣi*, but that only the most advanced students go on to the *Baidurya sÑon-po*.

The four parts of the *rGyud-bṣi* are: (1) *ཙ་བའི་རྒྱུད་*, the treatise of the *rTsas*, namely, arteries, veins, nerves, and pulses. *Csoma de Kőrös* has translated this word as "root", which is another of its meanings, and consequently calls the first *rGyud*, "The treatise of the root or theory of medicine," but this is not the meaning of the word as used in the anatomical sense; (2) *བཤད་པའི་རྒྱུད་*, "explanation" of the body and the causes of diseases; (3) *སྙན་ངག་གི་རྒྱུད་*,

¹ There is a block-print copy of the *Baidurya sÑon-po* in the Library of the India Office. The title is *གསེ་བའི་རིག་པའི་བཟུན་བཅོས་སྒྲུབ་ཐུག་པའི་རྒྱུད་* (*gSo-bai rig-pai bstan-bcos*

sMan-bLai dgois-rgyan rGyud-bṣi gsal byed-Baidūra sÑon-poi malli-ka), "The Jasmine-flower [a complimentary title given to books], the *Baidurya sÑon-po*, a treatise on the science of healing by *sMan-bLa*, being an explanation of the ornament of thought, the *rGyud-bṣi*." The work is in four volumes (ཀ་, ཁ་, ག་, ང་), which consist of 40, 283, 563, and 250 folios respectively. The copy is a clearly printed one.

“instruction” as to the treatment of diseases: and (4) ལྷི་པ་འཛིན་, “external” treatment, namely, manual operation, etc.

The following extracts from the analysis of the *rGyud-bṣi* give the principal Tibetan theories in regard to anatomy:—

“There are seven supports of the body on which life depends: the chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen.

“The three generative causes of diseases are: lust or ardent desire, passion or anger, dullness or ignorance. By the first is caused wind, by the second bile, by the last phlegm. The accessory causes of disease are four: (1) the season with respect to cold and heat, (2) any evil spirit, (3) wrong use of food, and (4) ill conduct of life.

“The parts of the body commonly subject to disease are six: the skin, the flesh, the veins, the bones, the viscera, and the bowels.

“The proper places of the three humours are: that of the phlegm in the upper part of the body, as the proper place of dullness in the brain or skull; that of the bile in the middle part of the body, which is appropriate to anger; and the wind resides in the lower part of the trunk, in the waist and loins, as in its proper place.

“There are fifteen ways or channels through which disease spreads itself. The channels of the motion of wind are the bones, the ear, skin, heart, artery, and the guts. The blood, sweat, the eye, the liver, the bowels are the ways or vehicles of bile. The chyle, flesh and fat, marrow and semen, ordure and urine, the nose and the tongue, the lungs, the spleen, and the kidneys, the stomach and the bladder, are the vehicles for the conveyance of the phlegmatic humour.

“With respect to the three humours this further distinction is made: wind is predominant in the diseases

of old people. bile in those of adolescents or youths, and phlegm in children.

“With respect to the place (or part of the body): wind occurs in the cold parts of the body, bile in the dry and hot parts, phlegm abides in the moist and unctuous parts.”¹

“The cause of the generation of the body is stated to be: the father’s seed, the mother’s blood, and the arising of consciousness. If the first be predominant there will be born a son; if the second, a daughter; if both are equal, then a hermaphrodite. Should it happen that the blood be formed into two masses, then twins will be born.

“Out of the semen are formed: the bone, the brain, and the skeleton of the body. Out of the mother’s blood are generated the flesh, blood, heart, with the other four vital parts (lungs, liver, spleen, kidneys), and the six vessels or veins. From the soul, or vital principle, arises consciousness through the several organs.

“There are 23 sorts of bones. In the backbone 28 are distinguished. There are 24 ribs, 32 teeth, 360 pieces of bones. There are 12 large joints of limbs, small joints 250. There are 16 tendons or sinews, and 900 nerves or fibres; 11,000 hairs on the head: 11,000,000 pores of the hair on the body. There are five vital parts (or viscera) (as the heart, lungs, liver, spleen, and the reins or kidneys): six vessels and nine openings or holes. In *Jambudwīpa* the measure of a man’s height is 1 fathom or 4 cubits; deformed bodies have only $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, measured by their own.

“With respect to the second section, showing the state of the veins. There are four kinds of veins or nerves: (1) that of conception, (2) of sensation, (3) of connexion, and (4) that of vitality.

“The first: From the navel there arise or spread three veins or nerves: one of them ascends to the brain, and is

¹ JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, p. 3.

acted on by the dull part of it, generating the phlegm in the upper part of the body. Another nerve (or vein) entering into the middle forms the vital nerve, and depends for its existence on the vital nerve of passion and blood: that part of it which causes bile resides in the middle. The third nerve (or vein) descends to the privy parts, and generates desire both in the male and female. The part of it which produces wind resides in the lower extremity.

"The second: There are four kinds of nerves of existence or sensation.

"For rousing (or exciting) the organs in their proper place there is in the brain a principal nerve, surrounded by 500 other smaller ones. Another nerve for making clear the organ of recollection or memory resides in the heart, surrounded with 500 other smaller ones.

"The nerve which causes the increase and renovation of the aggregate of the body resides in the navel, surrounded with 500 other smaller ones.

"The nerve which causes the increase of children and descendants resides in the privy member, together with 500 other smaller ones, and comprehends or encompasses the whole body.

"The third: The nerve of connexion consists of two kinds, white and black. There are twenty-four large veins (or nerves), which, like as so many branches ascending the principal stem of the vital principle, serve for increasing the flesh and the blood. There are eight large hidden veins or nerves for making the connexion of the diseases of the viscera and vessels.

"There are sixteen conspicuous veins connecting the outward limbs, and seventy-seven others spreading from them, called གཏར་རྩ་ *gtar-rtsa*, bleeding veins (that may occasionally be opened to let out blood).

"There are 112 hurtful or pestilential veins (or nerves), of a mixed nature; there are 189 others. Thence originate

120 in the outer, inner, and middle parts, that spread into 360 smaller ones. Thence smaller ones encompass the body as with a network.

“There are nineteen strong working nerves, which, like roots, descend from the brain, the ocean of nerves; from among them there are thirteen that are hidden, and connect the intestines; six others, connecting the outward parts, are visible; from them spread sixteen small tendons or sinews.

“There are three vital nerves (or veins) in a man. The one encompasses both the head and the body; the second, associating with respiration, moves accordingly; the third is the principal, and, connecting the veins or canals for the circulation of air and blood, is occupied with generating or increasing the body, and being the vital nerve is called by way of eminence the artery or the principal vital nerve.”

The following is the theory as regards the three humours—wind, bile, and phlegm:—

“(1) *Of wind.* The life-keeping wind or air resides in the upper part of the head: that which operates upward has its place in the breast: that which pervades or encompasses all resides in the heart; that which communicates or conveys an equal heat to the body has its seat in the stomach; that which cleanses downwards abides in the lower part of the trunk.

“(2) *Of bile.* The digesting bile resides in the stomach, between the digested and indigested part; that which forms the chyle resides in the liver: that which prepares or increases, in the heart: that which assists the sight (or causes to see), in the eye: that which gives a clear colour resides in the skin.

“(3) *Of phlegm.* The supporting phlegm resides in the breast; the masticatory, in the indigested part; the tasting, on the tongue: the refreshing (or that which

makes contented), in the head ; the conjunctive or uniting, resides in every juncture (or joint)."¹

Reference should also be made to Dr. Heinrich Laufer's Treatise on Tibetan Medicine, in which he includes the above analysis of the *rGyud-bṣi* and also refers to the contributions of subsequent European writers.²

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHART

The Am-chhi gave me the following information with reference to the chart :—

The central figure is, as will be seen, standing with its back to the observer. There is no other chart giving a corresponding front view of the standing figure, as the remaining organs viewed from in front are given in the two seated figures at the side on the chart.

The Am-chhi says that the numbers given against each entry in the chart refer to the numbers in a medical book under which a full description of the part is given, but he did not remember the name of the book.

In the spine the vertebræ numbers 1 to 5, the Am-chhi says, are considered to be the bones (རུས་ཁོག་ *rus khog*) of the neck (འཛིང་པ་ *ljin-pa*); Nos. 6 to 20 those of the backbone (སྒལ་ཚོགས་ *sgal-tshigs*); and Nos. 1 to 3 at the base of the spine the continuation of the spinal marrow into the genital organ; Nos. 1 and 2 are bones, and 3 is the penis.

The Am-chhi says there are four principal *rtsas* (རྩ་), which term comprises arteries, veins, and pulses, namely རོ་མ་ (*ro-ma*), རྩལ་མ་ (*rkyang-ma*), དབུ་མ་ (*dbu-ma*), and, སྤུད་པ་ (*sdud-pa*). *Ro-ma* is the artery to the teeth, and it is through this artery that man has the sense of taste. There are two branches of the *ro-ma*, one on either side of

¹ JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, pp. 5-10.

² *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tibetischen Medicin*, by Heinrich Laufer, Berlin, 1900.

the neck (the external jugular veins). The ro-ma is white in colour.

The rKyang-ma also has two branches, one on each side of the neck. It is red in colour. Its principal function is the contraction and relaxing of the limbs. The Tibetans believe that this is done by the veins (or nerves) (རྩ་rtsa), and not by the muscles (ཤུ་śa).

The dBu-ma is the principal or central artery. It cannot be seen. It is within the heart, and it is by means of this artery that man breathes. It is elastic like a piece of india-rubber, and can stretch and contract with the breathing. When it breaks life at once becomes extinct. The breaking of the dBu-ma is the cause of death in all creatures.

The sDud-pai-rtsa is the general system of veins throughout the body. These veins extend to the tips of the third finger.

It is believed that a child is born with its hands up to its face in such a position that the two nostrils are closed by the two third fingers, the two eyes by the two second fingers, and the mouth by the two fourth fingers, and the two ears are bent forward and closed by the thumbs; in this way seven of the nine openings of the body (དབང་པོ་བུ་ག་དབྱ་dhan-po bu-ga dgu) are closed, the remaining two openings, the anus and the urethra, not being closed at birth.

The veins are like a tree. They spring from roots and terminate in a flower. Thus the tongue (ལྗེ་lche) is the flower of the dBu-ma. The dBu-ma comes from the heart (སྙིང་ñin). The eyes are the flower of the liver artery (མཚན་ཙ་mchhin-rtsa), which springs from the liver (མཚན་པ་mchhin-pa). The nose is the flower of the lung artery (གློ་ཙ་glo-rtsa), which springs from the lungs (གློ་མ་glo-ma). The ears are the flower of the kidney artery (མཁལ་ཙ་mkhal-rtsa), which springs from the kidney (མཁལ་མ་

mkhal-ma). The lips are the flower of the spleen artery (མཆེར་རྩ་ *mchher-rtsa*), which springs from the spleen (མཆེར་པ་ *mchher-pa*).

The seated figure on the left of the chart represents a man, that on the right of the chart a woman. But the organs are the same in the man and in the woman, except that a woman's heart is said to be in the centre of the body and the man's somewhat to the left.

The figure on the right shows the internal organs of the body. The *Am-chhi* says that the position of the internal organs has been ascertained when the dead body is cut up for distribution of its flesh to birds and dogs, which is the method of disposal after death. But no dissection is followed at the *lChags-po-ri* Monastery as part of the training in anatomy, which is only taught from the chart.

There are five elements in the body (འབྲུང་བ་འགྲིལ་པ་མཁམ་ *hbyun-wa bñii khams*), namely, earth (ས་ *sa*), water (ཆུ་ *chhu*), air (རྩུ་ *rlun*), fire (མེ་ *me*), and ether (མཁའ་ *mkah*). The theory of digestion is curious. The stomach is earth, the air blows, so that the fire burns and causes the water to boil, and so digests the food.

The Tibetans believe that the red blood circulates on the right side and the yellow bile on the left side. They say that there are six pulses, three on the right arm and three on the left, and a Tibetan doctor feels the three pulses at the same time with three fingers. These pulses are said to come from different organs, and from the condition of each pulse the doctor judges the condition of the organ from which it is said to come. The Tibetan word for pulse is ཕར་རྩ་ (*phar-rtsa*), viz. "throbbing artery".

The following are the names of the six pulses: མཁྲིས་རྩ་ (*mkhris-rtsa*), which comes from the bile : རྩུ་རྩ་ (*rlun-rtsa*), from the breath ; གློ་རྩ་ (*glo-rtsa*), from the lungs ; རྩི་རྩ་

(sñin-rtsa), from the heart; མཁའ་རྩ་ (mkhal-rtsa), from the kidneys; and མཆེར་རྩ་ (mehher-rtsa), from the spleen.

The figure of the body is marked out in squares by the lines, in the first place, to show the correct position of the organs, so that they may be correctly placed in all the copies made of it for the students' use, and, secondly, for use in cupping and cauterizing. Cupping, མེར་རྒྱལ་པ་ (me rgyab-pa, "applying fire"), is usually done by means of a small copper pot, in which paper is lit and is then quickly applied to the affected part, and a blister is thus burnt. Cauterizing, which is also called མེར་རྒྱལ་པ་ (me rgyab-pa), is done by an iron rod called རྩམས་མེ་ (lchags-me, "iron-fire"), which is applied through a series of small holes in a flat iron disc laid over the place to be cauterized. No cupping or cauterizing is allowed from between the eleventh and twentieth joints of the spine. Each square is the width across the knuckle when the hand is closed (*vide* No. 120). Having diagnosed the seat of the pain or the organ affected, the physician measures on the patient's body the same number of widths across the patient's knuckle as there are squares to the position of the organ on the chart. This measurement varies with the size of the individual patient, and so gives the correct location of the organ. The portions of the body which can be cupped or lanced depend on the day of the month, because the soul, or life (ཐྲེ་ bla), moves about to different parts of the body on different days of the month, and cupping or cauterizing cannot be done at the part of the body where the soul is at the time. There is a manual called ཐྲེ་གྲགས་ཀྱི་རྩིས་ (lLa gnas kyi rtsis, *The Calculation of the Movement of the Soul*), which states in what part of the body the soul is on each day of the month. The position of the soul is as follows:—

On the 1st day of the month the soul abides in the sole of the right foot of a male person. It then ascends by the right side. On the 2nd it abides in the upper part

of the right foot ; on the 3rd in the calf of the leg ; on the 4th in the back of the knee-joint : on the 5th in the knee ; on the 6th in the thigh ; on the 7th in the hip ; on the 8th in the kidney ; on the 9th in the ribs ; on the 10th in the shoulder ; on the 11th in the arm ; on the 12th in the palm of the hand ; on the 13th in the neck ; on the 14th in the right cheek ; on the 15th it permeates the whole body. It then descends by the left side. On the 16th in the left cheek : on the 17th in the neck ; on the 18th in the palm of the hand ; on the 19th in the arm ; on the 20th in the shoulder ; on the 21st in the ribs ; on the 22nd in the kidney ; on the 23rd in the hip ; on the 24th in the thighs ; on the 25th in the knees : on the 26th in the back of the knee-joint : on the 27th in the calf of the leg ; on the 28th in the upper part of the foot ; on the 29th in the sole of the left foot : and on the 30th it again permeates the whole body. The soul abides in the soul of the left leg of a female person on the 1st day of the month, and goes round the body to the sole of the right foot in the reverse of the order mentioned above. If the affected part is burnt, or if blood is taken out of it, where the soul abides at the time in a human body or animal, he will die within three years. It is therefore very necessary to ascertain the abode of the soul if one cuts oneself with any weapon or hurts oneself in any way.

The colouring of the chart is as follows : The central figure is coloured buff. The lines forming the squares are yellow. The veins on the right side of the body are coloured red ; those on the left side yellow. The coil on the sole of the right foot is red, that of the left foot yellow. The outer portion of each of the vertebæ is pink. The genital organ is coloured red, yellow, and blue in twisted bands (representing blood, bile, and the marrow of the spinal chord respectively). The bottom part of the finger and toe-nails is red, the upper part blue.

The standing figure represents the portions of the veins and arteries that are visible externally.

The seated figure on the left, which represents internal organs, is coloured light pink. The spinal marrow is blue, and also the *rtsas* leading from it to the kidneys (Nos. 107 and 108) and to the liver (105), and from the liver to the lungs. The three arteries shown connecting the heart and lungs are red. The lips and outer corners of the eyes are red. The kidneys are a mottled pink, darker than the figure. The liver and spleen are dark pink. The heart and lungs are shaded a darker pink on their outer edges.

The right-hand seated figure, which is a female figure, is coloured light pink, the same colour as the seated male figure. The four main arteries ending in a flower and forming a cross are blue. The circle of smaller arteries radiating from the centre are alternately red and blue; of the others, No. 114 is red, 115 is yellow, 116 is white, 118 is red. The nails are red at the bottom and blue at the top. The lips and the outer corner of the right eye and inner corner of the left are red.

The two hands given as measures (120 and 121) are light pink, the same colour as the seated figures.

The veins and arteries shown on the central figure are those that are conspicuous when the limb is warm, and are therefore easily seen. The vessels shown at various parts of the back are suggestive of some slight knowledge of dissection. The cutaneous branches of the intercostal vessels become superficial in a somewhat similar manner.

The liver, though shown entirely on the right side, is correctly shown as having a large right half and a smaller left half.

It is curious that the stomach (ཕོ་བ་ pho-wa), the intestines (ལོང་ཀ་ lon-ka, the large intestine, རྩུ་མ་ *rgyun-ma*, the small intestines), and the bladder (གླང་ *glan*) should not be shown on the chart of the internal

organs. The reason for their omission appears to be that the chart (*vide* serial No. 111) is of the eight principal *rtas* connecting the spinal cord and the internal organs, and that the stomach, intestines, and bladder, etc., are not considered as being so connected.

TRANSLATION OF THE ANATOMICAL CHART

At the top of the chart there are pictures of twelve famous physicians. They are as follows, beginning from the left hand :—

1. མང་ཐོས་ལྷ་བའི་དབང་པོའི་མཚན་ (mañ-thös འLa-wai འBan-poi mtshan). “The name of the famous འLawai འBangpo” (pronounced Dawai Wanpo).
2. རིན་ལྷིང་སྤོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དབུ་ (Rin-sdiñs འLo-bzañ རGya-mtshoi འpal). “The exalted འLo-bzañ རGya-mtsho of Rin-sdiñs.” Rin-sdiñs is a monastery near Gyantse, at which place this physician is said to have been born.
3. དྭང་སྤོང་བཟུན་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་ (drañ-sroñ འstan-ldzin རgyal-poi mtshan). “The name of the holy hermit (= Sanskrit *Rṣi*) འsTan-ldzin རGyal-po.”
4. བྱང་ངོས་མཁས་དབང་དར་རྒྱས་ཞབས་ (byan-nös mkhas-འbañ dar-rgyas sabs). “At the feet of the honourable mkhas-འBañ of the Northern desert.
5. ཉམས་དོགས་མངའ་བ་སྤྲན་སྤོས་པ་ (ñams རtogs mñah-wa རMan sGom-pa). “The all-knowing learned རMan རGom-pa” (= Meditator on medicine).
6. ཁྲ་ཚང་སྤོ་མཚོག་རྫོ་ཆེའི་ཞབས་ (khra-tshang འLo-mchhog རDo-rje sabs). “At the feet of the honourable འLo-mchhog རDo-rje.”
7. བཟུན་པའི་བདག་པོ་སྤྲ་རྩྭ་ (འstan-pai འdag-pai Sarba Dzñah).
“The master of doctrine, Sarba Dzñah.”
8. མཁན་ཆེན་གྲུ་ཁྱ་དབང་ཕྱག་ཞབས་ (mkhan-chhen རśah-kyā འBañ-phyug sabs). “At the feet of the great abbot

Sahkya dBan-phyug." Above this picture there is the following inscription: འདི་ནས་སྤྱིང་པོ་བསྐྱས་པའི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ (hdi-nas sÑin-po bsDus-pai brgyud-pa). "From here begin the descendants of sÑin-po bDus-pa," who was a celebrated Lama physician.

9. མཁས་མཚོག་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་ (mkhas-mchhog bsöd-nams rgyal-poi mtshan). "The name of the most learned bsöd-nams rGyal-po."
10. རིན་མྱིངས་ཁྱོ་བཟང་གྱུ་མཚོའི་དཔལ་ (Rin-sdiñs bLo-bzañ rGya-mtshoi dpal). "The exalted bLo-bzañ rGya-mtsho of Rin-sdiñs." This is the same name as No. 2, the reason being that the Lama now referred to was a reincarnation of the former Lama.
11. དང་སྤོང་བལྟན་འཛོན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞབས་ (drañ-sron bstan-hdzin rgyal-poi sabs). "At the feet of the holy hermit bsTan-hdzin rGyal-po." This is the same name as No. 3, as this Lama physician was a reincarnation of the former Lama.
12. ཁྱིང་སྤོང་ཁྱོ་བཟང་གྱུ་མཚོའི་དཔལ་ (gLiñ-stoñ bLo-bzañ rGya-mtshoi dpal). "The exalted bLo-bzañ rGya-mtsho of gLiñ-stoñ."

The entry at the foot of the chart (No. 85) is as follows:—

སྤྱི་བོ། མགྲིན་པ། སྤྱིང་ག། ལྷེ་བ། གསང་བ་ལྷའི་ཙ་ལའོར་རྣམས་སྤྱུ་རྩའདབ་ཉེར་བཞི་
 རེ་དང་། རེ་ཡང་རོ་ས་ལས་བཅུ་དང་རྒྱུང་ས་ལས་བཅུ་ལྟེ་ཉི་ཤུ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་སྤྱན་ཉི་ཤུ་རེ་
 དབྱུ་ས་ལས་གྲེས་པ་བཞི་པོ་ལས་ཉེར་ལྔ་རེ་དང་རྩ་སྤན་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་རེས་བསྐོར་བའི་རྒྱལ། རྫོང་ལྷའི་
 རྣམ་ཤེས་ཚེགས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྩ་ཡིད་བཟང་ས་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཚལ་ཡང་། གཏར་རྩ་དག་
 བཅུ་མཚོན་པའི་རྒྱབ་མདུན་རྒྱར་པ་མཚལ་ཡང་། གཉན་པའི་རྩ་གནད་སྒྲག་ཡང་། རོ་རྒྱུང་
 གི་རང་དགས་ཀྱི་དཀར་དཔར་མདོག་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་བརྒྱགས་པ། འཕར་རྩ་རྣམས་གྲིས་ས་
 པ། མགོ་སྒྲེ་ཁ་རྒྱར་བཞོད་། མེ་ལུས་པལ་པའི་དབང་གིས་སོར་སོགོ་རྒྱལ་པར་ཆ་བཞག་
 པའི་གཙོ་བོའི་

The translation of the above is as follows :—

“The head, throat, heart, navel, (and) the secret parts, these five, each have twenty-four leaves (viz. branch arteries). Again, from the ro-ma (artery there are) ten and from the rkyan-ma (artery there are) ten. These twenty have each twenty small ones. From the dbu-ma (artery) there are four separate (branches), each having twenty-five (branches), and these are each surrounded by five hundred small arteries. The artery which produces the six kinds of perception of the five senses, and of the good soul, etc., is vermilion. The ninety blood veins on the back, in front, and on the sides of the illustration are also vermilion. And the most powerful (lit. ‘fierce’) and essential arteries ro-ma and rkyan-ma, (are shown) in white and red colour, running right and left. All the pulses (are) quick-moving. The head, neck, (and) corners of the mouth (are) carefully drawn. The human body of usual power is ninety-six *sor-mos* (measure of the width of the knuckle—*vide* No. 120), as is well shown on the diagram.”

The last line (No. 86) is as follows :—

ཁ་བྲུག་ལྷན་དང་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་མདུན་ཤོར་མ་དང་སྟོན་ ।

“The manner of reading the chart, all the meanings, and measurements are given above.”

The entries on the central figure of the chart bear serial numbers from 1 to 97, with the exception of certain numbers which are omitted. I have also given numbers (99 and 100) to the two entries on the soles of the feet and to the entries on the two figures on either side, and also (85 and 86) to the entries at the foot of the chart for convenience of reference.

The following serial numbers do not appear on the chart: 1, 2, 5, 6, 11–14, 17, 28, 29, 59–61, 65–76, 78, 80, 83, 86, 89–96. Of these, the four numbers 1, 2, 5, and 6 would appear to have been omitted from the four entries of

muscles, སྒྲི (śū), in the head, which bear no number, in the same line as the muscles Nos. 26 and 27.

The following numbers occur twice, being given in most cases for the corresponding entries on either side of the body, namely, 39-41, 49, 50, 53, 54, 63, and 81.

The entry at the right-hand side of the top of the head of the standing figure (beneath the figures of the seventh and eighth Lama physicians) has, by oversight, not been given a serial number. It is as follows: རྩམ་པའི་ཕུད་པ་འང་གྲེང་ (tshan-pai sdud-pa an-krer), "the suture of Brahma and the forehead" (*vide* serial 3 below).

The serial numbers are as follows:—

- 1, 2. These numbers are not entered on the chart. As No. 3 occurs twice, it would appear that the entry No. 3 (re-thag) is intended to be No. 2.
3. རེ་ཐག་ (re-thag). "The cord of hope." This is said to be a cord extending from the end of the spinal cord to the suture (Posterior Fontanelle) on the crown of the head (སྤྱི་གཙུག་ spyi-gtsug). It is up this cord that the soul or life (དབུ་མ་ dbu-ma) passes out of the body through the suture at the time of death. This suture is called རྩམ་པའི་བྱ་ག་ tshans-pai bu-ga, "the aperture of Brahma," from the corresponding Sanskrit term ब्रह्मरन्ध्र, the above belief having been taken from Indian medicine. As soon as the soul has left the body blood issues from the left nostril and mucus from the right.
- 3, 4. རུ་རྩ་གཉིས་ (bta - rtsa gñis). "The two occipital arteries." The spelling on the chart is unusual. The word is generally spelt རུ་ག་རྩ་ (ltag-rtsa), namely, the artery of the occiput.
- 5, 6. These numbers are not entered on the chart.
7. སྤྱོགས་རའི་ཚིག་མཆས་མ་ (skyogs-rai tshig-mtshams). "The tissue (or muscle) between two joints." The muscle

shown here, and also the corresponding one on the right side shown under No. 77, is that of the shoulder joint, but there is a similar muscle called by the same name at every joint. It is considered to be a vein or artery, *rtsa*. As this number corresponds to No. 77 on the right arm, and as Nos. 76 and 78 do not occur on the chart, it seems probable that this number should be 76 or 78, the last figure having been omitted.

8. The name is not entered on the chart against this number.
- 9, 10. རུས་ལྷག་པའི་སྤྱད་སྒོ་དང་དེའི་གཡས་གཡོན་ (rüs lhag-pai sdüd-sgo dan dei gyas-gyön). "The opening (lit. door) where the chief bones connect, and its right and left," namely, the sutures where the bones of the skull join. These sutures are shown under No. 10 in three places on the head, the lower one being the counterpart on the left side to No. 9, and the other two on either side higher up. These should probably bear the succeeding Nos. 11 and 12, which are not noted on the chart. The position of these sutures is not accurate, but they appear to represent the two lateral (squamous) sutures, and the two transverse (coronal and lambdoid) sutures.
- 11-14. These numbers are not entered on the chart.
15. ལུང་འཛིན་ཁུག་པ་ (lun-hdzin khug-pa). "The hollow of the joint." The Am-chhi says that this is a *rtsa* in the hollow between the collarbone and the sternocleido-mastoid muscle. It is therefore the subclavian vein. The No. 15 on the chart is evidently a clerical error of the copyist for 55, which is the number given to this entry on the other copies, and corresponds on the right side to No. 56 on the left side. But, as 55 is also the number given to a vein on the left hand, the present number should, apparently, be 57, which does not occur on the chart.

16. བོ་མཚན་ལམ་རྩ་རྒྱུབ་ (pho-mtshan lphar-rtsa rgyab).
 "The back pulse of the male organ." It would appear that this No. 16 is a mistake for 80, which is the number that this vein would, from the figure, be expected to have.
17. This number is not entered on the chart.
18. ཁྱ་ (śa). "Muscle."
- 18a. ཁྱ་ (śa). "Muscle." I inserted this extra number (18a) against this entry on the chart by oversight, as I did not notice that the No. 26 on the chart applies to this entry.
19. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle.
- 20, 21. These numbers are not entered on the chart. These numbers would probably be other śas or muscles of the head, as they come amongst those entries.
22. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle.
23. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle.
24. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle on the left, corresponding to No. 22 on the right.
25. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle on the left, corresponding to No. 23 on the right.
26. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle.
27. ཁྱ་ (śa). Muscle on the left, corresponding to No. 26 on the right.
- 28, 29. These numbers are not entered on the chart.
30. རུ་ཐུན་ (ru-thuñ). "The short horn." The Am-chhi says that the word ར་ has not the meaning of "horn" here, but is merely the name given to the vein (rtsa), because it is a short one (viz. that the portion of it which is visible on the surface is short). He pointed out the posterior ulnar vein as being this rtsa.
31. རུ་ཐུན་ (ru-thuñ). The vein on the left arm corresponding to the above.

32. མཁྲིས་པ་གཤམ་རིང་ (*mkhris-pa gśah-rin*). "The long pure bile." The Am-chhi says that although the bile mainly circulates on the left side and its "veins" (*rtsa*) are shown as yellow, it also circulates, mixed with blood on the right side, as here.
33. མཁྲིས་པ་གཤམ་རིང་ (*mkhris-pa gśah-rin*). "The long pure bile." The corresponding "vein" on the left arm to No. 32 on the right.
34. གློ་མ་ཚིགས་འགུམ་ (*glo-ma tshigs-hgram*). (The *rtsa* of) the (left) posterior lobe of the lungs.
35. གློ་མ་ཚིགས་འགུམ་ (*glo-ma tshigs-hgram*). (The *rtsa* of) the (right) posterior lobe of the lungs.
36. གློ་མ་ནང་རྒྱུག་ (*glo-ma nan-rgyug*). The vein circulating inside the (left) posterior lobe of the lungs.
37. གློ་མ་ནང་རྒྱུག་ (*glo-ma nan-rgyug*). The vein circulating inside the (right) posterior lobe of the lungs.
38. མཚིན་མཁྲིས་འདོམ་ཙ་ (*mehhin-mkhris ldom-rtsa*). "The vein connecting the liver and the bile." The vein is on the right forearm. The Am-chhi cannot explain why this name should be given to this vein.
- 39 (on the left forearm). མཚིན་མཁྲིས་འདོམ་ཙ་ (*mehhin-mkhris ldom-rtsa*). The corresponding vein to the above on the left forearm.
- 39 (on the right side). གློ་མ་གྲོག་སྒེད་ (*glo-ma grog-sked*). "The ant-like waist of the posterior lobe of the lungs" (right side). The Am-chhi cannot explain what is exactly meant by this term.
- 40 (on the left side). གློ་མ་གྲོག་སྒེད་ (*glo-ma grog-sked*). The *rtsa* corresponding to the preceding, on the left side.
- 40 (on the right wrist). སྦྱར་གོང་ (*skyor-gon*). "The flesh lump of the hollow of the hand," namely, the ball of the thumb. The name given to the vein passing through the wrist to the thumb (right hand).

- 41 (on the left wrist). སྟོར་གོང་ (sbyor-gon). Ditto (left hand).
- 41 (on the right side). གློ་མ་སྒེར་དོར་ (glo-ma sger-dor).
The posterior lobe of the lung " (right). The meaning of the word དོར་ is not clear. The Am-chhi says it is meant for དོར་རྩེ་ (rdor-rje), because this rtsa crosses itself and is like the shape of the rdor-rje, thunderbolt. This word is, however, spelt differently.
- 42 (on the left side). གློ་མ་སྒེར་དོར་ (glo-ma sger-dor). "The posterior lobe of the lung " (left).
- 42 (on fourth finger of right hand). སྤན་བུ་ (phran-bu).
The vein of the "little finger".
43. སྤན་བུ་ (phran-bu). Ditto (on the left hand).
44. རྩལ་ཙ་རྩལ་འདུས་ (rgyab-rtsa drug-'dus). "The collection of six veins of the back " (viz. of the back of the right hand).
45. རྩལ་ཙ་རྩལ་འདུས་ (rgyab-rtsa drug-'dus). Ditto. The corresponding veins on the left hand.
46. སྤྲིན་ལག་རྩལ་ཙ་ (srin-lag rgyab rtsa). "The back vein of the third finger (right hand)."
47. སྤྲིན་ལག་རྩལ་ཙ་ (srin-lag rgyab-rtsa). Ditto (left hand).
48. བར་ཙ་ (bar-rtsa). "The middle vein " (right hand).
The Am-chhi says this vein is so called because it runs between the thumb and first finger.
- 49 (on the left hand). བར་ཙ་ (bar-rtsa). Ditto. The corresponding vein on the left hand.
- 49 (on the right side). གཞེར་སྒོ་ (gyzer-sgo). "The source of pain." The Am-chhi says that this rtsa and the corresponding one on the left side are so called because all pains of the upper part of the back arise from them.
- 50 (on the left side). གཞེར་སྒོ་ (gyzer-sgo). The vein corresponding to the preceding, on the left side.

- 50 (on the right hand). བར་རྩ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between two fingers, viz. the first and second fingers of the right hand.
51. བར་རྩ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the first and second fingers of the left hand.
52. བར་རྩ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the second and third fingers of the right hand.
53. བར་རྩ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the second and third fingers of the left hand.
53. གློ་བ་སྔོན་བ་ (glo-bu sngön-bu). "The blue anterior lobe of the lungs" (right).
54. གློ་བ་སྔོན་བ་ (glo-bu sngön-bu). "The blue anterior lobe of the lungs" (left). These numbers (53 and 54) given to the lobes of the lungs appear to be a mistake for some other serial.
- 54 (on right hand). བར་རྩ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the third and fourth fingers of the right hand.
55. བར་རྩ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand.
56. ལུང་འཛིན་ཁུག་པ་ (lung-hdzin khug-pa). "The hollow of the joint." Namely, a vein in the hollow between the collarbone and the sterno-cleido-mastoid muscle. This corresponds to No. 15 for the right collarbone, which number, as already noted, appears to be a mistake of the copyist.
- 57-61. Numbers not entered on the chart.
62. མཆེར་རྩ་བྱ་ཀློང་ (mchher-rtsa bya-rkan). "The bird-foot vein of the spleen" (left side). The Am-chli says this is so called because the veins spread out like the foot of a bird.
63. མཆེར་རྩ་བྱ་ཀློང་ (mchher-rtsa bya-rkan). "The bird-foot vein of the spleen." The corresponding vein on the right side.

- 63 (on the right side of the back). མཁྲིས་རྩ་གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་ (*mkhris-rtsa gser-gyi ka-wa*). "The golden-pillar vein of the bile." The Am-chhi says this is so called because it is a single straight vein like a pillar, and not branched like the "bird-foot" vein above.
64. མཁྲིས་རྩ་གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་ (*mkhris-rtsa gser-gyi ka-wa*). "The golden-pillar vein of the bile." The corresponding vein on the left side.
- 65-76. These numbers are not entered on the chart.
77. སྐྱོགས་རའི་ཚོགས་སམ་མཐུན་ (*skyogs-rai tshigs mtshams*). "The tissue (or muscle) between two joints." This number on the right shoulder corresponds to No. 7 on the left shoulder, which would therefore appear to be a mistake of the copyist for 78.
78. This number is not entered on the chart.
79. རྣ་ཆེན་གཉིས་རིང་གི་མཁྲིས་རྩ་སྐྱ་རིང་ས་གཉིས་ (*rnag - chhen gñer-rin-gi mkhris-rtsa skya-rin gñis*). "The two long grey bile veins of long twisted pus" (at the back of each thigh). No. 79 is the right vein, and No. 81 the left vein.
80. This number is not entered on the chart. I put the figure "80" on the chart by mistake, as when first reading the chart I mistook the word ལྷུབ་ for "80", for which, as written on the chart, it might be taken. But it is evidently the entry against No. 16.
- 81 (on the left thigh). རྣ་ཆེན་གཉིས་རིང་གི་མཁྲིས་རྩ་སྐྱ་རིང་ས་གཉིས་ (*rnag-chhen gñer rin-gi-mkhris-rtsa skya-rin gñis*). The same entry as No. 79. As No. 81 occurs against the next entry the number 81 against the present entry is probably a mistake of the copyist for 80, for which there is no entry on the chart.
- 81 (on the right loin). དཔྱིའི་ཁ་གཙང་སྐལ་ལ་རྩ་ན་གྱ་ (*dpyi-i kha-gzar mkhal-rtsa na-gu*). "The cord of the hip. The *Nagu* vein of the kidney" (right side).

- 82 (on the left loin). དཔྱིའི་ཁ་གཟར་སཁལ་རྩ་ན་གྱུ་ (*dpyi-i kha-gzar mkhal-rtsa na-gu*). "The cord of the hip. The *Nagu* vein of the kidney."
83. This number is not entered on the chart.
- 84 (left thigh). བརྒྱའི་ཕྱི་བྱལ་སཁལ་རྩ་ཀླང་འདིགས་ (*brlai phyi-bul mkhal-rtsa rkañ-hdegs*). "The kidney vein coming out of the thigh, the support of the leg."
- 85 (right thigh). བརྒྱའི་བྱལ་སཁལ་ཀླང་འདིགས་ (*brlai bul-mkhal rkañ-hdegs*). "The kidney vein coming out of the thigh, the support of the leg."
- 85, 86 (at the foot of the chart). These numbers are not in the Tibetan. I gave them for reference against the entry at the foot of the chart, which has been already referred to.
87. བརྒྱའི་ཕྱི་རྩར་མཆེར་པའི་རྩ་ནག་ (*brlai phyi-zur mekher-pai rtsa-nag*). "The black vein of the spleen on the outer side of the thigh" (left thigh).
88. བརྒྱའི་ཕྱི་རྩར་མཆེར་པའི་རྩ་ནག་ (*brlai phyi-zur mekher-pai rtsa-nag*). The same as the above on the right thigh.
- 89-96. Numbers not entered on the chart.
97. སྒལ་རྩ་ནག་པོ་ (*sgab-rtsa nag-po*). "The black vein at the back" (of the right knee-joint). This is the external saphenous vein in the popliteal space.
98. སྒལ་རྩ་ནག་པོ་ (*sgab-rtsa nag-po*). "The black vein at the back" (of the left knee-joint). The corresponding vein to the preceding.
- 99, 100. ཀླང་པའི་མཐིལ་གྱི་བཞུག་འདྲ་མཐིལ་འཕྱོང་གཉིས་ (*rkañ-pai mthil-gyi bzhaḡ-hdra mthil-lhphrog gñis*). "The two wheels resembling a coil of rope on the soles of the feet." The word *bṣag*, as spelt, means "placed", but the Am-chhi says that it means a coil of rope, which is usually spelt ཞགས་པ་ (*sags-pa*). The Am-chhi says that these are the terminations on either foot of a *rtsa* connected with the heart.

The left-hand seated figure

The title of this diagram (No. 111) is—

དོན་སྟོང་ནང་འབྲེལ་སྤྲུལ་པའི་རྩ་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་ཆོགས་པ་ནས་འབྲེལ་བའི་རྩལ་

(Don-snod nai *lbrel sbas-pai rtsa-chhen rgyad tshigs-pa nas lbrel-pai tshul*). "The diagram showing the eight hidden chief arteries (*rtsas*) passing through the joints (of the vertebræ) and connecting the internal organs." These eight *rtsas* connecting the internal organs are—

(1) The spinal chord, coloured blue, running from the top of the brain to the genital organ.

(2, 3) The *rtsas* connecting the spinal chord with the two kidneys. These are also coloured blue, the kidneys being coloured a mottled pink.

(4) The *rtsa* from below the eighth vertebra to the liver (105). This is also coloured blue, the liver being coloured dark pink.

(5) The *rtsa* from below the tenth vertebra to the spleen (106). This is coloured dark pink, the spleen also being coloured dark pink.

(6-8) Three *rtsas* connecting the heart (104) and the lungs (102 and 103). These *rtsas* are coloured red, the heart and lungs being coloured dark pink.

The internal organs depicted on this figure do not bear any serial numbers in the Tibetan, except the bones of the spine, which are numbered from 1 to 20, the three supposed to be continued into the genital organ being numbered 1, 2, 3. I have given serial numbers to each entry for reference. This figure is coloured pink. The spinal cord is coloured blue, as also the cords leading from it to the kidneys (107 and 108), and the cord shown as leading from the eighth vertebra to the liver (105).

101. ཕ་ (pha). "Male." This indicates the spinal cord, which is supposed to pass from the genital organs to the top of the brain.

102. གློ་བ་ (glo-wa). "The lungs."

103. གློ་བུ་ (*glo-bu*). "The anterior lobes of the lungs."
104. སྙིང་ (*nyin*). "The heart."
105. མཆིན་པ་ (*mchhin-pa*). "The liver."
106. མཆེར་པ་ (*mehher-pa*). "The spleen."
107. མཁལ་མ་ (*mkhal-ma*). "The kidney " (right).
108. མཁལ་མ་ (*mkhal-ma*). "The kidney " (left).
109. བསམ་བསེའུ་ (*bsam-bseu*). "Seminal vesicle."
110. ༡, ༢, ༣ (figures 1, 2, and 3). Supposed additional vertebræ of the spine, continuing the spinal marrow into the genital organ.
111. དོན་སྟོད་ནང་འབྲེལ་སྤུས་པའི་ཅ་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་ཆོགས་པ་ནས་འབྲེལ་བའི་རྩལ་ (*don-snod nan-hbrel sbas-pai rtsa-chhen rgyad tshigs-pa nas hbrel-pai tshul*). "The diagram showing the eight hidden chief arteries (*rtsas*) passing through the joints (of the vertebræ) and connecting the internal organs." This is the title of this diagram, which has been already noticed.

The right-hand seated figure

The title of this figure is (*vide* No. 119) "The diagram showing the religious wheel of the heart, in which the leaf-arteries collect in the centre with the five arteries by which the consciousness of the five doors (i.e. the five senses) passes to the back, front, right, left."

112. འཁྱལ་ (*rgyab*). "The back (artery)."
113. ཉོན་མོངས་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྩུ་བའི་ཅ་ (*ñon moṅs yid-kyi rgyu-wai rtsa*). "The artery through which the misery of mind goes."
114. དབུས་ཡིད་བཟང་མ་ (*dbüs yid-bzang-ma*). "The middle artery of the good mind."
115. ཀུན་གཞིའི་རྣམ་ཤེས་རྩུ་བའི་ཅ་གཡས་ (*kün-gsi-i rnam-śes rgyu-wai rtsa-gyas*). "The right artery of the going (of the) consciousness of the soul," viz. through which

the consciousness of the soul passes. ཀུན་གཟི་ (kün-gsi), "soul" or "spirit," indicates the seat of the passions as opposed to སེམས་ཉིད་ (sems nid), the "spirit" as the seat of reason.

116. ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་བ་གཡོན་ (yid-kyi rnam-sés rgyu-wa gyön). "The left artery of the going (of the) consciousness of the mind." ཡིད་ (yid), "soul" or "mind," is the power of perception, will, and imagination.
117. 5' (ta). The letter 5' (ta) is written in the centre of the heart, as this letter is the mystical symbol of the door of admission to all knowledge. The Tibetans place the seat of the memory in the heart, and not in the brain.
118. གློ་ལུ་རྣམ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་བ་སྟུན་ (sgo-lu'ai rnam-sés rgyu-wa mdun). The front (artery) of the going of the consciousness of the five senses.
119. སྒྲིང་ག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འཛིན་ཅ་འདབ་དབུས་སུ་གློ་ལུ་རྣམ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་བ་འཛིན་ཅ་ལྔ་རྒྱབ་སྟུན་གཡམས་གཡོན་དུ་རྒྱག་པའི་ཚུལ་ | (snying - ga chhös - kyī lkhor-lo rtsa-luab dbus-su sgo-lu'ai rnam-sés rgyu-wai rtsa-lu'a rgyab-mdün gyas-gyön-du zug-pai tshul). "The diagram showing the religious wheel of the heart, in which the leaf arteries collect in the centre with the five arteries by which the consciousness of the five doors (i.e. 'senses') passes to the back, front, right, left." This is the title of this diagram already referred to.
120. རྒྱག་གཡང་གི་ཚད་ (chhag-gan-gi tshad). "The measure of the full hand." This is a unit of measure taken across the second knuckles of the fingers when the hand is closed, as shown in the illustration given. The *chhag-gan* consists of four *sors* (སོར་) or *sor-mos*, the *sor-mo* being the width of a finger across the

knuckle. This is the measure of the squares on the chart, each being one *sor*, by which the physician (am-chhi) is supposed to ascertain the correct position of each *rtsa* on the body, so as to ascertain the position of the different *rtsas*, and whether those of the patient are in the normal position.

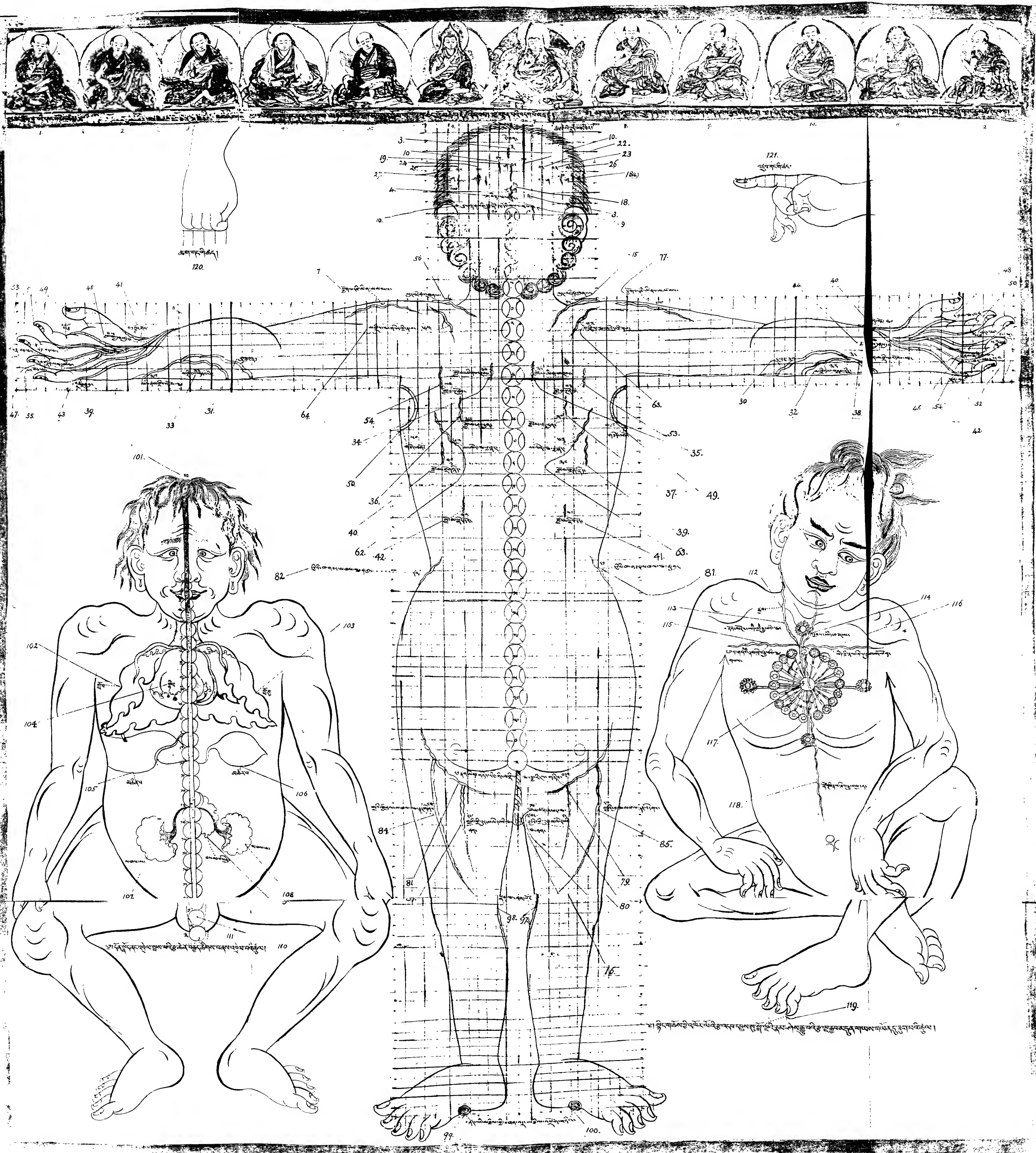
121. འདུབ་གང་གི་ཚད་ (*ldzub-gang-gi tshad*). “The measure of the full finger.” The *ldzub-gang* is the length of the first finger. It is divided into six parts, of which each of the phalanges is supposed to contain two. As the phalanges are of different lengths these subdivisions are conventional.

A NOTE ON TIBETAN SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS

The present practice of surgery in Tibet is very simple, and, as already noted, consists chiefly of cupping, cauterizing, and bleeding. The Am-chhi informed me that the only instruments used are the cupping-bowl (མེ་ཕུང་ *me-pun*, or མེ་བུས་ *me-bun*, both meaning “fire vessel”), in which paper is lit and the bowl is placed while hot over the part to be blistered; the sucking-horn (འཇིབ་རུ་ *ljib-ru*), by which cupping by vacuum is done; the cautery (ལྷགས་མེ་ *lchags-me*); the lancet (རྩ་རུ་ *rtsa-u*), for bleeding, and a golden lancet (གཤམ་གྱི་རྩ་རུ་ *gser kyi rtsa-u*), for operating on the eye.

In the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta for 1894 three Tibetan block-prints are illustrated, which contain representations of a large number of surgical instruments, some of them of an elaborate nature, including specula, saws, catheters, exploring needles, instruments for tapping hydrocele, and midwifery and other forceps. The block-prints were brought by Rai Sarat Candra Das Bahadur from Lhasa,¹ and a description of the figures was

¹ Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, vol. ii, pt. iii, Calcutta, 1894, p. iii.



TIBETAN ANATOMICAL CHART

Used for instruction at the /Chags-pori Monastery at Lhasa



given by the late Lama Śes-rab *mGya-mtsho* the Abbot of Ghoom Monastery near Darjeeling who was formerly physician to the late Tashi Lama which were explained in a paper read by Dr. Sarada Prasad Banerji.¹

If the elaborate and various instruments shown in the block-print were ever in general use they appear to have now ceased to be used.

¹ Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, vol. i. pt. iii. Calcutta, 1894, pp. 18, 19.

ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

(Continued from JRAS., 1909, p. 952.)

THE other and most ancient historical edicts discovered by me at Lhasa are inscribed upon a lofty pillar of victory which stands at the foot of Potala Hill, under the castle of the ancient kings, now incorporated in the palace of the Talai Lamas.

These edicts, three in number, are of the first importance, and two of them, dating between 730 and 763 A.D., are the earliest historical Tibetan documents hitherto discovered. They disclose to us much of the lost history of those stirring times, and throw a sidelight on the ancient history and geography of China. Each of the edicts, fortunately, deals with a different epoch in the national life, and furnishes us with trustworthy contemporary accounts at first hand of important events for which there has hitherto been no authentic indigenous record whatever.

They open up to us a vivid picture of the rise of Tibet as a great military power. We see her engaged in carving out for herself an empire, traces of the northern portion of which have lately been unearthed by Dr. Stein in Eastern Turkestan. We see her, a generation later, waging victorious devastating wars in the heart of China, and actually forcing the latter to pay tribute, occupying the imperial capital, putting the Son of Heaven to precipitate flight, and threatening to annex the celestial empire itself. Again, two generations still later, we are shown the causes which led to the collapse of Tibet as a great Asiatic power, and to the sudden disappearance of her menace to China, which hitherto has been somewhat inexplicable. Now,

however, we see the king, a zealous patron of Buddhism and founder of Lamism, described as of unsound mind, and deposed by a family of soldier-nobles who have usurped the power, and who in their reactionary policy have restored the pre-Buddhistic native religion, the *Bon*. One of the edicts is a manifesto by this party, obviously to justify their action and allay public clamour, which soon, however, vented itself in internecine civil war, that extinguished the monarchy altogether and broke up the country into petty principalities. Many of these were permanently lost to the country for ever, and the remainder were only reunited under the rise of the priest-kings, several centuries later.

Yet the native Tibetan "histories", so called, with characteristic worthlessness in regard to the earlier periods, as is usual in the East generally, excepting China, know nothing of the great events chronicled in these edicts. The very names of the heroic warriors who built up Tibet and won renown for their fatherland have all been forgotten! So too even the names of the great battle-fields on which China lost to her victorious neighbour whole provinces are nowhere mentioned, nor even the very name of the ancient capital of China, Tse-ngan or Changan, the modern Singan Fu, which was the objective of the Tibetan armies for several centuries!

These edicts, however, have preserved for us for over a thousand years the records of those times; and by means of the facts which they provide, we are enabled to set aside the current fiction and conjecture of the "native historians" and to reconstruct the true history.

The pillar bearing these edicts is one of the landmarks of Lhasa. Its exact location is shown in my plan of that city (No. 87) in my *Lhasa and its Mysteries*.¹ Its form and appearance are well seen in my photograph at p. 336

¹ p. 331.

of the same work. It stands on the old bank of the Kyid River, in the middle of the wide road to allow of circumambulation. Its tall needle-like shape is well described by its native name of "the long stone" (*rdo-ring*). It is a four-sided monolith column of dark basaltic stone, standing upon a broad three-stepped (and probably originally five-stepped) plinth of masonry, into which it is built. Its projecting shaft rises to a height of about 25 or 30 feet, and is surmounted by a wide-brimmed pyramidal cap or finial.

No rubbing could be taken, for political reasons, and my detailed photographs of it were unfortunately destroyed, but I secured very careful eye-copies of the inscriptions, taken with the aid of field-glasses, and these are the source of my translation.

The writing engraved upon the stone is in fairly good preservation, on the whole, though some of the record is lost in each inscription. This has manifestly occurred less by weathering and scaling than by deliberate removal at the hands of the Chinese. For the obliteration is mainly confined to those portions relating to the defeats of the Chinese by the Tibetans. At such places whole lines are deliberately erased, and the marks of the obliterating chisel are evident. In the paragraphs describing the occupation of the Chinese capital and the appointment by the Tibetans of a new emperor the record has been so deeply dug out as to leave depressions like cup-markings. Fortunately for history, however, this obliteration has evidently been carried out by persons who either could not read the Tibetan text or did not trouble to remove it entirely. In particular, the names of the emperors remain, as these were too sacred to be tampered with or touched. Enough of the text, however, remains at most of these places to enable us to restore considerable portions of it.

The Chinese manifestly recognized the great importance of this native memorial, for in addition to obliterating in

part its humiliating references to themselves they have erected at its side two imperial edicts as a counterblast. These edicts are on small tablets enshrined in two miniature Chinese temple-like buildings, seen on the left side of my photograph above-cited. Although both of these buildings were locked up during our stay in Lhasa and not accessible, the edicts in question are known. One was erected by the Emperor K'ang-hsi in the year 1721 A.D., on his occupation of Lhasa and suppression of a civil war there. It is entitled "The Pacification of Tibet", and its text has been published in this Journal by Mr. Rockhill¹ from Chinese sources. The other is an edict by Chien-lung in the year 1794 A.D.²

The great pillar of victory of the Tibetans is inscribed on three of its sides, namely, (1) that facing Lhasa city on the east, which, as the most conspicuous side, bears the inscription for which the pillar was originally erected, (2) facing Potala on the north (or rather north-west), and (3) facing the old bank of the River Kyid. The west is devoid of inscription.

The characters in all three are in the "headed" or *U-chun* form of letter, and are identical in shape with that in use at the present day. This shows how rigidly the Tibetans stereotyped the form of their letters from the earliest times, as one of these inscriptions dates to within a century of the first introduction of writing into Tibet.

The language in all is archaic Tibetan prose of the pre-classical period, as regards its orthography and grammatical construction. That archaic element, the "*d-drag*" (see Part I, pp. 942, etc.) is present as a very frequent and conspicuous feature. It is present in the following words:—

¹ JRAS., 1891, pp. 185-7, and p. 264, "Imperial Autograph dated 60th year of K'ang-hsi."

² Ibid., p. 264, "Imperial Autograph dated 59th year of Chien-lung (1794)." It is entitled 十全記.

stsald	'p'eld
gchald	bškyun
ldard	gstsand
gsold	bškyid
t'ild	rgyurd
brtand	bstand.

Its presence, indeed, even in the last edict of the three, dating to about 840 A.D., that is about sixty years *after* the establishment of the classical epoch, lends support to my previous suggestion (p. 944), that the remarkable classical purity in the Tibetan orthography of the joint treaty-edict of 783 A.D. was owing to its revision by the staff of scholarly Indian and Tibetan monks working under the orders of the king, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, who had themselves, only a short time previously, erected the new classical standard for their systematic translation of the Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan. That an edict of later date should retain the old popular style of orthography sixty years after the introduction of the classical standard is easily explained. For this edict is a manifesto by a reactionary and revolutionary party returning to the old religion and ways of their forefathers, and openly hostile to the Buddhist religion and the royal patron of those literary monks who had erected the classical standard. This edict, therefore, was not likely to have had the benefit of revision by the latter. These circumstances thus enable us to fix with greater precision an initial date for the commencement of the classical period of literary composition in Tibet.

The grammatical construction, too, presents many archaic features which render the translation a matter of some difficulty at times. This arises from the somewhat condensed and rudimentary form of the sentences owing to the absence of many of the differentiating prefixes and case affixes and postpositions of later times. Although in

these difficulties I have not enjoyed the benefit of any native assistance I believe that I have elicited the meaning in most instances correctly. When this is obviously doubtful I have made a note to that effect.

Although, like most Tibetan records, these lithic documents are undated, the references which they contain to contemporary events and kings in Chinese and Tibetan history enable us to fix the dates with more or less precision.

In translating and commenting on these three edicts, I will designate them Potala Pillar Inscription *A*, *B*, and *C* respectively. This will distinguish them from those of the Lhasa Treaty Pillar at the door of the great temple within the city, which also displays three inscriptions, one of which, namely, the Tê Tsung joint edict, I have described in the first part of my article. This will also sufficiently distinguish them from the other inscriptions on various sites in and around Potala, which are in Chinese and on small tablets, not pillars.

II. POTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION *A*, circa 730 A.D.

This inscription, the shortest and most obliterated of the three, is the oldest of all; and it is the one for which the pillar was originally erected. Though its text is badly defaced in the portion which manifestly referred to victories over China, it retains much that is important; and its information is supplemented and complemented by the text of the other inscriptions (*B* and *C*) of the same pillars.

It is an edict by the king K'ri g/Tsug-lde-btsan, the father of the king of the Tê Tsung joint treaty-edict (pp. 924, etc.), in honour of his greatest minister, named Je-lä, who had guarded him since his accession to the throne as a child of 8, had procured him an imperial princess from China as consort, had widely extended the dominions of Tibet by conquest from China, and, to crown all, had with retention of these conquered provinces

actually extracted from the Emperor of China twenty years later an honourable peace. Such great achievements were no doubt worthy of commemoration by such a fine pillar of victory.

He belonged to the *lDon* tribe (pronounced *Dong*), so we are informed in Inscription *B*, where this tribe is given the epithet of *'bul* or "the parted hair".¹ This is the term applied to the mode of dressing the hair as prevalent in the Kham province of Eastern Tibet, where it is combed out and hangs down nearly to the shoulders. So it is probable that Je-lä came from the borders of China and inherited a higher civilization than the generality of Tibetans, who doubtless wore their hair shaggy in those days. The pigtail appears to me probably to have been introduced only in the reign of the great-grandson of this king, namely, the sovereign of the edict *C*, or thereabouts, who is only known to Tibetans by his nickname of "the long-locked or pigtailed"—*Ral-pa-chan*. This king is noted for having introduced many Chinese customs into Tibet, amongst others, it would thus appear probable, the pigtail.

Although in his own country the name of this great general is now quite forgotten and unknown in the native history books, Je-lä is well known to Chinese history under the name of Hsi-lieh (see p. 1252): The Chinese chronicles of the T'ang dynasty of the eighth century A.D. record as follows regarding him:—²

"In the 18th year (730 A.D.), the 10th month, Ming-Hsilieh and the rest arrived at the capital. The Emperor received them in the Hsüan-ch'eng palace, surrounded by his armed guards. Ming-Hsilieh was a scholar learned in literature; he had been before to Ch'angan (the Chinese capital) to receive the Princess of Chinch'eng, and on that occasion all the Court talked of his ability and eloquence. On his arrival the Emperor invited him to a banquet in the palace, conversed with him, and treated him most graciously, presenting to him a purple robe and gold girdle with fish-bag, as well as seasonable apparel, a silver plate and wine vase, and afterwards entertained him sumptuously at a separate

¹ Jaeschke, *Dict.*, p. 392.

² Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 466.

hotel. Hsilieh kept the robe and girdle as well as the other presents, but declined the fish-bag, excusing himself thus: 'In our native country we do not wear this, and I dare not keep such a new and rare gift.' The Emperor approved and consented."

For the text of the edict see p. 1276.

Translation of Edict.

(Curved brackets enclose doubtful readings and restorations of the text, whilst explanatory interpolations are placed within square brackets.]

"By the command [of the king] this tall [pillar] to (?honour the minister) rJe (blas) was ordered. The order was obeyed. rJe-blas having (?defeated the Chinese at . . . and extended) the dominions (?and made Tibet) master of [to] the river (?Tibet and China) were made equal. The victory was good for the dominion of the black-headed people [Tibetans]. It made them contented."

The very first word¹ reveals an archaic feature in the presence of the *drag*² of the pre-classic period.

The loftiness of the monolithic column is well described by the term which is ordinarily used to describe tall trees.³

The name rJe-blas is pronounced by Tibetans *Je-lä*. We never find exact literal transcriptions of foreign proper names into Chinese, but merely the phonetic form as the Chinese render it. In the Chinese records this minister is called *Hsila*⁴ on the occasion of his first visit to China, and bears the title of *Shang-tsan-cho*, which we shall see later is a royal title, which may be bestowed upon the highest ministers. On his subsequent visit to China he is called *Hsilieh* with the prefixed title of "*Ming*", which may simply be that this Tibetan word for "named" has got joined on to it by oversight. Both of these forms are, for the Chinese, fairly good attempts at reproducing his proper

¹ tsald.

² v. p. 1250.

³ But see n. 2, p. 1277.

⁴ Bushell, JRAS., 1880, p. 456. He seems to be the same person as "Jé-ku" there also named.

name of Je-lä. Some further particulars in regard to him are furnished by Inscriptions *B* and *C*.

The Tibetans are here termed by their own king "the black-headed people". This epithet is met with in other of the inscriptions, also in old ballads: and probably may denote, I think, that in those days the Tibetans did not wear caps. Indeed, the caps at the present day are all of Chinese pattern and manufactured in China.

The date would appear to be within the period 731-5 A.D., and most probably the former. The text describes the country as being at rest after its accession of dominion, acquired through the achievements of Je-lä. This would place it shortly after the peace treaty of 730 A.D., secured by this minister. For, six years later, in 736 A.D., the two countries were again actively at war, and Tibet was wresting Baltistan, Khotan, etc., from China. Moreover, we do not find Je-lä mentioned after 730 in Chinese annals, and we are told in Inscription *B* that he died before the "time" of K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, who was born, according to my calculation, in 739 A.D. As he already was "the chief minister of Tibet" when he headed the mission to China in 709, he may be presumed to have been at that time not less than 40 years of age, seeing that his conspicuous ability made such an impression at the imperial court. All this would be in keeping with his death occurring, at an age over sixty, before 739 A.D., also with 731 A.D. as the probable date of the dedication to him of this pillar of victory.

III. POTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION *B*, circa 764 A.D.

This inscription¹ relates to the epoch-making events which happened a generation later than the era of Inscription *A*. It records a glorification of the successor and, as it tells us, the kinsman of Je-lä, who occupied a similar relation to King K'ri Sron-lde-btsan that Je-lä

¹ A preliminary note on it by me appeared in the *Times* of July, 1910.

did to his father. He was a mighty warrior as well as politician; and this edict bears internal evidence of it having been promulgated by the king in the first flush of victory, after the occupation of the imperial capital of China, and the appointment by Tibet of a new emperor to the throne of China, events which happened, as we know from the annals of China itself,¹ in 763 A.D.

The edict occupies the next place of honour on the pillar to the original dedicatory one. It covers a large portion of the south face, towards the old bank of the river.² It faces the direction in which people coming from the city must pass the pillar in going to Potala, or to the west gate of the city; for the Tibetans, in passing a monument, invariably do so in the respectful way of circumambulation, that is with the right hand towards the venerated object.

It records the Tibetan version of the chief victories by Tibet over the Chinese in the eighth century, which the Chinese with admirable impartiality have chronicled against themselves, and so provided the only record of these events hitherto known. The accuracy of the Chinese accounts is confirmed and supplemented to a remarkable extent by this Tibetan version, which throws fresh light on this invasion of China.

The date of this edict is manifestly 764 A.D., i.e. immediately after the occupation of the imperial capital and the setting up of a new emperor, as it stops short at the record of these events; whereas we know from Chinese sources that the latter arrangement was upset six months later by the return of the old emperor to his capital.

The credit for the most important conquests is given not to the king himself but almost entirely to his minister-general, Lu-koñ. This may be partly owing to the king's

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 476.

² The modern bank of the river is about a quarter of a mile further to the south.

modesty as author of this proclamation. Hitherto this king, under whom Tibet reached its zenith as an Asiatic power, was believed to have been personally a great warrior, leading his troops into battle like his ancestors; and the title which he assumed in his joint treaty-edict with China, about twenty years after the date of the present edict, namely "the helmeted king" (see JRAS., 1909, p. 934), supported this view. Here, however, we see that the two greatest of the campaigns were conducted by his militant minister, Lu-koñ, in person.

For the text of this inscription see p. 1276. The peculiarities of the letters and the orthography have already been noted.

Translation.

(Curried and square brackets as formerly.)

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"There arose [the minister] named *rJe-blas*¹ of the smooth-haired *lDon* tribe,² who became the intimate counsellor [of the king] and was looked up to by men. The great minister worked swiftly and was at the side³ [of the king] in sudden emergencies. He extended [the dominions] in the time of the king's father, *K'ri-lde*

¹ Pronounced *Je-lu*.

² See p. 1253.

³ *glo-ba*. This term presents some difficulties, as it is never used in such a sense nowadays. *glo* literally is the ordinary term for "the side" of a person or thing; but is not the respectful form of the word to be applied to a king, which now would be a different root, e.g. *gz'ogs*. It also means a "cough", with reference apparently to the movement of one's side which a cough entails. In its determinative form as *glo-ba*, as here used, it ordinarily means a cough with the sense of sudden movement, so that when compounded with *'bur* itself, meaning sudden, the word *glo-'bur* means "suddenly", though here again it may merely mean the sudden "side" or aspect. I have therefore treated it as meaning "side", and it recurs very often throughout these edicts in connexion with advice tendered to the king or State on emergencies by an adviser on the spot or at the "side" or ear of the State or king.

gTsong-rtsan, until he died. He extended [it] until near the time of the prince *K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan*. He made the dominion of the black-headed Tibetans to fight.

"*kLu-k'oñ* also, like [*rJe-*]-*blas*, was one who was systematically quick in sudden emergencies. [This] came to the ear of the prince, *K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan*, that another smooth-haired one has arisen [who is] quick in sudden emergencies. This having been found to be true, he, even *kLu-k'oñ*, was sent for and taken to be the intimate [counsellor] at the side of [the prince].

"During the reign of the king, *K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan*, *kLu-k'oñ* was the intimate [counsellor] at the side [of the king] on the *Tshe-ngan* high road [to China]. After the great conference¹ he became firm in mind and was appointed to the rank of Minister of the Interior.² He viewed with warm apprehension the dominion of China.

"No sooner was he commanded to go in the direction of *K'ar-chan*³ as commander of the leading upper division of the army than he set out, taking heed of resourceful precautions like a god of war. With a force greatly more numerous than that assembled [?in or ?by] the *z'a-z'a*⁴ of rank in the territories of China he beat⁵ the Chinese.

¹ See p. 1261.

² *Nan-blön*. This rank is mentioned in several of these edicts (see after), and is also noted in the Chinese records of the seventh century as "*Nanglun*" (Bushell, loc. cit., p. 440) as a title of ministers of rank.

³ The "*Kachan*" or "*Cachan*" of Marco Polo, see p. 1262.

⁴ རྩ་མཚེ ཚ'འ-མ'འ is evidently a Chinese word. If intended for རྩ་མཚེ *z'wa-z'wa*, it might probably mean "by each cap (or 'button') of rank".

⁵ ལྷ་ཁོང་སྟེ ལྷ་ཁོང་སྟེ is not a recognized expression nowadays. It literally means "bamboo", "became uppermost"; and this might mean "made themselves uppermost [over the Chinese] by beating [the latter]". Probably the first component of the phrase should be ལྷ་ཁོང་ ལྷ་ཁོང་, which means "overthrow", and the sentence then would read "overthrew [the Chinese] and became uppermost". It is noteworthy that the latter word ལྷ་ཁོང་ is the same root which is used as the ordinary designation of the Emperor of China, namely, "The Supreme One"—*Gon-ma*. Another possible though less probable form might be ལྷ་ཁོང་ "to smack" or "lick".

Of those who took the part of China at Byar-mo-t'an¹ some [escaped] towards T'ong-k'a also during the rising of the night to neighbouring The [new] boundary was laid out. *k*Lu[-k'ön] of the war by the great dominion A great conference was requested . . [?by the Chinese. He] having become [again] confidential counsellor at the side [of the king] he was a continual pattern to the State by what [he] did.

"The king . . [K'ri Sron]-lde-btsan with profound prudence of mind treasured up with full precautions what dominions [he conquered]. Being ever experienced by practice he conquered a great many countries of rank and forts in the territories of China, and joined them together.

"The lord of China [the emperor] Heū-di Wang-te² [and] the lord's minister, being terrified, offered tribute for ever of fifty thousand pieces of silk cloth a year. The Chinese were made to pay the tribute.

"After this, the lord of China, Yang³ Heū-di Wang-te, having died,⁴ the son of the lord of China, Wang Teng Wang,⁵ became king. He was unable⁶ to pay the tribute to Tibet. On this account *k*Lu-k'ön begged the Tibetan king, who was heartsick of the accursed road [to Tshe-ngan], that Tibet issue a war-order for a great army to march straight to the Keng-shi palace of the lord of China. To be the great commanders of the army [marching]

¹ Pronounced "Char-mot'ang". It is possible that the word here may be རྩ་མོ་ i.e. *byar-o*, pron. "char-o", instead of རྩ་མོ་ *byar-mo* as transcribed in my eye-copy, especially as a Chinese town named "Chao-yi" exists in this neighbourhood at the present day, see p. 1263.

² The Emperor Su Tsung, whose regal title in 756-8 was *Che-Téh*.

³ *Yang* here may not be part of the proper name, but merely the conjunction meaning "or".

⁴ Su Tsung died in 763 (Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 382).

⁵ Kwang Teh, the reigning title of Tai Tsung, who succeeded to the throne in this year 763.

⁶ *groñ-ste*.

straight for Keng-shi were appointed Z'ang mCh'ims,¹ prince² of the royal race of Shu-teng, and the minister sTag-sgra kLu-k'ön, and they both [proceeded] straight to Keng-shi.

"A great battle was fought on the bank of the ford of Chiñ-chi.³ China and all its great households⁴ were defeated. Tibet made the enemy flee from battle. Many Chinese were struck down.⁵ The lord of China, [the emperor] Kwang-t'eng Wang,⁶ also having come forth from the fort of Keng-shi fled to Sheng-chiñ.

"Keng-shi having been brought down, the inner minister of the lord of China . -byeu . -keng cowered and ceased [digging] entrenchments and of the Tibetan king, Whatsoever Tibet . [?demanded] in Keng-shi causing disturbances minister . [?Tibet set up as Chinese emperor] the king Che-chung⁷ . . [?to hold] the dominion for the future.

"kLu-k'ön having done . . [this] became [again] counsellor at the side [of the king]. [?His soundness] of judgment has caused happiness for the dominion."

One of the most striking facts revealed by this edict is the vast distance eastwards to which the Tibetans had overrun China at this time, in the middle of the eighth century A.D. They had extended their dominion half-way across the continent of China to the great bend of the Yellow River, and beyond the imperial capital itself, so as to outflank it.

The eastern limit of the boundary of Tibet in 755 as

¹ mCh'ims is a small principality or district near Samyäs, south of Lhasa, a princess of which was married to King K'ri Sroñ/de-ltsan, so that this commander was probably the *uncle* of the king, and thus was entitled Z'ang, which literally means "maternal uncle" (Jaeschke, *Dict.*, 471), though it also is the name of a district of Western Tibet to the north of Shigatse.

² rgyal.

³ The modern Chou-chih. see p. 1265.

⁴ བཟོ་མོ་

⁵ བཟོ་མོ་ལྔ་པ་ cf. Jaeschke, *Dict.*, p. 285.

⁶ The Emperor Kwang Teh.

⁷ See p. 1266.

inherited by K'ri Sron-Ide-btsan from his father is uncertain, especially as the name of the frontier river has been erased in his father's edict, as we have seen. But it must have been to the east of Koko Nor and have included a considerable portion of Kansu, as the Chinese records show incessant Tibetan aggression in Kansu in his father's reign.¹

In 755, the very first year of the son's reign, the whole of Kansu up to the Lung Mountains, which separate that province from Shensi on the east, were annexed by Tibet. In the following year, 756, this loss of territory appears to have been accepted by the Chinese at a sworn treaty held at the imperial capital, Ch'angan.² This is manifestly "the great conference" of this edict, which the militant Tibetan minister Lu-koñ attended, and at which he formed the resolve, as the edict tells us, to carry the campaign of conquest further, despite the formal treaty. For there is no other Chinese record of any conference or peace-meeting of these two powers between the years 756 and 762, whilst the first of the two great conquests by Lukoñ is chronicled by the Chinese to have been made in 758.

In that year the Chinese record³ that they lost to the Tibetans *the key to Central China*, namely, the famous pass of Tung-kwan, together with the important districts which it commanded to the east, to wit, the Ho and Lo River tracts and beyond. By this loss the Chinese state they were completely cut off from all communication with Western Asia and with the remains of their possessions in Turkestan, which they now completely lost.

The contemporary Chinese chronicle in the *T'ang-shu* records—

"When the Tung-kwan [pass] was lost and Ho and Lo cut off by troops, all the soldiers stationed in Ho, Lung, and Sofang were recalled to settle the difficulties of the State, to accompany the Emperor in his flight. Thus, at this time, all the old camps and border cities were left

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 439.

² Ibid., p. 475.

³ Ibid., p. 475.

ungarrisoned, and from the period Chien-yuan (758-9) the T'u-Tan [Tibetans], taking advantage of our difficulties, daily encroached on the borders, and the citizens were either carried off and massacred or wandered about to die in ditches, till after the lapse of some years all the country west of Fêng shang and to the north of Pinchou belonged to the Fan barbarians, and several tens of *chous* [principalities] were lost."

T'ung-kwan was, moreover, the recognized key to Central China, as it existed in ancient and even mediaeval times. The vital importance of this pass, strategically, to China is owing to its closing the passage between the Yellow River and the mountains. Its fortress was, says Yule,¹ "constantly the turning point of the Mongol campaigns against that dynasty (the Kin), and held a prominent place in the dying instructions of Chinghiz for the prosecution of the conquest of Cathay [China]."

The possession of T'ung-kwan at a point commanding the River Wei, on which higher up and only a few days' march distant stood the imperial capital of Ch'angan, placed the latter completely at the mercy of the Tibetans, who it appears from the edict were paid an annual subsidy to leave the capital unmolested. And it was the stoppage of this annual "tribute" some years later which the edict tells us was the cause of the Tibetan sack of the imperial capital in 763 A.D.

The capture of the T'ung-kwan was manifestly the first great campaign of Lu-koñ referred to in the edict as the expedition to *K'ar-chan*. This latter is clearly the *Cachan* of Marco Polo, which he places as the chief city and fortress in this locality, though the name apparently cannot be traced in the native Chinese account.² It is therefore interesting to recover the name through the Tibetan.

Kachan, "the noble city of Cachan-fu" of Marco Polo, was found by the Venetian traveller in the latter end of the thirteenth century, i.e. five centuries after our edict, to be "a city of great trade and of work in gold tissues of

¹ *Marco Polo*, by H. Yule, 1st ed., ii, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

many sorts".¹ It is identified by Colonel Yule, following Klaproth, as P'uchau-fu, close to the great elbow of the Yellow River.² But this is on the eastern bank of the great river, whereas Polo places its city and fortress two days' march to the west of the river, and after crossing the latter in his journey westwards to Ch'angan. Here in the exact position indicated by Polo, and only eight days' journey from Ch'angan, as stated by him, is the *fu* or capital city of Tung-chow, on the mouth of the Lo River and on the high road from Mongolia to Ch'angan. This, then, I would tentatively identify with Kachan, the Karchan of the edict.

The battle-field here is called in the edict Byar-mo-taṅ, or "the Meadow of *Char-mo*", or *Char-ō*³ as it is pronounced. At the junction of the Ho or Lo here, a few miles to the east of Tungchow (= ? Karchan) and above the Pass of Tung-kwan, is a site named in the modern maps "Chaoyi", which possibly preserves the name of this ancient battle-ground. The *Tong-k'a* to which some fugitives escaped is probably the Tung-kwan Pass.

The army which Lu-kon collected to compass this conquest would appear from the edict to have been assisted by mercenary troops; and we find in the Chinese account of the campaign of a few years later against Ch'angan that the Tibetans were actually assisted by great hordes of the Turkish tribes of Tu'kuhun (*Drugu*) and Uighur (*Huho*), as well as mercenary Chinese, who are stigmatized as "rebels" and "traitors".⁴

The occupation and sack of the imperial capital in 763 A.D. was the greatest of all the Tibetan military achievements, as recorded in the edict.

Ch'angan, the modern Singan or Sian-fu, was the metropolis of China since 220 B.C. for over a thousand years, and it still is the second capital of China on

¹ Yule, op. cit., p. 13.

² Ibid., p. 15.

³ See p. 1259, n. 1.

⁴ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 479.

emergencies. It was to it that the late Emperor and the Empress-Dowager fled in 1900 during the Boxer rising. As Yule truly says,¹ "it was probably the most celebrated city in Chinese history and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties." It was the metropolis of Shi Hoang-ti of the Tsin dynasty (which gave the country the name of China),² the great emperor whose conquests almost intersected with those of his contemporary Ptolemy Euergetes. It was certainly the *Khumdan* of the early Mohammedans, and the site of flourishing Christian churches in the seventh century, as well as of the remarkable monument³ of these Nestorian Christian missionaries, the discovery of which a thousand years later disclosed their forgotten existence. *King-chao-fu* formerly was the name the city bore when the Mongol invasion brought China into communication with the west, and Klaproth supposes that this was modified by the Mongols into *Kenjan-fu* (the name used by Marco Polo). The same name is traceable in the *Kansan* of [friar] Odoric, which he called "the second best province in the world and the best populated".

It stands on the south or right bank of the Wei River, and is glowingly described by the mediaeval traveller Martini.⁴ He speaks of the splendour of the city as regards both its public edifices and its site, sloping gradually up from the banks of the River Wei so as to exhibit its walls and palaces at one view like the interior of an amphitheatre. West of the city was a sort of water park, enclosed by a wall 30 *li* (= about 6 miles) in circumference, full of lakes, tanks, and canals from the Wei, with which were seven fine palaces and a variety of theatres and other places for public diversion. To the

¹ Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 16.

² As is usually stated.

³ A *stèle* in Chinese, reproduced by Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 17, and translated by others.

⁴ Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 16.

south-east of the city was an artificial lake with palaces, gardens, park, etc., originally formed by the Emperor Hiaowu (B.C. 100), and to the south of the city was another considerable lake called *Fan* (= ? Tibetan). It was visited and described during the present year by Dr. G. E. Morrison.

The Tibetan form of the name in the eighth century was Tse-ngan, which shows a softening almost identical with the modern name Singan. The second syllable of the name means in Tibetan "accursed", and it shows the bitter temper of the Tibetans as well as a sense of punning that in two out of the three instances in the edicts in which this place is mentioned in the text, the first syllable is dropped, so that "the Ch'angan road" reads "the *accursed* road". After the hardships they must have suffered on it, the toll of thousands of lives which it had cost them, and the weary miles of it (nearly a thousand miles from Lhasa) which nearly every able-bodied Tibetan must for several generations have trodden, they were doubtless as heartily sick of it, as the edict tells us, their king actually was.

The *Keng-shi* of the edict is perhaps the *King-chao*, which Klaproth has shown was the name of this *fu* or capital, and which Polo calls *Kenjan* in his quaint description of Ch'angan. "A very great and fine city it is, and the capital of the Kingdom of Kenjan-fu which in old times was a noble, rich, and powerful realm, and had many great and wealthy and puissant kings."¹ In the edict, however, *Keng-shi* seems more particularly to be used as the title of the palace of the emperor.

Chiū-chi, where the great battle was fought, "on the bank of the ford," is clearly Chou-chih,² that very ancient town on the south bank of the Wei River, about 40 miles to the west of Ch'angan, on the high road to Tibet.

¹ Yule, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 14.

² Or *Chen-chē(t)* Professor Parker tells me it is called.

Professor E. H. Parker informs me that the *T'ung-shu* records that Chou-chih was taken by the Tibetans in this invasion of 763, and that a general Lu Jih-tsiang was defeated there.

Sheng-chiū, to which the emperor fled, is certainly Shang-chou, one hundred miles to the south-east of Ch'angan, on the only road of retreat open to him. The Chinese annals themselves record that it was to this place the Son of Heaven fled.

The Chinese chronicles of this invasion state ¹—

"In the 1st year of Kuangtè (763), the 9th month, the T'ufan (Tibetans) attacked and took Chingchou, the governor of which, Kao Hui, surrendered to them. In the 10th month they invaded Pinchou and took Fengt'ienhuen [or Fengt'ien and Wu-kung].² Kuo Tzūyi was sent to the west to oppose the Tufan, but an army of over 200,000 T'ukuhun and Tanghsiang had penetrated from Lungkuang to the east, and Kuo Tzūyi led back his troops. The imperial chariot was driven to Shangchou, and the capital was left unguarded. The traitor general Kao Hui led the T'ufan into the imperial capital, and in concert with the T'ufan generalissimo Machungying set up the son of the late Prince of Pin, Ch'enghung, the Prince of Kuangwu, as Emperor, who chose Tashê as the title of his reign, and appointed the various officers of state. The T'ufan after occupying the city fifteen days retired."

With this account the Tibetan version in the edict is in remarkable agreement.

Kwang T'eng Wang is the Emperor Kwang Têh, who had only ascended the throne that year, whilst *Heū-di Wang-te*, who paid the tribute in 757, is obviously intended for Che-Têh, the reigning title of Su Tsung in 756-8. The new emperor set up by the Tibetans, given as *Che-chung* in the edict, is the *Cheng-hung* of the Celestial version. The Chinese name for the Tibetan general, namely *Machungying*, cannot be reconciled to either Lu-koñ or his assistant-general, for whose surname of *mChims* it is not likely to be intended. More probably

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 476.

² Professor Parker, who has kindly referred again to the *T'ung-shu*, writes to me that "Bushell's 'Feng-t'ien-huen' ought to be 'Feng-t'ien and Wu-king', I think".

it is a corruption of the word for the title of "junior general" or "*Mag-chung*".

In the light of this edict we now see that the joint treaty-edict with the Emperor Tê-Tsung twenty years later in fixing the eastern boundary of Tibet must have specified a line about 600 miles to the west of Koko Nor, and that the mutilated word there in question cannot be restored as "the Great Lake".

IV. POTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION *C*, circa 842 A.D.

This proclamation, two generations later, reveals the enormous change that had overtaken Tibet in the interval of about eighty years which has elapsed between this edict and the previous one (Inscription *B*) on this pillar.

In that one, the king was in the height of his power and was spoken of with respect, as was only proper in his own proclamation in which he recorded the prowess of Tibetan arms under his great general, Lu-koñ, while China was still prostrate at his feet.

Now, however, all that is changed. In this edict, the last of the series on the Potala pillar, the monarchy has evidently been overthrown by a revolution. We find the king apparently deposed and the rule in the hands of the descendants of the militant Lu-koñ. The whole family, *en bloc*, seems to have usurped the power, and is ruling by a sort of confederate dictatorship, and the edict is a manifesto of this revolutionary party.

The epoch of this edict appears to fall at the beginning of the civil war, which we know from the Chinese records and the indigenous history ensued on the downfall and extinction of the dynasty in the person of Darma, a grandson of K'ri Sron-lde-btsan. A few particulars in regard to this event are mentioned in the contemporary Chinese history, which enables us to fix the date with certainty at 842 A.D.¹

¹ Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 439.

This revolution in the later Tibetan histories, compiled by Buddhist priests in relatively modern times, is ascribed to the feud between the rival religions. The adherents of the old Bon religion, we are there told, revolted against the Buddhist faith which had been actively patronized by the kings for two generations, and especially so by Ral-pa-chan, a grandson of K'ri Sron-lde-btsan. Ral-pa-chan was assassinated by his brother Darma, who embraced the Bon faith, but he too in his turn was soon assassinated by the Buddhists, and with him the dynasty became extinct and civil war ensued.

The edict seems to be a manifesto of this period. It is issued by the family of descendants of the minister Lu-koñ, after they have usurped the power, and it evidently is intended to appease the people and to justify their own high-handed action in monopolizing the control of the government and in helping themselves to the property of the State. In it they pose as patriots of their country, and recite in rhapsody fashion the heroic deeds of their ancestors, on which they base their claims to the government.

Its references to the kings are disrespectful. King K'ri Sron-lde-btsan is stigmatized as being of unsound mind—a condition regarding which there never has been the slightest hint in the national histories—and the rule of the kings generally is declared to have caused a cycle of misfortunes to the country. Even the spelling of the word for “king” appears to be intentionally disrespectful. Instead of the form *gyal-po* or “the potent one”, we find here usually *gyal-p'o* or “the powerful father”, in which the element *p'o* is the common generic word for father as applied to the lower animals as well as human beings, and never found in polite language with regard to persons even in those early days. It is possible, no doubt, that this may have been the primitive form of the title of the tribal chief in the patriarchal stage of society, and that

it may have been reintroduced by the reactionary revolutionary party.

Its text indicates a period of internal disorder and dissension in which the ex-minister nobles are helping themselves to large estates and royal honours and titles. It is quite in keeping with the contemporary Chinese history, which in 835 A.D. recorded that in the reign of Ral-pa-chan "the government [of Tibet] was in the hands of the chief ministers". and it is added, with a feeling of evident relief and satisfaction. "consequently they [the Tibetans] were unable to rival China, and the frontier guards were left in peace."¹

The language is Tibetan of the pre-classic period, although it dated from about sixty years after the initiation of the classical period. This apparent anomaly is to my mind easily explained, however, by the fact that the text was composed by the reactionary patriotic party, who were reverting to the ancient customs of their country and who were openly hostile to the Buddhist party who had originated the classical standard of Tibetan literature.

The style of its composition is verbose and somewhat conversational, and it wants the stately dignity of the earlier records by the kings. Its translation presents many difficulties from its elementary construction.

For the text of this inscription see p. 1280.

Translation.

(Curved and square brackets as formerly.)

"[To] the minister sTag-sgra-kLu-k'ön
 [?honour be] given.

"The king's father's² father, K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan of old,

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 522.

² Instead of the usual title of king, བཅའ་པོ་ btsan-po, we find here བཅའ་པོ་ btsan-p'o or "the mighty father", and this word recurs in line 12 of text. Although པོ་ p'o is not nowadays a respectful form of name but merely the generic term for "father", applicable even to the

was sick [with his] head, and the family descendants¹ of sTag-sgra-kLu-k'on directed . . . [the government]. On them² shall be bestowed a large silver title³ to command under the Sacred Cross [of the Bon],⁴ the enjoyment [of which distinction] to descend hereditarily.

"Moreover, the king's⁵ grandson having died,⁶ to the family descendants of Zla-goñ, as a moderate reminder for their collective work in sitting above the inner circle [? of the government], there shall be bestowed Tshal-Z'ar⁷ as a residence for ever.

"Amongst all the capable descendants of Zla-goñ, who so capable, fearless, and esteemed as rJe-blas [= Je-lä]? Let him be praised! May the descendants of Zla-goñ [exhibit] a mighty spirit as of old.⁸ If [they are] not suddenly uprising in emergencies what other eyes can see to faults properly? Their name will descend as long as the dominion lasts!⁹ In the knotty points¹⁰ of quarrels and orders¹¹ to whom more than to these descendants lower animals, yet in ancient times, in the primitive social state when the king was regarded as a patriarch, it was probably, I think, used to denote also the king himself, as we find it surviving in the word for the king's palace, namely, p'o-bran, literally "the father's residence".

¹ Literally "the increased line of the family".

² I have treated གཅིག་ as standing for the family collectively. The word which follows རྣམས་ if correctly transcribed may be a proper name, but I have read the second element in its usual sense.

³ ལྷ་གེ་ literally "a letter", also a symbol and document.

⁴ གཡུང་རྩེ་ gyuñ-druñ. See p. 1275 for explanation.

⁵ Here again btsan-p'o, as in n. 2, p. 1269.

⁶ Literally "the life having sunk" (བབས་). My transcription has རྩེ་ tso, which is manifestly a mistake for རྩེ་ tshe, probably in copying.

⁷ These are two districts to the west of Lhasa.

⁸ Or may read "with the king's disposition as of old may they [be present]", with ll. 60-1.

⁹ Literally "throughout the life of the dominion".

¹⁰ Literally the "knots of strings".

¹¹ Or possibly "conferences" if the second element in བཀའ་བྱུང་ may have been copied in mistake for བྱེས་, which is unlikely.

[can we go] ? In quarrels and orders, after having been reviled, they effect a settlement. If there be any break or curtailment in the line of the sons of Zla-goñ, land or wealth cannot be again offered. Endowments therefore are bestowed on the elder and younger brothers and [all] male relatives whatsoever, on the condition that if one of the race of the minister sTag-sgra-kLu-k'oñ be taken holding a letter of the rebel king¹ in his hand, he shall be bound and chastised and the succession be broken and no silver title [-banner ?] be offered again.

"Unto the descendants of the minister sTag-sgra-kLu-k'oñ and Zla-goñ, whatever the relationship, unto each is bestowed a large silver title [?-banner], to command unto the Sacred Cross [of the Bon].

"Unto all the descendants of Zla-goñ, the father of the minister sTag-sgra-kLu-k'oñ, whatever their relationship, is bestowed the title of 'Uncle-minister' (Z'añ-blön)² and 'The Withstander and Turner aside of Three Armies'.³

"As commander of the thousand men of the P'an country⁴ of the Secret Presence⁵ [of the Bon deity], who else amongst men could be appointed more [fitly] than a descendant of the glorious ancestors⁶ of the minister sTag-sgra-kLu-k'oñ ? What one as leader of the populace⁷ is so capable ? Let [him] be appointed to command under the Sacred Cross⁸ as commander of the thousand men of

¹ Or "intriguing king", རྟོག་རྒྱལ་.

² On this title see p. 1274.

³ The text here is not quite clear as to the title; it may read "to the descendants of the withstander and turner aside of three armies is given the title", etc.

⁴ A district to the north of Lhasa now spelt 'P'an; it contains a celebrated shrine of the Bon deity.

⁵ This obviously refers to the Bon deity, and cannot be intended merely for "guardian of the king's body", as the final s in Sruñs recurs each time this word is met with in the text.

⁶ Or literally the "ancestors who have attained brightness", which possibly may be a euphemism for "died".

⁷ The word used རྩོད་པ་ means ordinarily "the mob".

⁸ See p. 1275.

the P'an country of the Secret Presence! Let the succeeding appointments to the Secret Presence be from amongst the steadfast¹ class of the descendants of "The clearer of the road to [Tsē] *nyan*²! Let the title³ of "Lifter of Misery from the Tents"⁴ be given, [and] may it never be changed!

"Rather than the descendants of Zla-goñ be uprooted from residence⁵ at Ts'al may all⁶ the power be united in their hands! No one else shall take it back or reduce it. The helmet-crest⁷ of these honourable ones, who bring happiness near and far and are impartial, shall not be taken away!

"If anyone bear the descendants of Zla-goñ any grudge in hand, as to state business or do dishonour to them, let the highest power [in the land] compel their obedience! If the descendants of Zla-goñ are not suddenly uprising in emergencies let no one seek to blame them or listen to slander, [or they] will be punished! If the descendants of [this] family be inside [the government], then let troubles⁸ come what may!

"With the king's mental disposition, as of old, in further uprisings and emergencies what happiness can there be? What a cycle of misfortunes! What painful quarrels and disorder! By the instruction of [these] elder and younger brothers and fathers men become wise in the business of life and of the State. May [they] descend more abundantly.

¹ Literally "stamped", in sense of stereotyped, undeviating, unvarying.

² The capital of China (see note, p. 1263). ཐུ་ཆེ་

⁴ གུར་རུ་མ་ཐུང་། This implies a widespread nomadic habit.

⁵ The construction is intricate.

⁶ ཅོག་ is a form of འཆོག་པ་ Cf. Jaeschke, *Dict.*, pp. 142, 460.

⁷ ཐོག་

⁸ Literally "discord", རྒྱུ་

"In short, may the descendants of Zla-goñ, the father of the minister sTag-sgra kLu-k'ön increase and live in happiness . . . [like] the most exalted one [i.e. ? the emperor of China]". . . .

The date of this inscription is fixed conclusively by its reference, in line 5, to the "king's father" or "father's father" as being K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan; and by its reference, in line 12, to "the king's grandson having died", coming immediately after the reference to K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan. Ral-pa-chan, the grandson of this latter king, died, according to the trustworthy Chinese accounts,¹ in 838 A.D., and his younger brother Darma, who assassinated him, was in his turn assassinated in 842 A.D.,² when civil war, we are told by both Chinese history and native tradition, ensued.³ Of Ral-pa-chan the Chinese chronicles record ⁴—
 "The *tsan-p'u* [i.e. the king] during his reign of about thirty years was sick and unable to attend to business, and the government was in the hands of the chief ministers. . . . After his death, his younger brother Tamo succeeded to the throne. Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious, so that the troubles of the State increased. . . . In the 2nd year of Hiuch'ang (842) the *tsanp'u* [Darma] died. . . . He had no sons, and Ch'iliku, a son of Shangyenli, the elder brother of his wife, whose name was Lin, was made *tsanp'u* . . . Within three years the people, in consequence of the illegal election of the *tsanp'u*, were in a state of revolt."⁵

This clearly was the epoch of the present proclamation, which thus would date to 842–4 A.D. The people are addressed in it as if they were without a king, the

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 439.

² Ibid., pp. 439, 523.

³ My *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 34.

⁴ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 522.

⁵ Ibid., p. 523.

advantages of being without a king are insisted on, and the reference in line 32 to a "rebel" king is probably to a royalist claimant of collateral descent. The disrespectful word which is generally used here for "king" has already been remarked upon. The proper and usual term for "king" occurs only twice, namely, in reference to the "rebel" above mentioned, and in line 61 when disparaging the kings as being the cause of the nation's misfortune.

The family of ministers who have usurped the government seek by this proclamation to justify their action in keeping the government in their own hands and within their own family as a despotic nepotism. They base their claims on the patriotic achievements and services rendered to the State not only by Lu-kon but also by his brother, thus showing that some of the party were descendants on the brother's side. No personal names are mentioned here, but the native histories give the name of sBas-stag-ma as that of the minister who assisted Darma in his support of the old Bon religion against the Buddhists.¹

The title of *z'añ-blon* (pronounced *zhang-lon*) or "Uncle-minister", a sort of privy councillor, to which they freely helped themselves, had previously been borne apparently only by the highest ministers, some or most of whom were of the blood-royal. And in the concluding word of the text which is decipherable, they appear to have arrogated to themselves the titular privileges of "emperor" by using the same word which designates the Emperor of China, namely, "The most high" or "The most exalted one".

Their active patronage of the ancient pagan religion of Tibet, the Bon, is evidenced throughout the edict, and is in keeping with Tibetan tradition, which records the ascendancy of the Bon over the Buddhist religion at this

¹ My *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 34.

period.¹ The frequently recurring expression "according to the mystic cross" (the reversed *svastika*, T. *yun-druñ*)² is the epithet usually employed to denote the Bon religion and customs at the present day. And whilst there is no reference to anything Buddhistic, the guardianship of one of the most sacred places of the Bon deities is expressly provided for, and is called "the place of The Secret Presence".

Linguistically, beyond the light shed on many other points these edicts yield us indisputably conclusive material for fixing within relatively precise limits an initial date for the origin of the classic period of literature. In the Inscription *B* of K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan of the year 764 A.D. *circa* we find the archaic pre-classic style, whilst in the inscription of the same king for the year 783 A.D. (see Part I of my article, pp. 944, etc.) we find the fully-fledged classic style. This manifestly fixes the origin of the classic period at a date between 764 and 783 A.D.

The remaining inscriptions on the Lhasa treaty-pillar will be described in a subsequent article.

¹ My *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 34, etc. Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 226.

² *Yun-druñ k'yil*, or "the twisted cross", has been used as an equivalent of "king's palace".

TEXT OF THE POTALA PILLAR EDICTS

Note.—In this copy the distinction between the long and short *i* has not been recorded. The length of the line is as in the original. The number of the line is prefixed by me for reference.

INSCRIPTION A (EAST)

1. ལྷ་ཡུལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་ཆེ་
2. བཀའ་སྤྱངས་
3. བར། ། ཆེ་སྤྱས་
4.
5. ཉི་
6. ཆབ་སྤྱད་
7. དཔོན་
8. ཅུ་
9. སྤང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱེ་
10. མགོ་ནག་པོའི་སྤྱད་
11. ལ་པན་པ་ལེགས།
12. མག་བྱས་སོ།

INSCRIPTION B (SOUTH)

1.
2.
3.
4. སྤྱོད་ཉི་པའི་ཆེ་སྤྱས་བྱས་པ་
5. འབལ་ཁྲོང་ཅ་བར་ལང་
6. སྤྱིས་གཟིགས། སྤྱོད་པོ་ཆེན་སོ་
7. བྱ་ར་བྱེད་པ་ལས། སྤྱོད་པ་རིངས་

¹ There may have been one line above this which has been erased

² This phrase recurs in l. 28 of Inscription B.

8. ནས ། | བཅན་པོ་ཡབ་ཁྱིམ་ལྗོངས་
9. གཙུག་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ལ་དང་ད་ཕྱི་
10. དགུང་དུ་བཞེགས་སོ།
11. བཅན་པོ་སྐྱེས་ཁྱིམ་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་
12. གྱི་སྐྱེ་ལ་ནི་དང་ད་དུ་ཉེ། བོད་
13. མགོ་ནག་པོའི་སྤྱིད་ནི་འཁྲུག་དུ་
14. བྱིད་པ་ལས། ལྷ་ཁོང་གིས་ (? རྩེ) ལྷ(ས)
15. དང་། སྐོ་བ་རིངས་པའི་གདན་
16. གཅིགས་ ། བཅན་སྐྱེས་ཁྱིམ་ལྗོངས་
17. ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་དུ་གསོལ་ནས།
18. འབལ་དང་ལང་ལྷོ་བ་རིངས་
19. བདེན་པར་རྒྱུད་དེ་ཁོང་ད་ནི་
20. བཀྲེན་བབ་ཕྱི་ལྷ་ཁོང་སྐོ་བ་ཉེ་ལོ།
21. ༄། བཅན་པོ་ཁྱིམ་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་
22. ལ་ཚོ་ངན་ལས་ལྷ་ཁོང་སྐོ་བ་ཉེ་ལོ་
23. བཀའ་གྲོས་ཆེ་མོ་ཕྱགས་བདེན་དང་
24. ་ ནང་སྐོན་བཀའ་ལ་གདོགས་
25. པར་བཅུག་ནས། ལྷ་ཁོང་སྐོ་བ་ཉེ་ལོ་
26. རྩེད་རྩེག་ཅིང་ཁར་ཅན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་
27. ཐོག་ས་དངས་པའི་དམག་དཔོན་
28. དུ་བཀའ་སྐྱེལ་དུ་གྲུང་དགུ་ལྷ་
29. ཐབས་སྐབས་ལ་གྲོས་ལྱིས་སོང་ཕྱི་
30. ལྷ་ཁོང་ཁས་སུ་གདོགས་པའི་ལ་ནི་
31. ་ བསྐྱེས་ལྷ་ལས་མངས་པའི་

¹ Or possibly ཅོ་.

² This phrase is similar to that in l. 1 of Inscription A; but here I translate ཀྱང་ as the adverb "like".

32. བོ་ཆེ་བསྟན་པས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ལྟེ། ཀྱའི་
 33. . . . ཕྱོགས་པ་དེ་བྱར་མོ་ཐང་
 34. ད་རེ་ཐོང་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་
 35. དང་ནས་ལས་སྟོགས་
 36. ཐོ་གཙལ་ད། ། ཁྱུ་
 37. འབྲུགས་པའི་
 38. སྤྱི་ཆེན་པོས་
 39. ཁྱོས་ཆེན་པོ་གསོལ་(? ད)
 40. ཉེ་ཞིང་ཆབ་སྤྱི་ལ་དཔེ་ནར་
 41. བྱས་མོ། བཙན་
 42. གྲེ་བཙན་བྱགས་སྐྱམ་ལ་ལ་
 43. ཁྱོས་གྱི་ཀྱ་ཆ་བས་ཆབ་སྤྱི་གང་
 44. མཛོད་དེ་ཙོས་ཀྱི་དང་ལེགས་ལྟེ་ཀྱའི་ཁམས་
 45. སྤྱ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དང་མཁར་མང་པོ་
 46. བཙན་ལྟེ་བསྐྱུས་ནས། ཀྱ་ཆེ་ཉེ་འདི་ཤང་
 47. ཉེ་ཆེ་སྟོན་སྐྱུ་ཉེ་ལོ་གཅིག་ཅིང་དག་དུ་དབྱ་
 48. དར་ཡུག་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟེ། ཀྱ་དབྱལ་འཇལ་དུ་
 49. བཙག་གོ། ། དེའི་འོག་དུ་ཀྱ་ཆེ་ཡང་ཉེ་འདི་²
 50. ཤང་དེ་གྲོངས་ལྟེ། ། ཀྱ་ཆེ་སྐས་ཤང་ཐོང་ཤང་
 51. ཀྱལ་པོར་ཞུགས་ནས། བོད་ལ་དབྱལ་འཇལ་
 52. དུས་ཅང་ལྟེ། ། བཙན་པོ་བྱགས་སྐྱུང་བའི་ཆོ་
 53. ངན་ལས་ཁྱུ་ཁོང་གིས། ཀྱ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཐིམ་ད་ཀྱ་
 54. ཆེན་པོ་བྱང་ཀོང་ཤིར། བོད་ཀྱིས་དམག་དུང་

¹ This possibly might read ཙོང་.

² Or possibly ལེག་.

³ Possibly ཐོང་ or ཐེན་.

55. བའི་བཀའ་བྲོས་ཀྱི་མགོ་ཆེན་པོ་གསལ་དུ་ནས།
 56. ཀེང་ཤིར་བྲང་བའི་དམག་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོར།
 57. ཞང་མཆིམས་ཀྱི་ལ་ཀྱུ་ཟེགས་ཤུ་ཐང་དང།
 58. རྫོན་ལྷག་སྐྱ་ཁོང་གཉིས་བཀའ་ལྷལ་དུ་
 59. ཀེང་ཤིར་བྲངས་ནས། ཅིའུ་ཅིར་གྱི་རབ་ངོགས་
 60. སུ་ཀྱ་དང་ཐབ་མོ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། བོད་ཀྱིས་གཡུལ་
 61. བརྩོག་ནས། ཀྱ་མང་པོ་བདུངས་པས། ཀྱ་ཇེ་ཀྱང་
 62. རེང་པོང་ཡང་ཀེང་ཤིན་མཁར་ནས་བྱང་མེ།
 63. ཞེང་ཅིའུར་བྲོས་པས། ཀེང་ཤི་པ་བ་མེ་ཀྱ་ཇེ་ཤི་ནང་
 64. རྫོན་ལྷག་ཀྱུ་ཀྱུ་ཀེང་ལས་སྐྱོགས་ཏེ་དོང་ཀན་དང་
 65.
 66. བཙན་བོད་
 67. བོད་ཀྱང་
 68. ཀེང་ཤིར་
 69. འབྲུག་ཤིང་
 70. རྫོན་པོ་
 71. ཀྱུ་པོ་ཆེ་ཆུང་
 72. སྤེན་བྱུག་(ས་)སུ་
 73. བྱས་ཏེ་ཁྱ་ཁོང་ཁྱོ་
 74. བ་ཉེ་ཞིང་ཆབ་སྤེན་(?)ལ། བཙན་པོ་(ཤི) . . .
 75. དཀའ་བ་བྱས་མོ།

¹ Probably དའེ་.

² Might also read སྤེན་.

INSCRIPTION C (NORTH)

1. སྒོ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲ་ཁོང་
2. ས་གནང་
3.
4.
5. ཡལ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྱི་སྒོང་ལྷ་བཙན་
6. གྱིས་ཕྱོན་ས་དབྱ་སྒྲ་གནང་
7. ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲ་ཁོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་
8. རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ད་མན་¹
9. དབྱལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་
10. རྒྱུད་བལ་པར་གཡུང་བྱུང་
11. དུ་སྒྲ་ལད་པར་གནང་རོ ॥
12. བཙན་པོ་སྒྲ་ས་དབྱ་སྒྲ་ཚ་བལས་
13. པ་ཞིང་ཡང་ལྷ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་
14. འཕེལ་ད་ལས་གཅིག་གཞིས་འབྲིང་
15. ན་ནང་ཀོར་ཡན་ཅད་དུ་བཞགས་
16. ཅིང་ཚལ་རར་དྲག་དུ་མཆིས་པར་
17. གནང་ངོ། ལྷ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་
18. འཕེལ་ད་ལ་ཇི་སྒྲ་ས་ཀྱི་ངོ་ཐོག་པའི་
19. རྒྲ་ས་ཇི་ཙམ་དུ་ངོ་ཐོག་པར་བགས་
20. བཀུར་ཞིང་བཞོན་པར་གནང་ངོ།
21. ལྷ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་བཙན་
22. ཞི་ལྷར། ལྷོ་བ་ས་རིངས་ན། རོངས་

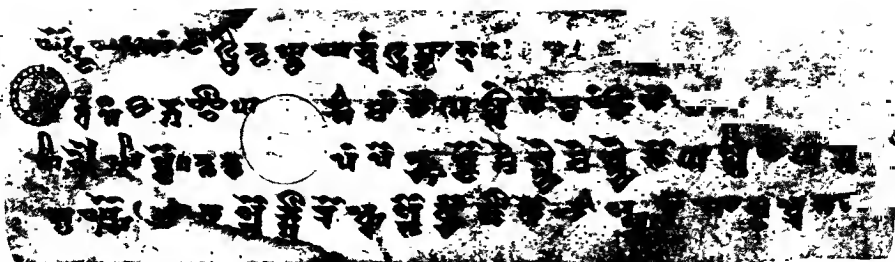
¹ Possibly མའ་ or ཀད་.² Or པོ་.

23. བྱིག་གཞན་ཅི་བྱང་ཡང་བྱང་། སྒྲིག་
24. སྤོང་ལ་བྱིད་བབ་པར། བཀའ་བྱོད་བྱི་
25. ཚོགས་ཅི་ལ་བབ་པ་ལས། བཀའ་བྱོད་
26. ན་གཅིག་གིས་སྤྲད་ཅིང་བསྐྱུང་བར་
27. གནང་ངོ། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་འཕེལ་དུ་ལས་
28. ལ་ལ་ཞིག་རབས་ཆད་ན་རབས་ཆད་
29. བྱི་ཁོལ་ཡུལ་དང་། ཝེར་ཕུགས་སྤར་བྱི་
30. བཞེས་པར། སྤུ་རྩ་པོ་གང་ཉེ་བ་སྤུ་ལད་
31. པར་གནང་ངོ། རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་སྤྲུ་ཁོང་
32. བྱི་བྱ་ཚ་བྱུད་འཕེལ་དུ། དུག་བྱུལ་བྱི་ཡི་གེ་
33. ལག་ན་འཆང་འཆང་བ་ཞིག་རབས་ཆད་
34. དམ་བུའོན་བབ་ན་ཡང་། །དབུལ་བྱི་ཡི་གེ་
35. སྤར་བྱི་བཞེས་པར། རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་སྤྲུ་ཁོང་
36. དང་། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་བྱུད་གང་ཉེ་བ་གཅིག་
37. དབུལ་བྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཡུང་བྱུང་དུ་སྤུ་ལད་
38. པར་གནང་ངོ། རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་སྤྲུ་ཁོང་
39. བྱི་པ་རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་བྱུད་འཕེལ་དུ་གྲྲི་མས་
40. ཞང་རྒྱ་ཡི་གེ་པ་འི་ཐང་དང་དམག་གསུམ་སྤྲུར་
41. གནང་ངོ། །སྤྲུ་སྤྲུངས་འཕན་ཡུལ་པ་འི་
42. རྩོང་དཔོན་དུ་གཞན་སྤུ་ཡང་བྱི་གཞུག་པར།
43. རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་སྤྲུ་ཁོང་གི་བྱེས་པོ་གསལ་སྤེལ་
44. བྱི་བྱ་ཚ་བྱུད་ཕེལ་དུ་ལས་གང་ངོ་ཐོག་པ་འི་
45. དམངས་འདྲང་བ་གཅིག་། སྤྲུ་སྤྲུངས་པ་ན་
46. ཡུལ་པ་འི་རྩོང་དཔོན་གཡུང་བྱུང་དུ་སྤུ་ལད་
47. པར་གནང་ངོ། འན་ལས་གསལ་སྤེལ་

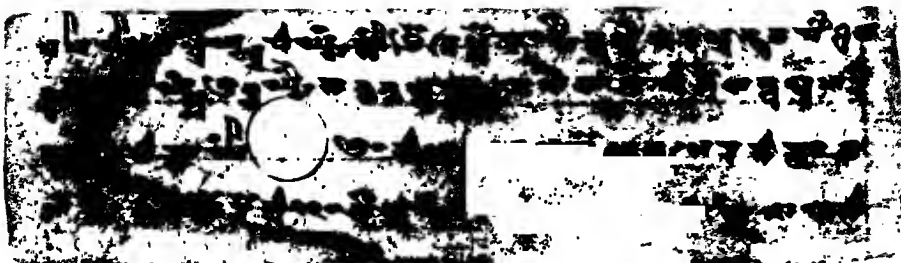
48. གྱི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དང་། ཅམ་ཞེས་བྱང་མྱེ་སྤྱོད་¹
49. སྤྱངས་སྤྱ་གནང་བ་ལས། མྱེ་ཚ་གྲ་ཅ་བྱ་སྤོར་བྱི་
50. བརྒྱུར་པར་གནང་ངོ། ། ཟླ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་ལ་
51. རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དང་གྱི་ལག་ན་བཟང་ཞིང་འཕོག་སོག་
52. ཚལ་ལས་སྦྱོགས་ཏེ་དབང་ངོ་ཅོག། ཟླར་བྱི་བཞེས་
53. བྱི་དབྱི་གཞན་བྱིས་བྱི་དབྱོག་ཁོང་ཏ་བདག་བྱི་
54. དགའ་ན་ཉེ་རིང་དང་བཟང་ངན་བྱི་བཞེ་བར་
55. གནང་ངོ། ། ཟླ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དང་
56. ལ་ལ་ཞིག་གིས་ཤ་ཁོན་བྱིས་ལག་ཏུ་སྤོག་སྤིང་ལ་
57. དམའ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་བཀའ་ཞོན་ཟླ་
58. ཅམ་སེང་ད་པར་གནང་ངོ། ། ཟླ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་
59. རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དང་གྱི་ཁྲོ་བ་ས་རིངས་ན་ཕྱ་ས་བྱི་གསལ་ནད་
60. ལྷན་ཀ་བྱི་བཅའ་བྱི་བཀྲོན་པར་གནང་ངོ།
61. བྱ་ཚ་འཕེལ་དང་གྱི་ནང་ན་སེལ་ལ་ཞིག། བཅན་པོ་
62. ཞེ་ཕུར་ཁྲོ་བ་རིངས་ཡང་དགེ་བར་རྒྱུད་ན་གང་
63. ཉེས་པའི་སྟོར། བཀའ་བྱོད་མཐོ། བྱ་ཕྱ་པོ་གཞན་
64. ཁྲིན་ལ་བྱི་གདགས་སྤོག་སྤིང་ལ་བྱིད་བབ་པར་གནང་
65. ངོ། །
66. ཨ། མདོར་ན་ཁྲོན་ཕྱག་སྤྱུ་ཁོང་གི་པ་ཟླ་གོང་
67. གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ལོ་ དང་བརྒྱུད་བདེ་བར་བཞུགས་
68. ཁོང་ས་ །

¹ Or སྤོལ་.

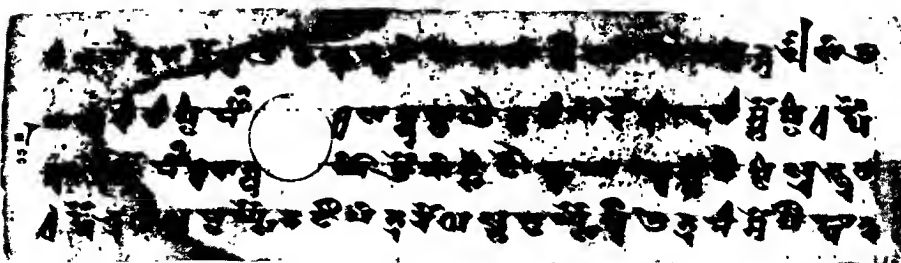
Fol 3. Reverse.



Fol 31. Reverse.



Fol 32 Obverse.



Fol 44 Reverse



THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF EASTERN
TURKESTAN

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

IN the July number of this Journal, p. 836, I promised to publish the text of the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*. As I have not yet received the Cambridge manuscripts of that Sūtra, I must defer the fulfilment of my promise to a later issue of the Journal. In the meantime I have compared the Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikā*, in Max Müller's edition, with the "unknown language" text in Dr. Stein's manuscript; and I may now present two extended "bilingual" extracts from the two texts. So far as I am able to judge at present, the East-Turkestani text does not appear to be a translation, throughout, of the Sanskrit text, as published by Max Müller. It is so, however, quite clearly in certain portions; and it is some of these portions that I am now presenting as a preliminary contribution. I may add that I have compared the East-Turkestani text of Dr. Stein's manuscript also with the Sanskrit text preserved in the manuscript of Dr. Stein's first collection (1900-1), of which I gave a short notice in this Journal for 1903, p. 364. That manuscript is incomplete, and the second extract, given below, is not found in it, having stood on its fol. 12, now missing. A portion of the first extract occurs in it, but its Sanskrit text is rather shorter than the Sanskrit text printed in Max Müller's edition, and, to that extent, differs also from the East-Turkestani text.

I take this opportunity also to reprint corrected versions of the extracts from the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*, given on pp. 837-8 of my previous communication. Not having had the originals to refer to

when I wrote from Wiesbaden, certain letters had been wrongly transcribed.

The Sanskrit text is printed in italics, interlinearly and verbatim, under the lines (in roman) of the "unknown language" text. In either case the words of the text are printed in the exact sequence (with two or three exceptions, duly indicated by numerals) of the originals. Where the East-Turkestani text differs, or is not intelligible, the syllables (*akṣara*) are printed discretely.

VAJRACCHEDIKĀ: FIRST EXTRACT.

Stein MS., fol. 3bⁱⁿ = M.M. ed., p. 9, § 1.

Nta-nta¹ mainiṃa pyūṣṭa śe snye (śe snye²) tā gyastānā
Evam mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye —————
 gyastā-^{iv}ḥaysā³ Śrāvastā-kṣīrā āstā-vyā⁴ Jīvāṇīspurabāṣa
bhagavān Śrāvastyām viharati-sma Jetavane
 Anā[4a¹]thapiṇḍi-hārū saṃkhyerma mistāna⁵ bil-sāgāna⁶
Anāthapiṇḍasya ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena
 haṃtsa | dvāsi-paṃjsāⁱⁱ sau āśīryaujsa ——— ———
sārdham ardha-trayodaśabhir bhikṣu -śataih saṃba
 ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ———
 ntī ——— gyastānā
hulais ca bodhisattvair mahāsattvair | atha khalu ———
 gyasta-ḥaysā brū-haḍāna⁷ ——— ——— ——— vāysyeⁱⁱⁱ pāntarā-
bhagavān pūrv-āhṇa -kāla-samaye nivāsyā pātra-
civara pananāti Śrāvastā mistā-kītha piṇḍā traṇḍa
cīvaram ādāya Śrāvastīm mahā-nagarīm piṇḍāya prāvīkṣat |

¹ Lit. Skt. *evam etad* ; see fol. 7aⁱⁱⁱ.

² Wrongly repeated ; śe is loc. sg. of sau = Skt. *eka* ; see fol. 5b^{iv}.

³ See Remark 11. below.

⁴ Apparently lit. Skt. *viharan abhūt* ; see *vya* in fol. 33a^{iv}.

⁵ Cf. Skt. *mahiṣṭha* = mistā, of which mistāna is the instr. case.

⁶ Sāgā = Skt. *saṃgha* with disaspirated *gh*, as in darma = Skt. *dharma*.

⁷ Haḍāna, loc. sg. of haḍā, Skt. *ahan* ; see below, in Remarks 7 and 13.

^{iv}nti — gyastā-baysā (nti gyastā-baysā¹) kū Śrāvastā
 atha khalu bhagarān Śrāvastīm
 māstā-kītha piṇḍā [4bⁱ] vātsuta-hamye² tā kū
 mahā-nagarīm piṇḍāya caritvā — —
 khāysta-kirā-yudā - yude hvaḍā khāysā³ kū ⁱⁱscetā-
 bhakta — kṛta - kṛtyaḥ paścād bhakta- — piṇḍapāta
 paryeta-hamye² pāntara - cīvarā pajsī byi-pāha⁴
 pratikrāntaḥ pātra - cīvaram pratiśāmya pāda
 ysnātā — — ⁱⁱⁱprañavyi — āysam vira ṇastā⁵ bastā
 prakṣalya nyaṣīdat prajñapta eva āsane
 palanṅā (ra-ṣṭā nta raṇ da ^{iv}ra na vi snā tā
 paryamkam (ābhajya ṛju kāyam praṇidhāya
 pyam tsā ntū śā nte tā byā ta jā va e vyeta⁶)⁶
 pratimukhīm smṛtim upasthāpya⁶)⁶
 Nti tā [5aⁱ] pharāka āśīrya⁷ kaṇma hālai
 Atha khalu sambahulā bhikṣaro yena — —
 gyastānā gyastā-baysā vyeta⁸ hāṣṭā tsuāmⁱⁱdā kū
 — — bhagarān — — (tena) upasamkraman —
 vara-hamya gyastānā gyastā-baysa pā ntirājsa
 (upasamkramya)⁹ — — bhagavataḥ pāda śīrobhir
 namasyāⁱⁱⁱdā gyastā-baysā drai tcīra-hvaram¹⁰-cai-nā-
 abhivandya bhagavantam triṣ pradakṣiṇī - kṛtya
 tvanā tsuāmⁱⁱdā¹¹ u śau-hā^{iv}laimi¹² ṇasta |
 — — — — — ek - ānte nyaṣīdan ||

¹ The bracketed phrase is wrongly repeated.

² Apparently lit. Skt. *cavan bhūtrā, pratikrāman bhūtrā*.

³ Probably wrong for khāysta.

⁴ Apparently Skt. *drau pāda*.

⁵ ṇastā = Skt. *nyaṣīdat* is transplaced; see fols. 5a^v, b^v.

⁶ Apparently in the bracketed portion the two texts differ.

⁷ Apparently āśīrī sg., āśīrya pl. = Skt. *bhikṣuḥ, bhikṣavaḥ*.

⁸ Apparently vyeta = Skt. *abhūt* or some similar word; cf. fol. 4b^v; ante foot-note 4, infra foot-note 22.

⁹ The bracketed equations are doubtful.

¹⁰ Hvaram = Skt. *dakṣiṇam*; cf. fol. 5b^v.

¹¹ Repeated from above.

¹² Hālaimi, loc. sg. of *hāla*, "locality" = Skt. *anta* = *sthāna*; cf. fol. 5a^v, hālai.

mistä-ḡaysuṃ ṇavuysā¹ haṃdāḡana biṣāpīrmā^{iv}ntamye²
mahā - sattvā ————— anugrhitāḡ paramēṇa
 haṃdārājsa ————— cu ntarā gyastā-ḡaysāna
anugraheṇa | āścaryam bhagavan yāvad eva —————
 ntāharātsukana [6b¹] (tkhai ḡi nām nā sā nām nā tvī ṣa
tathāgatena (arhatā
 ya nā-kā-na sa mna bi-śām nā hi rām nāⁱⁱva ma sā-
*samyak-sambuddheṇa)*³
 ka-na u hu jsa)³ baudhisatvā mistā-ḡaysuṃ ṇavuysā¹
bodhisattvā maha - sattvāḡ —————
 ysīⁱⁱⁱnīyahauḡli biṣāpīrmāntamye² ysīnīyahaurāmmejsa
parīnditāḡ paramayā parīndanayā |
 nta khu^{iv}vā miḡāṃna gyasta-ḡaysā ḡaysu⁴ ṇavuysaina¹
tat katham ————— bhagavan —————
 baudhisatva-yāmna- [7aⁱ] haṃjsadaina mara⁵
bodhisattva - yāna- samprasthitena kulaputreṇa vā
mahāyāmna ————— viṣṭāṇa u khvai
kulaḡuhitrā vā sthātavyam katham pratipattavyam — katham
 aysinu baysamḡjāmna
cittam pragrhitavyam ||

ⁱⁱNtye hvaye-hvaṇai gyastāna gyastā-ḡaysā āḡiri
Evam ukte ————— bhagavān āyusmantam

¹ Here mistā-ḡaysuṃ=Skt. *mahā-sattvā*, but the two texts really do not agree. In the Sanskrit text *mahā-sattvāḡ* goes with *bodhisattvāḡ*, both being nom. plur., but in the E. Turk. text mistā-ḡaysuṃ ṇavuysā seems to stand by itself, for some of the parallel passages have only ḡaysuṃ ṇavuysa (fols. 6bⁿ, 7aⁿ, 8aⁿ, b^m, 9a^m), though what the word ṇavuysa may exactly mean is not clear. See Professor Leumann's remarks in JGOS., lxii, p. 109, with which, however, I do not agree.

² Mye, or ma, is an inflectional suffix, like mī in ḡalaimī, fol. 5aⁿ.

³ The equivalence of the two bracketed texts is not intelligible.

⁴ Probably wrong for ḡaysuṃ.

⁵ Apparently mara corresponds to the technical term *jāra*, Skt. *yāvat* of Jaina texts, used to indicate omitted standing formulæ, such as *kulaputreṇa*, etc. It means also Skt. *iha*, fols. 9aⁿ, 31bⁿ.

Subhūta ⁱⁱⁱnta hve śīrā śīrā Subhūta nta nta śi-hārā ¹
Subhūtim etad avocat sādhu sādhu Subhūte evam etad —

Subhūta — — — — — haṁdādā ^{iv}gyasta-ḥaysāna
Subhūte evam etad yathā vadasi | anugrhitās tathāgatena
 baudhisatva — — — — — ḥaysuṁ ṇavuysaina ²
bodhisattvā mahāsattvāh — — — — —

biśāpirmāntamye ³ [7b'] haṁdārājsa

paramaṇa

anugraheṇa

⁴cu ntirā gyasta-

ḥaysāna ntāhiraṭsukana tsai śi nām nā sā nām nā tvi
 śā ya nā-kā na sa mna ba-sām na hi rām ⁱⁱⁱnā va ma
 sā-kā-na u hu jsa baudhisatva mista-ḥaysuṁ ṇavuysai
^{iv}na ysiniyahauḍā biśāpirmāntamye ysiniyāhaurāṇhmejsa
 [8a'] nta khuvā miḍāṁnā gyastā-ḥaysā ḥaysu ṇavuysaina
 baudhisatva-yām ⁱⁱna-haṁjsadaina mara mahāyāmṇa viṣṭāṇa
 u khuai aysmu nā ⁱⁱⁱsāṇā ⁴ ntye hvaye-hvaṇai gyasta-ḥaysa
 āśiri Subhūta nta hve ^{iv}śīrā śīrā Subhūta nta nta śi-hirā
 Subhūta haṁdādā ḥaysana ⁵ bau[8b']dhisatva biśāpir-
 māntamā haṁdārājsa

ysinihauḍā ⁶ gyastā-ḥaysāna bauⁱⁱdhisatva — — — — —

parinditās tathāgatena bodhisattvā mahāsattvāh

biśāpirmāntamā ysinihaurāṇhmejsa ta ntina Subhūta pyū

paramayā parindanayā ⁱⁱhi ⁱtena *Subhūte śṛṇu*

ⁱⁱⁱśiri — subiji — aysmayayam asye hvāṇi mā khu

sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi kuru | bhāṣiṣye aham yathā

ḥaysu ⁷ ṇavu^{iv}ysaina baudhisatva-yāmṇa-ḥadaina

bodhisattva-yāna-saṁprasthitena

¹ Apparently śi-hārā = Skt. *tasya*, gen. of śi or śā, Skt. *saḥ*, demonstrative pron., corresponding to ci-hārā = Skt. *kasya*, interrog. pron., fols. 10a^v, b', 31b^v, 32a^v, 37a^v; the rel. pron. is cu = Skt. *yaḥ*, nom. sg., fols. 9b', u, ⁱⁱⁱ, 32a^v, bⁱⁱ, ^{iv}, 33a', u.

² See n. 1, p. 1287.

³ Mye, or ma, is an inflectional suffix, like mī in hālaīmī, fol. 5a^{iv}.

⁴ Apparently by the copyist's carelessness this paragraph has been repeated from fol. 6a', the only point of difference being nāsāṇā = Skt. *pragrahitavyam* for baysamjāmṇa, introduced from fol. 9a'.

⁵ Read gyasta-ḥaysāna, as above, fol. 7a^v.

⁶ Apparently wrong for ysiniyahauḍā; see fol. 6bⁱⁱⁱ.

⁷ Probably wrong for ḥaysuṁ.

mara¹ mahāyāmñā — viṣṭāñā u khuī [9aⁱ] mara²
sthātavyaṃ yathā pratipattavyaṃ — yathā
 aysmu nāsāñā nta nta śirā³ gyasta-ḥaysa —
cittaṃ pragrahitavyaṃ | evaṃ — — bhagavan iti
 ntūñsajadā āṣīⁱⁱrī Subhūta gyasta-ḥaysāna pyūṣṭe
 ————— *āyusmān Subhūtir bhagavataḥ pratyāśrauṣit ||*
 Gyastā-ḥaysī nta hve maraⁱⁱⁱ Subhūta ḥaysu⁴
Bhagavān etad arocat | iha Subhūte — —
 ṇavuyśaina⁵ baudhisatva-yāmñā-hamjsaṇdai^{iv}na nta
 ————— *bodhisattva-yāna-saṃprasthiteṇa evaṃ*
 (nta⁶) aysmu upevāmñā cu-burā ————— satva ———
 ————— *cittaṃ utpādayitavyaṃ yāvantāḥ Subhūte sattvāḥ sattva-*
 ————— *sattvām-nāsāmejsa haṃ [9bⁱ] kḥiṣaysāya⁷ u āhya-*
dhātau sattva-saṃgrahaṇa sam grhīta — aṇḍa-
ysāta wa purāmñā-ysāta cu⁸ ganiṣṭā-ysāⁱⁱta — ūvavā
jā rā jarāyu-jā rā saṃsveda-jā rā upapādukā
 cu⁸ haṃtsa-rūvina⁹ (rūvana¹⁰) — anau-rūvāna¹¹ cu⁸
rā rūpiṇo rā a-rūpiṇo rā
 haṃⁱⁱⁱtsa-syāmejsa cu⁸ anau-syāmejsa cu-vā^s nti satva cu
saṃjñino rā asaṃjñino rā eva — — —
 ni haṃ^{iv}tsa-syāmejsa — anau-syāmijsa — ku-burā
ⁱ*na saṃjñino na asaṃjñino rā yāvan-kascit*
 satva-dāta-praṇavāñā [10aⁱ] ma-ta-ñā-pī-ya nti —
sattva-dhātu-prajñāpyamānaḥ prajñāpyate te ca
 satva muhujsa harbiśā aharīna nirvāñā ———
 ————— *mayā sarve anupadhiṣeṣe nirvāṇa-dhātau*

¹ See n. 5, p. 1287.

² Mara, if it is = *jāva* = *yāvat*, seems to be here superfluous.

³ The Sanskrit equivalent of the E. Turk. text would be *evaṃ etad sādhu*.

⁴ Probably wrong for ḥaysuñ.

⁵ See n. 1, p. 1287.

⁶ Apparently nta has been wrongly repeated.

⁷ Reading doubtful, folio damaged.

⁸ The Sanskrit text has *rā*, but the E. Turk. cu would rather be = Skt. *yah*, rel. pron.

⁹ Lit. Skt. *sārdham-rūpiṇaḥ*.

¹⁰ Wrongly repeated.

¹¹ Lit. Skt. *vinā-rūpiṇaḥ*.

paⁱⁱranirvāña | dādirā avamāta satva ku
 parinirvāpayitavyāḥ | *evam* aparimāṇān satvān *api*
 parinirvāye ⁱⁱⁱhamāti ¹ | na haḍi ² kāmujā ṣai śau ³ satva
 parinirvāpya na — kaścit — — sattvaḥ
 paranirvāye ^{iv}hāmā | nta ci-hārā kiḍna — ci Subhūta
 parinirvāpito bhavati | *tat kasya hetoḥ | sa cet Subhūte*
 baudhisatva — — saṁña [10bⁱ] hāmātā ni ṣā
 bodhisattvasya *sattva-saṁjñā pravarteta na sa*
 baudhisatvā — hvañai nta ci-hārā kiḍna | ni ṣi Subhūta
 bodhisatva *iti vaktavyaḥ | tat kasya hetoḥ | na sa Subhūte*
 bauⁱⁱdhisatvā hvañai ci satvā-vīra-saṁña hāmātā
 bodhisattvo vaktavyo yasya *sattva — — saṁjñā pravarteta*
 wa jvākā ⁴-vīra-ⁱⁱⁱsaṁña wa pudgalā-vīra-saṁña —
 jīva — — saṁjñā vā pudgala — — saṁjñā vā
 häme
 pravarteta |

Here four folios are missing, Nos. 11–14.

SECOND EXTRACT.

Stein MS., fol. 31aⁱⁱⁱ = M.M. ed., p. 35, l. 18, § 17.

Nti vā āṣiri Subhūtā gya^{iv}sta-ḥaysā nta hve
Atha khalu āyuṣmān Subhūtir bhagavantam etad avocat |
 khuvā miḍāmna gyasta - ḥaysā baudhisatvā - yāmnī
 katham ————— bhagavan bodhisattva-yāna
 marā ⁵ [31bⁱ] mahāyāña ⁶ —————
saṁprasthitena sthātavyam katham pratipattavyam
 ————— aysnu biysaṁjāmñā gyastā-ḥaysi nta hve
 katham cittam pragrahītavyam | bhagavān — āha |

¹ The two texts seem to differ in this passage; dādirā is hardly = Skt. *evam*, which is nta, and ku parinirvāye hamāti would mean Skt. *kaḥ* (or *katham*) parinirvāpitaḥ pravarteta; see fols. 10aⁱⁱⁱ, bⁱ, 31b^{iv}, 32aⁱⁱ.

² The colophon of the MS. has haḍi = Skt. *ārya*, fol. 44bⁱ.

³ Lit. kāmujā ṣai śau = Skt. *kaścit sa ekaḥ*.

⁴ Perhaps a mere clerical blunder for jīva; see fol. 32aⁱ.

⁵ See n. 5, p. 1287.

⁶ Read mahāyāmñā; cf. fol. 7aⁱ.

_____ sä ni-štā
bhagavan bhagavato bhāṣitasya artham ājānāmi — nāsti
*mādāṁna — gyastā-ḥaysā kāmujā śā dharmā cu*¹
 _____ *sa bhagavan kaścīd — dharmo yas*
*gyastā-ḥaysā*ⁱⁱⁱ*na (_____*
tathāgatena (Dīpaṁkarasya tathāgatasya arhataḥ

samyak - sambuddhasya antikād anuttarāṁ
*biśāpirmāntama*²*-ḥaysu-štā bustā āya)*³ *ntye hvaye-hvanai*
*samyak-sambodhim sambuddhaḥ|)*³ *evam ukte*
gyastā-ḥa^{iv}*ysā āśirī Subhūtā nta hve nta nta*
bhagavān āyusmantam Subhūtim etad avocāt | evam etad
 _____ *śi-hārā*¹ *Subhūta ni-štā kāmujā śi*
Subhūte evam etad _____ Subhūte nāsti kaścīd sa
*dharmā cu*¹ [33aⁱ] *gyastā-ḥaysna Dīpaṁkarā*
dharmo yas tathāgatena Dīpaṁkarasya
*gyastā-ḥaysana*⁴ (_____ _____
tathāgatasya (arhataḥ samyak-sambuddhasya
 _____ _____ *ḥaysu-štā bustā āya)*³ _____
*antikād anuttarāṁ samyak-sambodhim sambuddhaḥ|)*³ *sa*
*cī _____ Subhūta*ⁱⁱ*kāmujā śi*¹ *dharmā vya cu*⁵
cet punaḥ Subhūte kaścīd — dharmas — —
gyastā-ḥaysana ḥaysuštābustā vya ni muhu
tathāgatena abhisambuddho abhaviṣyat na mān
 _____ _____ *vyīrasā hamathu — mānavā*
Dīpaṁkaras tathāgato vyākariṣyat bhaviṣyasi tvaṁ mānavān

¹ See n. 1, p. 1288.

² This represents here Skt. *samyak*, and in fols. 6aⁱⁱⁱ, 6bⁱⁱⁱ, 7a^v, 8bⁱ, Skt. *parama* or *paramayā*; and *biśā* by itself represents Skt. *sarve* (properly *viśvāḥ*) in fol. 31bⁱⁱ; hence *biśā-pirmāntama* perhaps lit. = Skt. *sarva-prakāreṇa*, or some similar phrase.

³ In the bracketed portion the two texts do not agree.

⁴ Perhaps wrong for *gyastā-ḥaysā*, for the form ending in *na* usually stands for the instrumental case.

⁵ *Vya cu* = Skt. *abhaviṣyad yaḥ*, missing in the Sanskrit text.

ustamājsi bādā Śākya-munā nāma gya^{iv}sta-ḥaysā |
 āgate adhvani Śākya-munir nāma tathāgato

arhan samyak-sambuddha iti ||

The continuation does not seem to agree in the two texts.

APARIMITĀYUḤ SŪTRA, fol. 1b.

Saddham nta nta muhujṣa pyūṣṭā śīṇa¹ beḍa
 Siddham | evaṃ — mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye
 gyastā-ḥaysā Śrāvastā āsta-vye Jivāriṣpurābāṣa
 bhagavān Śrāvastyām viharati-sma Jetavane
 Anāthaⁱⁱpiṇḍī-hārū saṃkhyerma —————
 Anāthapiṇḍasya ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena
 ————— dvāsse-panṇjā sāu āśīryaujsa ————— u
 sārḍham arḍha-trayodaśabhir — bhikṣu - śataiḥ² ca
 pharākyaḥ bauddhisattvaḥ mistyau-ḥaysu ṇavuⁱⁱⁱsyaujsa²
 sambahulaś bodhisattvair mahā-sattvaiḥ —————
 hatsa³ | Ntīṇa⁴ ————— beḍamī gyastā-ḥaysā Maṃjuśrī
 ————— Tatra khalu ————— bhagavān Maṃjuśrīyam
 eysāxan⁵-gurṣṭe untaipastisa aścā⁶ Maṃjuśryu
 kumāra-bhūtam āmantrayate-sma | asti Maṃjuśrīḥ
^{iv}sarbaṃdā-hālai guṇa⁷ Aparamintā-saṃcayā nāṃma
 upariṣṭāyām aparimita-guṇa-saṃcayo nāma
 lova-dāvāra⁸
 loka-dhātuh

¹ Loc. sg. of śau = Skt. *eka*.

² Cf. ṇavuyṣaina in *Vajracchedikā*, fol. 31b^{iv}; i.e. ṇavuyṣai with instrumental suffix na or jsa.

³ Hatsa = Skt. *sārḍham*, placed earlier after *saṃghena*.

⁴ Loc. sg. of nta = Skt. *tat*.

⁵ The consonant (x) of the final syllable is broken off.

⁶ Perhaps an error for aśtā; see fol. 32a^{iv}.

⁷ *Guṇa* is placed differently in the two texts.

⁸ *Dāvāra* may be a clerical error for *dātara*, for *v* and *t* are not unfrequently confounded, and *dāta* = Skt. *dhātu*, see fol. 9b^{iv}; *dātara* would seem to be the plural of *dāta*; see my "Report", JASB., 1901, Extra No. 1, p. 34.

REMARKS.

1. The term "E. Turk.", occasionally used in this paper, is not to be taken to prejudge the question of the identity of the "unknown language", but is simply a convenient way of indicating the language as coming to us from Eastern Turkestan.

2. A peculiar diacritical mark occurs in the original manuscript under certain syllables (*akṣara*). It resembles a rough semicircle, opening upwards (see Plate, fol. 3, l. 4, in *ḡaysä* and *bäṣa*, and in fol. 32, l. 1, *ṣa* and l. 2, *ṣi*). In the transcript it is indicated similarly. The syllables, with which, so far, I have found it, are *na* (in *naṣtä*), *ba* (in *baysa*), *ṣa* (e.g. in *parṣa*), *ha* (e.g. in *ḡadaina*, fol. 8*b*^{iv}), and once *pä*, fol. 5*a*ⁱⁱ; again, *ṣi*, fols. 32*a*ⁱⁱ, *b*ⁱⁱ, and *ṣi* (e.g. in *äṣiri*). It will be seen that it usually occurs in syllables containing a short vowel, which, as a rule, is *a*, though it may be *i*. The single case of a long vowel is *pä*. The significance of the mark has, so far as I know, not yet been discovered; nor whether it is concerned with the consonant or the vowel of the syllable. I may, however, draw attention to the curious circumstance attending the spelling of the word which I have transcribed *ḡaysä*, as possibly throwing light on the phonetic value of the mark. The circumstance I refer to is detailed below in No. 11.

3. Another peculiar diacritical mark, now well known, is the double dot over a syllable containing the short ("inherent") vowel *a*. I have never found it with any other vowel, save an exceptional *ā*. Its significance is not exactly known, but it appears to indicate an indistinct, or "neutral", vowel; for some words are found spelled indifferently with *ā* or *i*, e.g., *mistä* or *mästä*, *hamäti* or *hamätä*, *hirä* or *härä*, *ṣi* or *ṣä*; similarly, *munä* for Skt. *munī*, *rüvina* or *rüväna* for Skt. *rūpiṇaḥ*. The exceptions of *ā* are *hamäti* or *hamätä*, fol. 10*b*ⁱⁱ, and *ḡamdärajsa*, fol. 7*b*ⁱ, or *ḡamdärajsa*, fol. 8*b*ⁱ. It may be observed that in both these cases the usual *ā* occurs also in the adjoining syllable.

4. There occur two peculiar consonantal signs. One appears in *wa* = Skt. *vā*, fols. 9^b, 10^b, ⁱⁱ, 32^a; the other, as a conjunct, in *drai* = Skt. *tri*, and, as a non-conjunct, in *raṣṭā* = Skt. *ābhujya*, fol. 4^bⁱⁱⁱ, etc. The latter I take to represent the cerebral consonant *r* (as in Hindi). Its form may be seen in *ri*, in the accompanying Plate, fol. 3, l. 4, *akṣara* 7 from the right.¹ The other was identified by Drs. Sieg and Siegling in *Sitzungsberichte, K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, No. xxix of 1908, p. 918, where its form is shown in facsimile. Its form may also be seen in the accompanying Plate, fol. 32, l. 1.²

5. Other peculiarities are an occasional disaspiration in Sanskrit words, such as *dāta* for Skt. *dhātu*, fol. 9^b^{iv}, and *sägä* for Skt. *saṅgha*, fol. 4^a; and an occasional suppression of the vowel *a*, as in *baysna* (Skt. *sattvena*) for *baysana* or *baysāna*, fol. 33^a; perhaps also in *harbiśā*, fol. 10^a, for *hara-biśā*, for *biśā* by itself means Skt. *sarva* (properly *viśva*), fol. 31^bⁱⁱ; and in *bilsägāna*, fol. 1^aⁱⁱ, for *bila-sägāna*, Skt. *bhikṣu-saṅghena*.

6. Mere scribal errors are the repetition of *še snye*, fol. 3^bⁱⁱⁱ, of *nti gyastā-baysä*, fol. 4^a^{iv}, of *rūvana*, fol. 9^bⁱⁱ, of the long paragraph on fol. 7^b, and probably of *nta*, fol. 9^a^{iv}; so also probably the misspellings *ajamlä* for *aṃjalä*, fol. 5^bⁱⁱⁱ, *ysīnihauḍä* for *ysīniyahauḍä*, fol. 8^b; and perhaps also *jvākä* for *jivä*, fol. 10^bⁱⁱ.

7. Regarding the inflection of nouns: *na* or *jsa* indicate the instrumental case, e.g., *gyasta-baysāna* = Skt. *bhagavatā* (or *tathāgatena*), by the Blessed; *mistāna bilsägāna*, Skt. *mahatā bhikṣu-saṅghena*, by a great congregation of friars; *brū-haḍāna* = Skt. *pūrvāhṇa*, by (or in) the forenoon.

¹ See also No. iv, l. 4, *rā* (formerly read by me *cā*) of pl. iv in my "Report on Three Further Collections" in the JASB., vol. lxvi, p. 234, 1897.

² See also fig. 4, l. 3, *wa* (formerly read by me first as *kha*, afterwards as *na*), of pl. iii in my "Report on the Weber MSS." in the JASB., vol. lxii, p. 35, 1893, also in the same Journal, vol. lxx, Extra No. 1, Appendix, pp. 1, 15, leaf 33^bⁱⁱⁱ, 1902.

Again, e.g., sg., muhujsa = Skt. *mayā*, by me, nāsāmejsa = Skt. *saṃgrahaṇa*, by the complex, haṃdārājsa = Skt. *anugrahaṇa*, by the grace; or pl., āṣiryaujsa = Skt. *bhikṣubhiḥ*, by the friars, ntirājsa, Skt. *śīrobhiḥ*, with the heads. Na indicates also the genitive, in sg. gyastabaysana = Skt. *bhagavataḥ*, of the Blessed, and in pl. gyastānā = Skt. *devānām*, of the gods. The suffixes mye, or mī, or ma, or mā indicate indifferently the locative or instrumental case; e.g., śau-hālamī = Skt. *ekānte*, in a solitary place, and biśā-pīrmāntamye = Skt. *paramēṇa* (lit. *sarva-prakāreṇa*), in every way, thoroughly. Hārā (or hirā) or hārū seem to indicate the genitive, as in cihārā = Skt. *kasya*, of which, Anāthapiṇḍihārū = Skt. *Anāthapiṇḍasya*, of Anāthapiṇḍa.

8. Regarding the inflection of verbs: we have 3rd sg. pres. ind., hāmā = Skt. *bhavati*, he is, fol. 10a^{iv}; 3rd sg. pres. subj., hamāti or hāme = Skt. *pravarteta* (or *bhavet*), fols. 31b^{iv}, 10bⁱⁱⁱ; 2nd sg. fut. (or perhaps rather the 2nd sg. pres.), hamathu = Skt. *bhaviṣyasi*, fol. 33aⁱⁱⁱ. To the same series apparently belongs hamye, fol. 4bⁱ, ⁱⁱ. To another auxiliary verb seems to point vya = Skt. *abhaviṣyat*, fol. 32aⁱⁱⁱ; in fol. 3b^{iv} it seems simply to mark past time, being attached to the part. āstā, he was staying (see below); it would seem to be an abbreviation of vyetā or vyitā = Skt. *abhūt*, fols. 4b^{iv}, 5bⁱ. Again, another is aṣtā = Skt. *asti*, fol. 32a^{iv}, ni-ṣtā = Skt. *nāsti*, fol. 32aⁱⁱ. The suffix of the part. fut. pass. is nā, or nāi; e.g., upevāmña = Skt. *utpādayitavya*, fol. 9a^{iv}; nāsānā = Skt. *pragrahītavya*, fol. 9aⁱ; paranirvāṇa = Skt. *parinirvāpayitavya*, fol. 10aⁱⁱ; biysamjāmñā = Skt. *pragrahītavya*, fol. 31bⁱ; mahāyāmñā = Skt. *sthātavya*, fol. 7aⁱ; viṣṭānā = Skt. *pratipattavya*, fol. 8b^{iv}; hvañai = Skt. *vaktavya*, fol. 10bⁱ. To the last-mentioned verb belong the 3rd sg. past, hve = Skt. *avocat* or *āha*, fols. 5b^{iv}, 31bⁱ, the 1st sg. fut., hvāñi = Skt. *bhāṣiṣye*, fol. 8bⁱⁱⁱ, and the part. past, hvane-hvanai = Skt. *ukte*, fol. 7aⁱⁱ. Forms of the participle, or of the

imperfect, in tā (ta) or dā, seem to be *nastā* = Skt. *niṣaṇṇa* or *nyasīdat*, fols. 5a^{iv}, bⁱ; *paryeta* = Skt. *pratikrānta*, fol. 4bⁱⁱ; *āstā* = Skt. *viharan* (*āsan*), fol. 5b^{iv}; *vātsuta* = Skt. *caran*, walking, fol. 4bⁱ; *namasyādā* = Skt. *abhivandya* (lit. *namaskṛtya*); *tsuaṁdā* = Skt. *upasaṁkraman* or *upasaṁkramya*, fol. 5aⁱ, iii.

9. Regarding pronouns, we have the personal, 1st nom. sg., *mā* = Skt. *aham*, fol. 8bⁱⁱⁱ; acc. sg., *muḥu* = Skt. *mām*, fol. 33aⁱⁱ; instr. sg., *maṁma*, fol. 3bⁱⁱⁱ, or *muḥujsa*, fol. 10aⁱ = Skt. *mayā*. Again, the demonstrative, nom. sg. masc., *ṣa* or *ṣi* = Skr. *saḥ*, fol. 10bⁱ, or *ṣai*, fol. 10a^{iv}, and neut., *ntā* = Skt. *tat*, or *etat*, fols. 31aⁱⁱⁱ, bⁱ; instr. sg., *ntyē*, fol. 5a^{iv}, or *ntina*, fol. 8bⁱⁱ = Skt. *tena*; gen. sg., *ṣi-hārā* (= Skt. *tasya*), fol. 7aⁱⁱⁱ; loc. sg. fem., *ntiṇa*, Skt. *tasyām*, fol. 5a^{iv}, and Ap., fol. 7bⁱⁱⁱ; nom. pl. masc., *nti* = Skt. *te*, fol. 10aⁱ. Again, the relative, nom. sg. masc., *cu* = Skt. *yaḥ*, fols. 32a^{iv}, bⁱⁱ; instr. sg., *kām̐ma* = Skt. *yena*, fol. 5aⁱ; gen. sg., *ci* (perhaps wrong for *ci-hārā*) = Skt. *yasya*, fol. 10bⁱⁱ, and quantitatively, nom. pl. masc., *cu-burā* = Skt. *yāvantah*, fol. 9a^{iv}. Again, the interrogative, gen. sg., *ci-hārā* = Skt. *kasya*, fol. 10a^{iv}, or adverbially, *khuvā* (*kuvā* ?) = Skt. *katham*, fol. 6bⁱⁱⁱ. Again, the indefinite, nom. sg. masc., *kāmujā* = Skt. *kaścit*, fol. 10aⁱⁱⁱ, or quantitatively, *ku-burā* = Skt. *yāvan kaścit*, fol. 9b^{iv}. That both the relative and interrogative pronouns equally show forms with initial *c* and *k* appears noteworthy.

10. Of numerals we have *śau* = Skt. *eka*, one, fols. 4aⁱⁱ, 5aⁱⁱⁱ, bⁱⁱ; loc. sg., *śe* or *śiṇa* = Skt. *ekasmin*; and *dvāsipamjsā*, fol. 4aⁱ, which corresponds to Skt. *ardha-trayodaśabhiḥ*, "with half-thirteen," but which literally seems to mean "with twelve and half" (Skt. *dvādaśa-ardhaiḥ*).¹

11. The word *ḥaysā* has hitherto been transcribed as *ḥalsā* by myself, as well as by Dr. Sten Konow in a dissertation

¹ See my "Report" in JASB., lxx, Extra No. 1, pp. 34 ff. In Document 5, l. 4, p. 38, occurs *trai-se pam-saya*, i.e. three hundred (and) half-hundred (350); also l. 5, *śau*, one; and in Document 8, l. 3, *pam-hsāro*, half-thousand (500). In the list on p. 34, "500" should be "50".

and transcript of some manuscript fragments in the "unknown language" supplied to me by him in 1906 (see JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 92, foot-note), and as *balsä* by Professor Leumann (see *ibid.*, p. 107). The fact is that the word is written in two different ways in different texts. In the two texts of the *Vajracchedikā* and *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* its first syllable *ba* is written with the semicircular mark under it, and its second syllable *ysä* is written with exactly the same conjunct sign as *ysa* in the word *ñavuysaina*. On the other hand, in other texts its first syllable is written *ba*, without the subscribed semicircle, and its second syllable is written with a conjunct sign which suggests the presence of some *l*-consonant, and which has been variously read as *lsä* or *lysä*. These two signs, *lsa* (*lysa*) and *ysa*, may be seen, in juxtaposition, in the second line of the obv. fol. 8 (D. iii, 1) in plate cx of Dr. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, in the phrase *mästābalsyū ñavūysai*, as transcribed by Professor Leumann (see JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 107). Exactly the same phrase occurs in our *Vajracchedikā* text, fol. 31bⁱⁱ, l. 2 in the accompanying Plate, *mästābaysuñ ñavuysaina*, as transcribed by me in the second extract; but here the identical conjunct sign *ys* is found in both words *baysuñ* and *ñavuysaina*. This state of things seems to suggest some connexion between the semicircular mark and the *l*-sound. Might the mark not signify the cerebral consonant *ḷ* when it occurs as the second, or lower, part of a conjunct consonant, so that we should have to read the word in question as *ḷaysä*? The existence, in these "unknown languages" of Eastern Turkestan, of the cerebral *ḷ*, as a *consonant*, was first discovered by Professor Leumann; see his paper, "Ueber eine von den Unbekannten Literatursprachen Mittelasiens," in the Transactions of the Russian Imperial Academy, vol. iv, No. 8 (1900), p. 10. Its form, as non-conjunct, may be seen very clearly, e.g., in *sukṣmeḷ* (formerly read by me wrongly *sukṣmeu*), fig. 5, line 2, of

plate iii in my "Report on the Weber MSS." in the JASB., vol. lxii, p. 36, 1893. It resembles closely enough the form of the semicircular mark. Indeed, if it were not for the fact that the mark is occasionally found with syllables containing the vowel *i*, it might be suggested that it simply indicates the cerebral *l* as a *vowel*.

12. As regards the word *gyastā*, its correspondence to the Skt. *deva* was first pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow, in the dissertation above referred to, from its occurrence in the standing phrase *gyasta-nāga-aysura*, etc. = Skt. *deva-nāga-asura*, etc. But though thus its positional parity is assured, it is not necessarily so with its connotational equivalence. In that respect *gyastā* might still be = Skt. *bhagavat*, the well-known Indian epithet of the Divine being. Similarly, it remains to discover the connotational equivalent of *āṣiri*, which takes the place of both Skt. *bhikṣu* and *āyusmat*.

13. So far as I can judge at present, the language seems, in the main, to be identical with the language of the "Brāhmī Documents", published by me, in 1902, in my "Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia", in the JASB., Extra No. 1 to vol. lxx, pp. 30 ff. For example, both have *haḍā*, day, *hāmā*, he is, *hamtsa*, with, *pañ*, half (see foot-note to No. 10), *phurūka*, many, *ṣi*, that, *u*, and, *ciburā*, as many, *bedu*, time. On this point I am now disposed to agree with Drs. Sieg and Siegling (see their paper "Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen," in *Sitz. Ber., K. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, xxxix, pp. 915 ff., 1908), and Professor Leumann, who has fully gone into the question in his paper on the "Arische Textsprache" (JGOS., vol. lxii, pp. 83-110, 1908). To the latter scholar, who has been working for some time with great acuteness and success, notwithstanding the absence, hitherto, of any bilingual text, on fragments of "unknown language" texts from my own collection as well as from that of Dr. Stein's first tour of exploration (1900-1), we may look for the

elucidation of those phrases and passages which, even with the now available Sanskrit version, remain obscure or unintelligible. In my "Report", p. 33, I connected the language with "the so-called Ghalchah dialects of the Pamir". As a fact, the people who spoke it appear to have lived (speaking roughly) in the south of Eastern Turkestan, while the people living in the north spoke the other "unknown language", which Drs. Sieg and Siegling, following herein Dr. F. W. K. Müller (*Sitz. Ber. P. Ak. W.*, liii, p. 960, 1907), call Tokharī ("Tocharisch," i.e., p. 916). The character, common to it and the Ghalchah dialects, appears to be that, while being Indo-European, there is no direct affinity with either the Iranian or the Indo-Aryan class of languages.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE LAST WORDS OF ASOKA

I have been, after Professor Bühler, the most strenuous upholder of the view that the number 256 in the final clause of the inscription which we have in various versions at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Brahmagiri, and other places,¹ denotes years : and I have maintained, with him, that the context marks them as the years elapsed from the death of Buddha to the time when Aśōka made the pronouncement which was published in this record. It would, then, be only proper, in the event of its ever being proved that that view is in any way wrong, that I should be one of the first to admit the fact. And it is with pleasure that I compliment Dr. F. W. Thomas on having settled otherwise, in his article “*Les Vivāsāh d’Aśōka*” published in the *Journal Asiatique*, May-June, 1910, pp. 507-22, the real literal meaning of a passage which has been a subject of so much dispute for more than thirty years.² He has shown, from the Sahasrām text, that the passage in question does not mention the death of Buddha, and that it speaks, not of years, but of “256 nights”, *dvē sapannā-lāti-satā*, i.e., as he has told us, *dvē shatpañchāśē rātri-śatē*, during which Aśōka was away from his home. To this explanation I gladly subscribe. And, while we might imagine circumstances in which the meaning would be 256 nights and only nights, still, with Dr. Thomas, I cannot doubt that what was really intended here is “256 nights and days” :

¹ Among the Mysore texts, the important one is that on the Brahmagiri hill ; not that at ‘Siddapur’, i.e. Siddāpura, which has suffered much damage.

² As regards an appearance of delay on my part, I may say that I first heard of Dr. Thomas’ article on the 3rd September, and saw it a few days later.

as he has said, in the determination of absence from home 'it is the night that counts.'

Dr. Thomas' case, however, has not stopped there. On that basis, coupled with the point that in a passage near the beginning of the same record mention is made, not of a period of 'six years and somewhat more', but of 'one year and somewhat more', he has adopted the view that the record is one of the earliest (instead of being, as I have claimed, the very latest) of the pronouncements of Aśoka. And he has ended his article by saying :—'It is almost superfluous to remark that all the chronological constructions which have been founded on the supposition that the number 256 contains the indication of a date are without substance and without support.'

Now, on the two points together, Dr. Thomas' results do upset three of the details in the chronology from B.C. 235 onwards, the 30th year after the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty, which I laid out in this Journal, 1909. 28 : I no longer hold that it was in the 30th year that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism, and that it was in the 33rd year that he formally joined the Buddhist Saṅgha, and that the pronouncement in which we are interested was made by him after spending about a year in religious retirement. But they do not affect in any way the rest of my chronology, which is based on the distinct statements of the Dipavaṃsa, more accredited now than ever, that Aśoka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha and reigned for 37 years. And, while I am now inclined to think, subject to full consideration, that the opening clauses of our record, which refer to the time at which Aśoka became a Buddhist, may allude, and can be translated so as to allude, to an event which occurred at an early period in his career, it is still certain that the record itself does not belong to that period.

My case still is (and I hope to make the soundness of it clear now to everyone) that, after his reign of

thirty-seven years, Aśoka abdicated, and went to spend his remaining days in religious retirement on the hill Suvarṇagiri (Sōnagiri in the Patṇā District, Behār);¹ and that this record contains his latest pronouncement, his last formal statement if not actually his dying words, — uttered there in his retreat 256 years after the death of Buddha, and reduced to writing and published by the high officers of the province which included the hill,— in which he applied himself to expanding the topic of the last words of Buddha:² “Work out your salvation by diligence!” And I will develop my case as follows:—

The 256 days³ during which Aśoka was away from his home cannot be taken as the sum of detached absences of a day, a few days, or more, at a time: they can only denote a continuous absence of that duration. And I think that I am right in saying that Dr. Thomas himself, whose article now under consideration contains his second treatment of this detail, has still, as on the first occasion, viewed this point in this light; his position being that Aśoka issued this proclamation while he was on a religious tour, as opposed to the hunting-expeditions of his predecessors.

That Aśoka was away from his home for these 256 days is stated in the record by derivatives from the verb *vivas*, which has been defined by Dr. Thomas, from instances of its use adduced by him, as meaning ‘to go away from one’s home, to live or dwell somewhere else or apart, to live a retired life or in solitude’,⁴ but has been applied by

¹ For my identification of this hill, and regarding its position, see this Journal, 1909. 998. We can perhaps point to the actual abode, subsequently appropriated by the Jains as a cave-temple, in which Aśoka ended his days: see this Journal, 1908. 498.

² See this Journal, 1909. 1015 f.

³ I use the word ‘day’ in its customary sense of the civil day, the entire day composed of the daytime and the night.

⁴ S’en aller de chez soi, loc. cit., p. 516. line 16: vivre autre part, ibid., line 4 from the bottom: vivre dans l’isolement, ibid., last line: demeurer autre part, p. 517, line 14.

him in this case as meaning 'to be travelling, to make a tour'.¹ But, even if we should grant that anything in the shape of a royal tour could be continued in India for so long a time as eight and a half months (which is practically impossible),² is it the case that the verb *vivas* could have the meaning in which he has applied it? I think not. The instances adduced by Dr. Thomas to illustrate its actual use distinctly involve the idea, not of moving from place to place, but, in amplification of the meaning of the simple verb *vas*, 'to dwell', of dwelling away from home at a particular place or in a certain condition. They connote no idea of motion at all; except, of course, in so far as that, in order to dwell away from home, a man must first go away from home. And it is only in contravention of the rule which he has laid down³ that Dr. Thomas has "taken" for *vivas*, though he has not "found" it, the meaning 'to travel, to go on tour'. I reject that meaning, and claim that the derivatives from *vivas* used in this record show that Aśoka had been dwelling away from home for 256 days always, after the journey by which he reached it, in some particular place.

The record does not tell us, in so many words, where Aśoka was residing during these 256 days. But the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura texts have a preamble which introduces Aśoka's address in these terms:—"From Suvāṇṇagiri, in the name of the Prince and the High Ministers,⁴ the High Ministers at Isila are to be asked whether they are in good health, and are to be thus

¹ Être en voyage ; s'en aller faire un tour ; p. 518, lines 1, 2.

² See this Journal, 1908. 819. A continuous period of eight and a half months must include either the hot weather or the rains, or parts of both of them.

³ Loc. cit., p. 515 :—"In the present state of our Sanskrit and Pali studies, it seems no longer sufficient to "take" a word in such or such a meaning: what is wanted is to *find* them used in those meanings."

⁴ On the expression *vachanēna*, 'by a speech of, by the words of, in the name of (so-and-so)', see, fully, this Journal, 1909. 996.

informed: 'Dēvānaṃpiya issues an injunction.' This preamble shows, as Dr. Thomas has observed,¹ that Aśōka's pronouncement, contained in this record, was not published from his capital (Pāṭaliputra, Paṭṇā). It shows that it was sent out from the hill Suvarṇagiri. And this indicates, with sufficient clearness, that that is where Aśōka was in residence when he made the pronouncement, and had been residing up to that time. The preamble further shows that the record was framed, as well as published, by the high officers of the province which included Suvarṇagiri. And they or their secretary added the final clause, which says in the Sahasrām text:—"And this address (*was composed or delivered*)² by him (Dēvānaṃpiya) dwelling apart two hundred and fifty-six nights after going apart: (*in figures*) 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6."³

Also, the record does not tell us, in so many words, what Aśōka had been doing during his residence of 256 days at the hill Suvarṇagiri. Nor, while it represents him as issuing an injunction to other people that they, likewise, should dwell apart anywhere within the limits of their districts, does it explain to them, in so many words, how they, too, were to occupy themselves in such a life. Something has plainly to be supplied, to supplement the use of *vivāsa* here. The Buddhist books, however (and it is always to be borne in mind that this is a Buddhist record), give ample information as to what was to be done by people who, as they put it, had passed from the house-life into the houseless state and were dwelling apart in that state. And, supplying from those

¹ Loc. cit., pp. 517-8.

² The Rūpnāth text has *kaṭe*, 'made': the Brahmagiri text has *sār[ā]p[i]te*, 'caused to be heard'. The Sahasrām text omits one or the other of these words.

³ The question whether this clause was uttered by Aśōka or was added by the officials, is not of any vital importance. But the absence here and in the other texts of the word *mayā*, 'by me', points strongly in the direction that the clause is not a part of Aśōka's address.

sources a term which is found used with *vivas* in one of the first instances adduced by Dr. Thomas, I venture to claim that the verb, as employed in any such record as this one, was understood at once, even without having any specific term attached to it, as meaning that the persons in connexion with whom it was used either were to adopt, or had already adopted, the condition of *brahmacharya*, dwelling away from home and engaged solely in the observance of a religious life.¹

So far, then, we have arrived at the point that Aśoka, when he made the pronouncement published in this record, had been residing for 256 days at the hill Suvarṇagiri, engaged solely in leading a religious life. But what ancient Indian king could adopt such a course as that, and either keep or recover his sovereignty? Alongside of all this, however, we have the well-established fact, that it was a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian rulers to end their careers by abdicating and withdrawing

¹ We are perhaps accustomed to associate the idea of *brahmacharya* specially with Brāhmaṇ boys or youths, living in the house of a religious teacher, studying the scriptures, and observing chastity. But the Buddhists recognized a *brahmacharya*, practised in solitude, of adult members of their order. The term is found freely in at any rate the Suttanipāṭa, where Professor Fausboll has translated it sometimes by "juvenile chastity", sometimes by "chastity, a chaste life", but usually by "a religious life". And for a very clear definition of the sense in which it was used by the Buddhists, showing exactly what it connoted to them, I may cite a passage at the end (text, p. 15) of another division of the same work, the Kasibhāradvājasutta, quoting the words of Professor Fausboll's translation in SBE, 10. 14 f.:—"Then the Brāhmaṇa Kasibhāradvāja [a new convert just made by Buddha] received the pabbajjā from Bhagavat, and he received also the upasampadā; and the venerable Bhāradvāja having lately received the upasampadā, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life [*brahmachariya-pariyōsānam*] for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led [*vusitam brahmachariyam*], what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Bhāradvāja became one of the arahats (saints)."

to spend their remaining days in religious retirement : see, for instance, this *Journal*, 1909. 983 f., where I have cited the historical case of the great Western Gaṅga prince Noḷambāntaka-Mārasimha, and the traditional literary instance of Milinda, Menander.¹ And we have also the indication which is given by the existence of the preamble to the Mysore texts of our record. As I have said before now, why do we find this preamble attached to those texts, and not to the texts which we have from Northern India ? : and why does it run in the name, not of Aśōka, but of the officials at Suvarṇagiri ? Because, in communicating the pronouncement to a foreign power, a formality had to be observed which was not necessary in publishing it in the Maurya territory ; and because Aśōka was not the reigning king at the time. In all the circumstances, it is surely clear that Aśōka ended his career by abdicating and passing into religious retirement, and that he was in seclusion, if not already dead, when this address was published.

Finally :—Why was Aśōka's address delivered on a particular night, the 256th ? The answer is plain. He was anointed to the sovereignty about seven months after the end of the year 218 after the death of Buddha.² He reigned for 37 years. That takes us on to about seven months after the end of the year 255. Then, apparently having installed and anointed his grandson Daśaratha in his place,³ he abdicated and passed into religious retirement. And the 256 days during which he lived in

¹ For another literary instance, that of the kings of Allakappa and Veṭhadīpa, see Buddhaghōṣa in the place mentioned by me in this *Journal*, 1906. 899, note 2. So also Bhaddiya, a king of the Sakyas in the time of Buddha, renounced the world : Vinayapīṭaka, Chullavagga, 7. 1. 3, 4. From Jain literature we may note the statements about Saṃjaya and various other rulers : SBE, 45. 85-7. The literary instances are, no doubt, in many cases imaginative : but they help to prove the prevalence of the custom.

² See my table in this *Journal*, 1909. 27.

³ See this *Journal*, 1908. 485, 497.

retirement carry us well on to after the end of the year 256. The agreement in the figures is no accidental coincidence. It is one the possibility of which was foreseen from not long before the time when it might happen, but which could only occur in a certain happy contingency. And we can well realize the eagerness and anxiety with which the event was awaited as the days passed, the time for it drew nigh, and the prospect of its happening increased. The address was delivered by the royal recluse to members of the Order gathered round him in quiet on the 256th night of his withdrawal from the world, because, by living through that night, he was completing in his retirement one day for each complete year that had elapsed since the death of the founder of the faith the permanence of which he sought to ensure.

In short, so far from the position being that the number 256 does not contain even the indication of a date, it expressly dates the record in a most interesting and ingenious manner. My point still stands: practically, though not in actual words, the record is dated 256 years after the death of Buddha. And my case, stated on pp. 1302-3 above, is made good.

J. F. FLEET.

A THIRD NOTE ON THE RUPNATH EDICT

The *Journal Asiatique* for May-June, 1910, contains an article by Dr. Thomas, on the date portion of the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts of Aśōka (pp. 507-22), which solves in a very ingenious and convincing manner the much-debated question of the enigmatical number "256". None of the scholars who hitherto dealt with this problem had recognized, as Dr. Thomas has done now, that the key is supplied by the Sahasrām text. In the expression

duve sapannālātīsatū used there, he has detected the word *lāti* = Sanskrit *rātri*, 'a night'. He has thus established the point that the Rūpnāth and similar edicts are dated 256 nights—or, which comes practically to the same thing, 256 days—after an event in Aśoka's own career.

There are two minor points in which I am tempted to differ from Dr. Thomas. If the words *vivāsā* and *vivuthā* at the end of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām texts, respectively, are taken as nominatives plural, the word *lāti* would be redundant and tautological, and it seems preferable to explain them as ablatives singular, and to translate: "after leaving home," and "after (the king) had left home". Secondly, the verb *pakumati* and its derivatives cannot have in the Rūpnāth edict the sense of 'travelling'. This can be proved by *reductio ad absurdum*; for, in that case, line 2 f. would mean: "Even a lowly person may attain heaven in travelling." We must therefore follow Dr. Fleet (this Journal, 1909, p. 993), and consider *pakumati* as a synonym of the *palakumati*, 'to exert oneself, to be zealous', which was used as its equivalent in the Sahasrām text.

There are a few details in the Rūpnāth text which deserve to be noted in passing. At the end of l. 2 Senart and Bühler have added the two syllables *hi ka*: I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription. Dr. Fleet (loc. cit., p. 1001 f.) justly cautions editors of inscriptions against making unnecessary corrections. Still, instead of admitting the occurrence of a very unusual verbal derivative, I would rather correct *lākhāpetaraya* (l. 5) into *lekhāpetaviye*, which is required by the context, and assume that the horizontal line of *lā* is misplaced, and that the *i* of *vi* is omitted. The Rūpnāth text certainly exhibits two other mistakes of the first kind, viz. *pākū* for *hakam*, l. 1, and *ārodhere* for *ārādhe[ta*]re*, l. 3, and three of the second,

viz., *vayajana* for *viyamjana*, l. 5, and *hadha* for *hidha* and *vadhīsatu* for *vaḍhīsiti*, l. 4. Similarly, instead of *vivāsetavāya*, as Dr. Fleet's transcript reads (p. 1014), the engraver probably wanted to write *vivāsetaviye*: compare *pi* (l. 3) and the first *silā* (l. 5), which look exactly like *pā* and *sālā* respectively.

I subjoin a revised translation of the Rūpnāth text, with the hope that no serious modifications of it may be found necessary in the future.

Translation

Devānāmpīya speaks thus—

“Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am a disciple (*śrāvaka*);¹ but I was not very zealous [*the Mysore texts add* for one year]. But a year² and somewhat more (has passed) since I have joined the Order (*Saṅgha*) and have been very zealous. Those [*the Mysore texts insert* men] who at that time were (considered by me) the true gods of Jambudvīpa,³ are now considered false (by me). For this is the fruit of zeal. And this is not to be reached by (persons of) high rank [*the other texts add* alone]. Even a lowly person may attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following object (this) address (*śrāvāṇa*) is composed, (viz.) that both the lowly and the exalted shall be zealous. And let even (my) neighbours⁴ know (it). Why this same zeal? In order that (this address) shall be

¹ Instead of *sa[ra]k[e]* the other texts have *upāsake*, ‘a lay-worshipper’.

² See my Second Note, above, p. 145 f.

³ Viz., as shown by M. Senart, the “terrestrial gods” (*bhūdēva*) or Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ According to the thirteenth rock-edict these neighbours (*antā*) would be the Seleucid king of Syria and other Greek kings in the west, and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. In connexion with this I may note that the word *Tāmaparnī* in the second and thirteenth rock-edicts seems to refer to the river Tāmaparnī in the Tinnevely District, and not to Ceylon: compare Mr. V. A. Smith, ZDMG., vol. 63, p. 211.

of long duration. For this matter¹ will grow and grow, and will grow considerably; it will grow to at least one and a half. And this matter is to be caused to be engraved² on rocks. It is to be caused to be engraved on stone pillars (wherever) there is a stone pillar, elsewhere and here. And with this document(?)³ (you) have to go abroad⁴ everywhere, as far as your district (extends)."

(This) address was composed by (the king) away from home, 256 [*the Suhusrām text inserts nights*]⁵ after leaving home.

E. HULTZSCH.

VASISKA, THE KUSANA

An inscription recently discovered at Īsāpur opposite Mathurā has established a new fact in the Scythian period of Indian history. It proves that Kaniṣka, the great ruler of the Kuṣana house, was not immediately succeeded by Huviṣka, but that between these two kings there reigned a sovereign of the name of Vāsiṣka.

The discovery of this important inscription is due to Pandit Radha Krishna of Mathurā, who in the course of the last three years has done so much to enrich the local museum to which he is attached in an honorary capacity. The place Īsāpur, where the new record has come to light, is situated on the left bank of the river Jamnā opposite the Viśrānt Ghāt of Mathurā City. It was named after Mirzā Īsā Tarkhān, Governor of Mathurā in the beginning of Shāh-Jahān's reign. The

¹ i.e. the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's address.

² Read perhaps *lekhāpeta[re*]* with Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 22, p. 305.

³ For *vyāñjana* see Dr. Thomas, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 22.

⁴ Dr. Vogel (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 171) has shown that *vivāseti* has the meaning of the simple verb, while the causative is *vivāsāpeti*.

⁵ On the (redundant) word *sata* see Dr. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 521.

alternative appellation of Hans Gañj, by which the village is usually indicated, is of still more modern origin, for, according to Mr. Growse, it received this name from Hansiyā, a Rānī of Sūraj Mall of Bharatpur: the latter died at Delhi in 1746. "The village," Mr. Growse says, "is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin; though it comprises some spacious walled gardens crowded with magnificent trees." The same author notes in this locality a high mound of artificial formation known as the Duvāsā Tīlā, with some modern buildings on its summit, enclosed within a bastioned wall, part of which has been restored. "A small nude statue of a female figure was found here, and there are also the remains of a *bauli* constructed of large blocks of red sandstone fitted together without cement and therefore probably of early date."¹

The inscription is cut on a pillar, apparently of red sandstone, which, according to the record, has served the purpose of a sacrificial post (Skt. *yūpa*). Pandit Radha Krishna informs me that it measures 19' 7" in height, 1' 2" in width, and 1' in thickness. The lower portion is square in section up to a height of 8' 7", where the inscription is found, whilst the upper part is octagonal. It is decorated with what appears to be a festoon. The pillar is slightly broken at both ends, but is for the rest well preserved.

The latter is also the case with the inscription, which consists of seven lines of writing. At the ends of these lines a few letters are damaged or lost, apparently not more than one in each case. Otherwise its preservation leaves little to be desired. The *akṣaras* measure from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Apart from its historical importance noted above, the epigraph is interesting in that it is Brahmanical and composed in Sanskrit.

¹ F. S. Growse, *Mathurā, a District Memoir*, 3rd ed., Allahabad, 1883, pp. 6, 121, 175, 307.

Transcript ¹

- 1 Siddham || Mahārājasya r[ā*]jātirājasya deva[pu-]
 2 trasya Shāher = Vvāsiṣkasya rājya-saṁvatsare [ca-]
 3 turviṁśe XX IV gr[i]ṣmā-māse caturtthe IV diva[se]
 4 triniṣe XXX asyāṁ pūrvvāyāṁ Rudrila-puttreṇa
 Droṇa-
 5 lena brāhmaṇena Bhāradvāja-sagottreṇa mā-²
 6 na(?)cchandogena iṣṭvā sattreṇa dvādaśar[ā]ttreṇa
 7 yūpaḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ Priyantām = agnaya[h ||]

Translation

“Success! In the reign of the King, the King of kings, His Majesty, Shāhi Vāsiṣka, in the twenty-fourth (24th) year, in the fourth (4th) month of summer, on the thirtieth (30th) day,—on this date Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇ belonging to the *gotra* of Bharadvāja and a chanter of holy hymns, while performing a sacrifice in a [solemn] session of twelve days (*lit.* nights), has set up this sacrificial post. May the [three] fires be propitious.”

It will be seen that the date of the inscription, expressed both in words and figures, is the year 24. The latest known record dated in the reign of Kaniṣka is found on the sculptured slab in the British Museum edited by Professor Lüders:³ it bears the year 10. I am aware that the Manikyālā inscription of the year 18 contains the name of Kaniṣka, but if we adopt the latest reading of this difficult document by Professor Lüders,⁴ it would not bear out that it belongs to the reign of that king.

¹ The transcript is mainly the work of Pandit Daya Ram Sahnī, Assistant Superintendent Archaeological Survey.

² Possibly an *akṣara* is lost after *mā*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 240. In this inscription we find a similar closing formula as in the present. Cf. also the Chargaon Nāga inscription of the year 40 in the reign of Huviṣka, noticed *Progress Report Supt. Archaeol. Survey, Northern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 38.

⁴ JRAS, 1909, p. 645 ff.

The earliest certain record of Huviška is inscribed on a Buddhist image from the Chaubārā Mound near Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, and is dated in the year 33.

We are now in a position to say with certainty that in the year 24 there reigned a king of the name of Vāsiška, whose authority was acknowledged at Mathurā and perhaps at Sāñchi also. For I feel inclined to read the name Vāsiška also in the Sāñchi inscription edited by Bühler, and to adopt Dr. Fleet's first reading of its date as the year 28.¹ If these readings are correct, we should be justified in restoring the name Vāsiška also in the fragmentary Mathurā inscription from the Jamālpur (or Jail) Mound, now in the Mathurā Museum, dated in the year 28, in which only the last two syllables of the king's name (in the genitive case) have been preserved as *ṣkasya*. On the fragment the lower portion of the preceding *akṣara* is still extant, and led Professor Lüders to restore the word as *Huṣkasya*. But in the published facsimile it can be seen that the preserved portion of the *akṣara* in question may quite well have belonged to an *s*, so that we are allowed to restore the word as *Vāsiṣkasya*.

The two doubtful inscriptions of the year 29 I must leave out of discussion. Likewise I do not attempt to explain the difficulty offered by the Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Ara, which is dated in the year 41 and in the reign of one Kaniška, the son of Vasiṣpa.² We may confidently hope that further epigraphical discoveries at Mathurā will enable us to settle other problems connected with the dark period of Indian history—that of the Kuṣana kings.

J. PH. VOGEL.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 369, plate; and *JRAS*, 1905, p. 357 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 58 f., plate i.

REMARKS ON DR. VOGEL'S NOTE

The detail now established is not exactly a "new fact". I pointed out in this Journal, 1903. 325 ff., that between Kanishka and Huvishka there was a king, unrecognized up to that time, whose name was Vāsashka, Vāsishka, or Vāseshka.¹ But I could not actually prove the point : because (1) in the Sāñchi inscription, which gives a date for him in the year 28, the first numerical symbol is not very clear in the published lithograph, and no ink-impression or estampage was available for giving a better reproduction ; and (2) in the Mathurā inscription from the Jamālpūr or Jail Mound, which gives a second date in the same year, the essential part of the king's name is illegible, except that, if anything in the way of a 'straight-edge' is laid so as to cover the upper part of the record down to almost the lower line of writing, the lower part of an *s* is distinctly recognizable before the *shkasya*. To Pandit Radha Krishna is due the credit of furnishing the desiderated proof by discovering this new inscription, —unmistakably a record of the Kanishka series,²— which gives the king's name as Vāsishka, with a date for him in the year 24 (B.C. 34–33),³ which is happily stated in words as well as in numerical symbols.

A remark may be made about the manner in which the year is stated. According to literal translation the record says "in the twenty-fourth, 20 (*and*) 4, year-of-reign of Vāsishka". This, however, does not mean that Vāsishka had been reigning for 24 years : it means "in the reign of Vāsishka, and in the year 24 of the era (which was used)". Compare, for instance, in another inscription at

¹ There was a doubt regarding the vowel of the second syllable.

² In addition to Dr. Vogel's remarks, I have before me an ink-impression of the record, which he kindly sent, made (I think) by Pandit Radha Krishna.

³ With the Kārttikādi expired year, the details, falling in the hot season, place the record in B.C. 33.

Mathurā :¹— Huvishkasya rajya-saṁ² 50 ; “ in the year-of-reign 50 of Huvishka ”. Compare, still more pointedly, in the inscription at Bilsaḍ :³— Kumāraguptasya = ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē shaṇ-ṇavatē ; “ in the 96th augmenting-victory-and-reign-year of Kumāragupta ”. This somewhat slack method of stating dates was quite habitual. I have given a comment on it in my *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 38, note 5, and have there observed that the text might always be set right if we should alter °rājya-saṁvatsarē into °rājyē saṁvatsarē. The phrase may have had its origin in an erroneous but easily intelligible substitution of *rājya* for *rājyē* : or it may be due to a thoughtless carrying on of the expression *rājya-saṁvatsarē* used, properly enough, in the case of that king whose regnal years were the opening years of any particular era ; e.g., in another Mathurā inscription :⁴— Kaṇishkasya rājya-saṁvatsarē navamē.

A particularly interesting feature in this inscription is that its language is entirely Sanskrit, instead of being the mixed dialect which is so familiar to us from the other records of the Kushan kings, and that it gives the earliest known instance of an epigraphic record written wholly in Sanskrit. The reason is found in the point that the record is Brahmanical, not Buddhist or Jain.

In his allusions to the Māṇikiāla and Ara inscriptions, Dr. Vogel seems to foreshadow some observations that I shall make when I am able to finish a long-contemplated note on the relative order of Kaṇishka and the Kadphisēs kings.

¹ Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix, No. 51.

² For *rājya-saṁ*, = *rājya-saṁvatsarē*. I follow Professor Lüders in reading *saṁ*, on the assumption that he has an impression or estampage which shows it : but the published lithograph gives *sa* ; and an omission of the *anusvāra* would be quite natural.

³ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43, line 6.

⁴ Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 22.

It was decided, by a constant opponent of my results, that there could not be a king Vāsishka (unless he should be placed after Huvishka and be identified with Vāsudēva), because "it is inconceivable either that he should not have struck coins, or that coins struck by him should not have been found and recognized." That decision is disposed of by this newly-discovered inscription. For the rest, it may be the case that, for some reason not yet apparent, Vāsishka did not issue any coins. But we may at least consider now, in earnest, whether his coins cannot be traced. As I have said on a previous occasion, I suspect that some of them may be found in coins, at present attributed to Huvishka, showing more or less illegible or imperfect legends in which a cursive lunar *sigma*, standing next before the *ēta*, has been misread as *omikron*.

J. F. FLEET.

PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF ITI

The discussion of *iti* as possibly having the sense "et cetera" must be considered as having been finally decided against Bühler¹ by the investigations of Knauer² and Böhtlingk.³ There remains, however, a point which seems to be hardly satisfactorily dealt with by Böhtlingk.

In his note in the *Berichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*⁴ on the use of the particle in the Dharmasūtras, Böhtlingk lays down that in *Baudhāyana*, ii, 10, 17, 37, there must be read *kamaṇḍaluḥ* in place of the accusative in the sentence: *yaṣṭayaḥ śikyaṃ jalapavitrāṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ pātrāṃ ity etat samādāya*. He notes that Govindasvāmin, the commentator, takes the word *yaṣṭayaḥ* as accusative (*dvitīyārthe prathamā*), but this fact he attributes to his

¹ VOJ., i, 16.

² *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, pp. 62-7.

³ ZDMG., xxxix, 484; xl, 145; xli, 516 seq.

⁴ 1892, pp. 195-8.

ignorance of the rule that, where the pronoun is used, the words specified by the *iti* always stand in the nominative, despite the case of the pronoun.

Now the correction is an easy one, and one does not care to lay much stress on the change of an Anusvāra to Visarga. Yet it is just a little remarkable that the text should have kept *kamaṇḍalum* when *yaṣṭayaḥ* so strongly points to a nominative, and I do not think that Govindasvāmin's view that the words are all accusative is unnatural. Parallels to *yaṣṭayaḥ* are of course scattered throughout the literature from the *R̥gveda*¹ down to the Epic,² and it is quite impossible to deny that *yaṣṭayaḥ* may be an accusative.

Most of the passages available no doubt show the nominative, obviously always possible, or are ambiguous, like *Gautama*, ix, 44, or *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 3: *sthūne rajjū vīvadha ity etat prakṣālya*, where, however, the accusative would seem more natural. But pretty closely to the point is *ibid.*, iii, 2, 1: *tasyaitasya trayasyāsthnām majjñām parvaṇām iti*, which is repeated in iii, 2, 2. Again, in the parallel passage, *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, viii, 2, the MSS. read only: *tasyaitasyāsthnām majjñām parvaṇām iti*, which gives a still closer parallel, if we do not insert, as I suggested in my version,³ the missing *trayasya*.

In view of this parallel and of the rule that *iti* can sum up other cases than the nominative⁴ (a new and good example is *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, ii, 1: *prajayaiva tat paśubhiḥ preṣyair annādyenety ātmānam upasrjate*), it seems to me pedantic to insist on the correction *kamaṇḍaluḥ* in *Baudhāyana*, i.e. I think the idea is merely due to the imperfect recognition extended by the lexicons and grammars to the use of *iti* as enumerating, when it quite

¹ Lanman, *Noun Inflection in the Veda*, pp. 385, 394, 410.

² Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 264, note; Michelson, JAOS., xxv, 105.

³ *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 51, n. 6.

⁴ See e.g. Böhtlingk, *Sācha. Ber.*, 1892, p. 196; *Chrestomathie*², p. 356; Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 533.

naturally has the case of the sentence and not the nominative, though the use of *iti* in quotation helped the nominative to predominate. The addition of the pronoun can hardly be deemed a substantial ground for further distinction.

In this connexion I may imitate Böhtlingk by discussing the use of *yathā* and *iti* in such cases as *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, 2, 7: *sá ṛtām abravīd yáthā sárvāsu evá samāvad vāsānīti*. Böhtlingk holds that in such cases the *yathā* is adverbial, and he therefore insists on omitting the accent on *vāsānī*. In the parallel passage, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, ii, 3, 5, 1, *só 'bravīd ṛtām amīṣva yáthā samāvacchá upaiśyāmy átha te púnar dāśyāmīti*, he explains the accent as due to the fact that *upaiśyāmi* in effect stands to *dāśyāmi* as protasis to apodosis.¹ This may be correct, but surely it is simpler in the first case to think that we have, as Delbrück² thought, a mixture of two constructions, the one dependent with *yathā*, the other with *iti*. Later, of course, such a use is clearly a mixture (e.g. *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii, 59, 3: *āśuyā yadi mām Rāmaḥ punaḥ śabdāpayed iti*), and there is the natural objection that we would expect *táthā*, not the relative.³ There is also the analogy of the Greek usage, e.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, v, 4, 10: *εἶπον ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν*, which gives a precise parallel for the *Taittirīya* passage, and relieves us from the difficulties felt by Böhtlingk as to the omission of *iti* after *upaiśyāmi*. His suggestion is that it was felt awkward to insert another *iti* before the end of the speech attributed to Prajāpati, but this explanation is not very cogent.

Moreover, in other cases the explanation of *yathā* as adverbial is still more unnatural. For example, in *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 3, 2, a passage of no great

¹ Delbrück (op. cit., v, 213, note) is uneasy as to this passage, and hints at emendation. In the *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*, xi, 3, there is no *yathā*.

² Ibid., p. 533.

³ Cf. a similar argument in Monro, *Homeric Grammar*², p. 239.

antiquity, occurring in a quasi-sūtra passage, there is: *athaitaṃ preṅkhaṃ prutyañcam avabadhnanti yathā śamsitāraṃ bhakṣayisyantaṃ nopahanīsyasīti*. One feels here that *nopahanīsyati*¹ was natural, but it has been converted into the direct form. The only alternative is to assume that the actual words of the address to the swing are repeated, but there is no trace of the words as a Mantra in the *Śāṅkhāyana* texts; the form (*na* with future) would be strange, and in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* no note is taken of such a Mantra. But there is, if possible, a more convincing case in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, iv, 1, 9: *té vāi devās tām nāvindan yāsmiṃ yajñāsyu krūrāṃ mārksyāmahā iti*, where no effort of imagination can transfer *yāsmiṃ* into a demonstrative, and where the accentuation again shows the dependence of the verb. Such cases with relatives and real dependent clauses are not rare, cf. e.g. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 4, 2, *āyatanaṃ naḥ prajānīhi yasmiṃ pratiṣṭhitā annam adāmeti*,² and the use of a particle rather than a pronominal form makes no difference in principle.

At the same time it seems worth noting that there are traces of the development with *iti* into a dependent clause proper. There are only traces, for this construction was unluckily not destined to develop. These are *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, 1, 11: *āgneyām aṣṭākupālaṃ nīrvaped yó rāstré spārdheta yó vā kāmāyetānnādāh syād iti*, where von Schroeder suggests *syām iti*, and *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, viii, 11: *yo 'tra vicikitset saṇakāram eva brūyād rte ṇakāram iti*, where the parallel passage, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii, 2, 6, has *bravāṇi*. In the latter case I doubt if we can fairly alter the text. The former passage seems to have escaped Delbrück's notice; possibly

¹ Cf. Delbrück, op. cit., p. 596, for fut. with *yathā*.

² Here the *iti* is that following the whole sentence.

he regarded the correction as certain, and the lack of accent may possibly be considered to favour this view. On the other hand there are quasi-parallels in the use of the conditional as a past form of the future in *oratio obliqua*. We may compare also such a passage as *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, i, 4, 8: *sa yo 'nyam ātmanah priyaṁ bruvāṇaṁ brūyāt priyaṁ rotsyatitīśvaro ha tathaiṣa syāt*, which Hopkins¹ renders, probably correctly, as "he may be sure of it who says 'he will lose what is dear' to one who declares another than the self (to be) dear", for in such cases the second person is overwhelmingly more common; see e.g. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii, 1, 3; 4; *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, vii, 8-10.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

ARCHAISMS IN THE RAMAYANA

In his interesting and valuable paper on Linguistic Archaisms of the *Rāmāyaṇa*² Dr. Michelson disputes the view of Böhtlingk and Jacobi, which has won general acceptance, that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, like the *Mahābhārata*, contains no genuine archaisms.³ The subject is of importance, and worth a little consideration of the evidence in favour of his view adduced by Dr. Michelson.

The following, in his opinion, are true Vedic archaisms found in both Epics: (1) double Sandhi, very frequent in the Kashmere recension of the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Kauśika Sūtra*; (2) nom. pl. neut. of the *a* declension

¹ JAOS., xxviii, 404. If the sense is "says of one", the construction is regular, but the probabilities are strongly in favour of Hopkins' version. In some cases, however, "say of" is certain, e.g. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xii, 4, 3, 8. Cf. also my *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. xv.

² JAOS., xxv, 89 seq.

³ See e.g. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. xliii, n. 2; Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 310.

in *ā* which is found a few times in Mbh. and once or possibly twice in R.; (3) imperative in *tāt*, found once each in Mbh. and R.; (4) *mā* with augmented tenses; (5) sporadic absence of reduplication in the perfect; (6) perfect middle participle found once in R. and in Mbh. To these he adds a number of verbal forms found in Vedic but not in classical Sanskrit.

In discussing this list there is a certain difficulty in understanding precisely what Dr. Michelson means by a true Vedic archaism, but presumably by that phrase it is intended to denote that the use in question is an inheritance from the Vedic period, and stands in contrast with the normal usage of the Epic as old and obsolescent. This description—and the phrase has on any other theory of its significance very little, if any, meaning—will hardly suit, we think, any of the classes of facts to which it is applied by Dr. Michelson. (1) Double Sandhi is by no means merely Vedic. It grows in importance in the Vedic period, and is parallel with the increasing tendency in that period to avoid hiatus, and its frequent occurrence in all classes of literature save the strictly classical shows that it was (as might be expected) a popular—not an archaic—feature.¹ It is significant that it is especially frequent with *iti* following, which reminds us of Pāli, and condemns the commentator's view of *ikāralopa* as *ārṣa*. Similarly, in *antardadhe 'tmānam*, R., vi, 73, 26, the simple explanation is not a reference to the Vedic *tman*,² but a reference to the Pāli shortening of vowels before a double consonant, a tendency the effect of which may be illustrated from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in which, as Speijer³ has recently shown, Somadeva regularly omits the augment in verbs beginning with *a* and two consonants. Again, in *sarasīva*, R., vi, 97, 1, the commentator is not, I think, right in

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., pp. 315 seq.

² JAOS., xxv, 100.

³ *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 90.

remarking that the Sandhi is Vedic, when we remember the Pāṇi *va*.¹

(2) The acc. pl. neut. in *ā* would be an archaism of a pronounced type, but it is excessively improbable that the only case alleged by Dr. Michelson is a genuine instance. It occurs in R., vi, 79, 26, *kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam*, and while the metre shows it is sound, for the obvious variant *kṛtaprakṛtāny anyonyam* is an improbable line, yet it is quite unnecessary either to assume it as an archaism or as an attempt at the avoidance of an unusual repetition of similar syllables, as in *irādhyai*, RV., i, 134, 2. It is simply a piece of grammatical absurdity for the sake of metre: the writer had to get in *anyonyam* (cf. Pāda one of the verse, *viddham anyonyagātṛeṣu*), and his regard for form was no greater than that of the writer of iii, 47, 11, who has *varṣāṇi gaṇyate* for metrical effect, or the creator of the future imperatives like *gamīṣyadhvam* or indicatives like *rakṣye* or future desideratives like *didhakṣyāmi*, which I agree with Dr. Michelson in considering not at all impossible in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.² These are popular, not archaic, forms, and it is very significant that the use of the pl. neut. in *ā* in the Mbh. is confined to the phrase *bhuvanāni viśvā* found in the curious hymn to the Aśvins (i, 3, 57) and also in the pseudo-Epic,³ not an archaism in the true sense, but a mere appropriation of a phrase from the sacred writings.⁴

(3) The imperative in *tāt* is no evidence either way.

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, p. 317. It is quite probable that in the *Ṛgveda* such cases are real contractions (Oldenberg, ZDMG., lxi, 830 seq.), but that does not affect the cause of their use in the Epic.

² JAOS., xxv, 142. On the other hand, *s* and *sy* are constantly interchanged in MSS.; cf. my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 245, 246; JAOS., xxvii, 430.

³ xiii, 102, 55, and vii, 201, 77, cited in JAOS., xxv, 104, and see Hopkins, JAOS., xvii, 25, note.

⁴ A similar "archaism" is the Mbh. *Indrāviṣṇū*, a mere repeated phrase.

It occurs only once in either Epic, in the R. its use is only in a variant half-line, and in both cases it may be a precursor of the frequent use of *tāt* in later books. In both cases its use is optative, not imperative.¹

(4) The use of *mā* with augmented tenses is not early Vedic, the overwhelming use being with unaugmented tenses, but it is a sign of the confusion of augmented and unaugmented tenses which grew throughout the language, and which shows itself in the frequent use of augmented tenses with *mā* in Pāli, to which Dr. Michelson himself refers.² This case therefore tells directly against the theory.

(5) Sporadic absence of reduplication in the perfect is no true archaism: it is merely the Epic carelessness of diction, all the more natural in that the most common perfect *vid* had no reduplication.

(6) The solitary *saṃparipuplurvānam* of R., vi, 73, 3, with the possible *didviṣāna* of the Mbh., is too isolated to help any conclusion. Probably it is an incorrect reading.

As regards the verb lists, nothing need be said. Classical Sanskrit probably contains in its less explored works many, if not all, those cited as specially Epic, but even if not, there is nothing to mark the form cited as archaic. If *druh* is a common classical verb, can it seriously be argued that the occurrence of the aorist *adruham* in the Epic is archaic? Or that *sphoṭati* is archaic?

Other "archaisms" are referred to by Dr. Michelson as peculiar to one or other of the Epics, but they are still less important. The acc. pl. *vr̥ṣṭyas* is merely a transfer to the *ī* declension with the common irregular accusative, which is not by any means archaic; *jayyāt* is a monstrosity found

¹ For a possible meaning of the grammarian's rule as to the use of *tāt*, which is questioned by Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 214, see my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 275.

² JAOS., xxv, 125. I am quite at a loss to understand how this of all usages is treated as an archaism. It is a neoterism of the most pronounced description.

only in the late and badly preserved *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* in Vedic times unless, indeed, we are to find it in *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, xii, 11; the nom. pl. fem. of derivative *ī* stems in *īs* is merely the careless mixing of accusative and nominative which is characteristic of all save rigid classical Sanskrit, and is popular. Other instances are merely bad readings like *prabhaviṣṇvo* in R., vii, 5, 14,¹ or *ababhramat* in R., i, 43, 9 (Bombay ed.). The latter absurdity is removed by the *abibhramat* of Peterson's ed. i, 44, 12, and no sane criticism can cling to *ababhramat* in the face of this fact. But even if we do cling to it, the explanation is not a unique pluperfect, but a piece of bad Sanskrit, and the Sanskrit of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is, unhappily, at times pretty bad (e.g. *kurmi*, *bibhyase*, *aḥanāt*, *dadmi*, etc.).

Another archaism² is the use of the "improper subjunctive" in i, 9, 6, *tasyaivam vartamānasya kālāḥ samabhivartata*, where the commentator blandly says *bhaviṣyati lañ adabhvāś cārṣaḥ*. The comparison with the RV., i, 32, 1, *prā vocam*, is quite impossible. Either the use is a mere sign that the tenses were losing all definite sense (just as the moods³ were being confused), or it is a false reading, and the texts of Schlegel, Gorresio, and Peterson have in point of fact at i, 8, 10, *samabhivartsyati*, which points to *samabhivartate*, a prophetic⁴ present, which is, I think, almost certainly the correct reading.⁵

¹ Read °bhaviṣṇaro with Böhtlingk.

² JAOS., xxv, 123, 124.

³ e.g. optative for indicative, and *vice versa*. Cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 264.

⁴ For this use of the present cf. Goodwin, *Greek Moods and Tenses*, p. 11; Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 278; Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 51. There are many instructive variants in parallel passages in Vedic texts, cf. e.g. *Atharvaveda*, viii, 21, with *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, xii, 12, and see Bloomfield, JAOS., xxix, 294, 295.

⁵ The ordinary unaugmented tenses used in a past sense are not specially Vedic. They occur throughout all but very correct Sanskrit, and are found in Pāli and Prākṛit (Pischel, *Prākṛit Grammar*, p. 360).

The commentator again finds a Vedic usage in v, 67, 13, where we have

sa tvaṃ pradīptaṃ cikṣepa darbhaṃ taṃ vayasam prati |

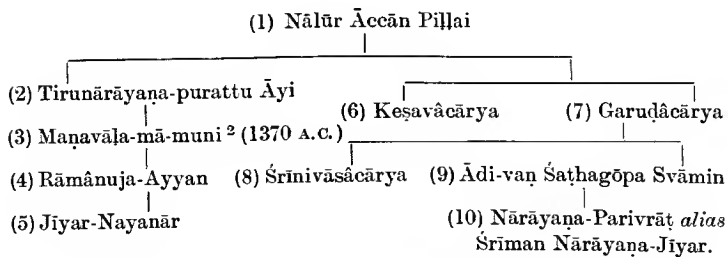
Professor Hopkins¹ suggests here a Pāli parallel in *babhūve*, *papace* = *babhūvas* and *papacas* respectively. This is possible, but more probable perhaps is that for once *sa* exercises its 3rd person effect and takes a 3rd person, just as inversely *bhavant* now and then has a 2nd person. In any case, as Dr. Michelson recognizes, the use is in no sense Vedic.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

A NOTE ON NARAYANA-PARIVRAT

1. A work known as the *Tirumudī-aḍavu* or *Hierarchic Pedigree of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, South India*, makes mention of a Śrīman Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar. Leaving out the honorific *Śrīman*, and translating *Jiyar* by the word *parivrāt*, we get Nārāyaṇa-Parivrāt.

2. From the same work a table may be constructed thus:—



Nārāyaṇa-Parivrāt may thus be assigned to the fifteenth century or thereabouts.

¹ JAOS., xxv, 123. Cf. also *bhaveḥ* cited in *Great Epic of India*, p. 473.

² See No. 39 in the Hierarchic Table in our *Lives of Āzhvārs or the Drāviḍa Saints*, and No. 20 in the Succession List in our *Life of Rāmānuja*. Our thanks are due to our confrère M. T. Narasimhācārya for helping us in constructing this tree.

3. The same work (named above) gives the following particulars about him :—

(1) The Ācārya of Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar is (Ādi-)vaṇ Śaṭha-gōpa-Jīyar.

(2) His house-worship deity was Azhaṣingar (= Nṛsiṃha).

(3) The works composed by him are *Nārāyaṇa-carita*, *Puruṣārtha-sudhānidhi*, *Ṣaṣṭi - prabandha*, *Rahasya-jīvātu*, Sanskrit *Tattva-traya*, Sanskrit *Rahasya-traya*, Commentary to Yāmunācārya's (= Ālavandār) *Stōtra-ratna*, *Smṛti-ratnākara*, and (*Nitya* or) *Tiruvārādhana-krama* (or Mode of Worship).

4. In a commentary on *Sandhyā* and on *Gāyatṛi* (the Prayers of the Hindus, morn, noon, and eve), by a Nārāyaṇa, the invocatory verse runs thus :—

Ṣaṣṭi-prabandha-nirmātā Śaṭhagōpa-muniśituḥ |
Dāsō Nārāyaṇa-muniḥ nitya-mantrān udāñcayat ||

from which it is clear that the Nārāyaṇa of the commentary on the *Sandhyā* is the same as the author of the works enumerated in par. 3 (3), as two of these works, viz. *Ṣaṣṭi-prabandha* and *Nitya*, are mentioned in the verse, and he is said therein also to be the disciple of Śaṭhagōpa-muni, i.e. (Ādi-vaṇ) Śaṭhagōpa Svāmin, No. 9 of Table, par. 2 (*supra*).

5. The enumeration, therefore, in par. 3 (3) is incomplete, because it omits the *Sandhyā* commentary ; and inasmuch as Nārāyaṇa is the author of the Sanskrit versions of Lokācārya's two works, *Tattva-traya* and *Rahasya-traya*, mentioned in the enumeration, and inasmuch as the list of *Tirumuḍi-adaivu* does not profess to be exhaustive, the authorship of the Sanskrit of *Artha-pañcaka* may be fairly assigned to this Nārāyaṇa. This position, however, is tentative till fresh light may come and displace it.

6. The said work gives the invocation for this sage as—

Śaṭhagōpa-munīndrā-ṅghri- śaraṇaṁ karuṇālayam |
Śrīman-Nārāyaṇa-Muniḥ śrīmantam śaraṇaṁ bhajē ||

A. GOVINDACARYA SVAMIN.

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING RIG-VEDA, X, 102

This hymn is a very difficult one, and has been discussed by not a few Vedic scholars, and in particular by Professor Bloomfield in the ZDMG., vol. xlviii, p. 541.¹ It is not my intention to venture on any criticism of what those scholars have written, but, as Professor Bloomfield has remarked (loc. cit., p. 563)—“ We may safely assert that this hymn will figure in the final irresolvable remnant of the Veda, unless a new accession of materials should enrich our present apparatus for its reconstruction,” I venture to bring forward certain new information which is contained in the Purāṇas, which certainly appears to throw fresh light on the hymn and which may therefore be of some service to Vedic scholars. I shall confine myself to setting out the new matter and offering some remarks and suggestions based on it.

The hymn is attributed to Mudgala Bhārmyaśva, that is, Bhṛmyaśva's son.² Bhṛmyaśva and Mudgala were two kings of the North Pañcāla dynasty according to the genealogy of that dynasty, and the genealogy contains particulars which supply points of connexion with the hymn. Mudgala is mentioned in the hymn (vv. 5 and 9), but not his patronymic; that is supplied only by the commentators.³ In it is also mentioned *Mudgalānī* (vv. 2 and 6), and two words occur in it which receive elucidation from the genealogy, namely, *Indrasenā* (v. 2) and *vadhri* (v. 12).

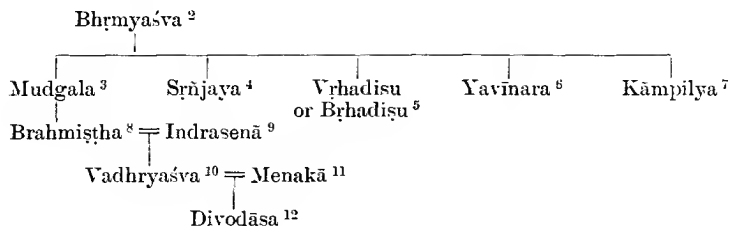
In order to show what new light the genealogy throws on these words, it will be convenient to set out that part of it which deals with persons of these names, as stated

¹ Previous discussions are cited there. I have to thank Professor Macdonell for the references. Mr. Keith notices them in JRAS., 1909, p. 207.

² *Nirukta*, ix, 3, 2-3; *Sarvānukramaṇī*; Sāyaṇa gives Bharmyaśva. See p. 28 *ante*.

³ See note 2 above.

by the Purāṇas which give it.¹ These authorities are not equally full, yet it is quite easy to combine them, and the correct genealogy stands thus—



Mudgala and his four brothers were called the Pañcālas, which name originated in consequence of their father's jocular boast as mentioned briefly in p. 48 *ante*. The name adhered to them, and was continued to their

¹ *Agni*, 277, 19-22; *Bhāgarata*, ix, 31, 31-4, and 22, 3; *Brahma*, 13, 93-7; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 17-20; *Matsya*, 50, 1-7; *Vāyu* (Calc. ed.), ii, 37, 189-96; (Ānandāśr. ed.), 99, 196-200; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19, 15-16; and *Harivaṃśa*, 32, 1777-84.

² All confuse this name. The *Bhāgar.* reads Bharmyaśva and shortly Bharmya; *Matsya*, Bhadrāśva; *Brahma*, Bāhyāśva; *Agni* and *Hariv.*, Vāhyāśva; and *Garuḍa* and *Viṣṇu*, Haryaśva. The *Vāyu* omits. The correct form is certainly Bhṛmyaśva.

³ So all, except the *Agni* and *Garuḍa*, which read Mukula.

⁴ So all, except that the *Bhāgar.* reads Sañjaya and *Matsya* Jaya.

⁵ So all, except the *Garuḍa*, which reads Vṛhadbbānu.

⁶ So all, except that the *Matsya* reads Javinara; *Vāyu*, Yaviyat; and *Viṣṇu*, Pravira.

⁷ So the *Bhāgar.*, *Vāyu* (Ānand. ed.), and *Viṣṇu*; but the *Vāyu* (Calc. ed.) reads Kampilya; *Garuḍa*, Kampilla; *Matsya*, Kapila; *Agni*, Kṛmila; and *Brahma* and *Hariv.*, Kṛmilāśva.

⁸ So the *Matsya* and *Vāyu*. The *Brahma* and *Hariv.* read the patronymic Maudgalya, and the latter gives to Maudgalya a son Brahmarṣi who married Indrasenā. The *Agni*, *Bhāgar.*, and *Garuḍa* omit.

⁹ So the *Brahma*, *Vāyu*, and *Hariv.* The *Matsya* gives to Brahmiṣṭha a son named Indrasena instead, who was father of Vadhryaśva. The others omit.

¹⁰ All confuse this name. The *Hariv.* reads Vadhrasva; *Brahma*, Vadhrya; *Vāyu*, Badhyaśva; *Viṣṇu*, Vṛddhaśva; *Matsya*, Vindhyaśva; and *Agni*, Cañcaśva. The others omit. The correct form is clearly Vadhryaśva.

¹¹ So the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Hariv.* The others omit.

¹² So all, except the *Brahma*, which omits.

descendants. Mudgala's sons and descendants were the Maudgalyas, and were or became brahmans, as stated expressly in the *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas and in the *Harivaṃśu*.¹

It is clear from a comparison of these passages that the *Vāyu* has the right reading, except that *Kaṇṭha* should be *Kaṇva*. Its first three lines are corroborated by the *Matsya*, and receive support from the *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Viṣṇu*. The *Brahma* omits the first two of these lines about the Maudgalyas and confines itself to the last two lines of the passages, reading, however, *Maudgalya* instead of *Brahmiṣṭha*. The *Harivaṃśa* begins the passage like the *Brahma* in the first line, and then diverges to complete its account by following the version which the *Vāyu* and *Matsya* give, but in doing so has blundered. This is

¹ *Agni*, 277, 21—

Mukulasya tu Maukulyāḥ kṣetropetā dvijātayaḥ,
where read *Mudgalasya*, *Maudgalyāḥ*, and *kṣatropetā*.

Bhāgar., ix, 21, 33—

Mudgalād brahma-nirvṛttaṃ gotram Maudgalya-saṅjñitam.

Matsya, 50, 5-6—

Mudgalasyāpi Maudgalyāḥ kṣatropetā dvijātayaḥ
Ete hy Aṅgirasah pakṣaṃ saṃśritāḥ Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ
Mudgalasya suto jajñe Brahmiṣṭhaḥ su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenaḥ sutas tasya Vindhyāśvas tasya cātmajāḥ.

Vāyu (Calc. ed.), ii, 37, 193-5; (Ānandāśr. ed.), 99, 198-200—

Mudgalasyāpi Maudgalyāḥ kṣā(a)tropeta-dvijātayaḥ
Ete hy Aṅgirasah pakṣe saṃśritāḥ Kaṇṭh(c)a-Mudgalāḥ
Mudgalasya suto jyeṣṭho Brahmiṣṭhaḥ su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenā yato garbham Badhyaśvam pratyapadyata.

Viṣṇu, iv, 19, 16, in prose—

Mudgalāc ca Maudgalyāḥ kṣatropetā dvijātayo babhūvuḥ.

Hariv., 32, 1781-3—

Mudgalasya tu dāyādo Maudgalyah su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Sarva ete mahātmānaḥ kṣatropetā dvijātayaḥ
Ete hy Aṅgirasah pakṣaṃ saṃśritāḥ Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ
Maudgalyasya suto jyeṣṭho Brahmarṣiḥ su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenā yato garbham Vadhraśvam pratyapadyata.

To which may be added here the *Brahma*, 13, 97—

Mudgalasya tu dāyādo Maudgalyah su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenā yato garbham Vadhryam ca pratyapadyata.

For *Vadhryam* ca one MS. reads *Vadhvaśram*.

proved by the words *sarva ete mahātmānaḥ*, which plainly suppose that the word *Maudgalyāḥ* should occur in the first line instead of *Maudgalyaḥ*. In its following lines it has evidently become confused about Maudgalya and Brahmiṣṭha, and solves the difficulty by treating these two names as distinct instead of identical, so that it makes Maudgalya father of Brahmarṣi (that is, Brahmiṣṭha). The errors of the *Harivaṃśa* therefore support the version of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya*. With regard to the last line, the *Vāyu*, *Brahma*, and *Harivaṃśa* agree, and their reading is right for two reasons—(1) their testimony preponderates, and (2) queens are seldom mentioned by name in the genealogies, so that the tendency, if a text becomes modified, would be to change a woman's name into a man's name. Indrasenā therefore was Brahmiṣṭha's wife, and Indrasena is probably a corruption.

Mudgala was a rājā of the North Pañcāla dynasty, and yet might also be regarded as a rishi (which is what the *Nirukta* and *Sāyaṇa* style him), because he was the reputed author of this hymn, and because he was the father of a family of brahmans. The Maudgalyas, in fact, combined the positions of both kṣatriyas and brahmans, for they bore arms and were military brahmans, as stated expressly in the passages cited.

Mudgalānī is not mentioned in the genealogy, but was obviously Mudgala's wife, as is generally agreed.

As regards *Indrasenā*, which *Sāyaṇa* does not treat as a proper name, the genealogy states that Mudgala's daughter-in-law was Indrasenā. There is no good reason to doubt its genuineness. It was an ordinary feminine name. If *Sāyaṇa* had taken it so, one might suspect that it had been inserted in the genealogy to accord with the traditional interpretation of the hymn, but the hymn and the genealogy had become so absolutely sundered that (1) only one *Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata*, has preserved Bhṛm-yaśva's name with any approach to accuracy; (2) the

interpreters of the hymn had no idea that Mudgala was a rājā, the *Nirukta* and Sāyaṇa styling him a rishi; (3) the genealogy makes no mention of Mudgalānī; and (4) the interpreters knew nothing of Indrasenā, who was herself a rājñī. The genealogy and the interpreters have nothing therefore in common except the name Mudgala, and that was an ordinary name,¹ which suggested no relation between them. As far as I know, the hymn and the genealogy have not been connected before. Indrasenā, moreover, is not the only queen mentioned in the genealogy; it also gives the name of her son Vadhryaśva's wife Menakā. He and his son Divodāsa are mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, but not this queen Menakā. Her name therefore was not inserted to serve any ulterior purpose.

The word *vadhriṇā* in v. 12 seems significant when it is noted that Indrasenā's son was named *Vadhryaśva*. Sāyaṇa does not take the words *vadhriṇā yujā* as agreeing with each other, but may they not be so taken? If so, they would form a play on the name Vadhryaśva, and such plays are common in the hymns.

Some remarks may be offered about the word *Keśī* (v. 6) in the light of the foregoing suggestions. Sāyaṇa explains it as an epithet. Mudgalānī was a rājñī, and it is not probable she would have driven the chariot (or cart, as Sāyaṇa explains).² The rājā Mudgala would naturally have had a chariot and a charioteer, and the charioteer would naturally have driven the chariot. Surely he was Keśin? Keśin was the *sārathi*. Mudgalānī is called the

¹ There was another Mudgala, a son (or descendant) of Viśvāmitra, *MBh.*, xiii, 4, 250; *Brahma*, 10, 59; *Hariv.*, 27, 1462 (Maudgalya in 32, 1769); unless his name is an echo of the confusion which derived the Kānyakubja dynasty from Ajamiḍha; see p. 22 *ante*.

² It does not necessarily follow that the vehicle was a cart because a bull was yoked to it. Chariots were sometimes drawn by other animals, as was Ghaṭotkaca's chariot, which was drawn neither by horses nor by elephants, but by elephant-like beasts, probably huge buffaloes (*MBh.*, vii, 156, 6785-7). If Mudgala's horses had been carried off, he would naturally have yoked a powerful bull.

rathī (v. 2). Surely these two words need not necessarily mean the same thing here. May it not be that Keśin drove the chariot, and Mudgalānī simply rode with Mudgala in it? She was no longer a young woman, for she had a daughter-in-law and also (if the suggestion about the word *vadhriṇā* be just) a grandson; and as a middle-aged woman she would have had considerable freedom, and might naturally have taken an eager part in the occurrence, leaning well forward over the front of the chariot (see v. 6). Indrasenā, on the other hand, as a young woman would have been less prominent, and may have viewed the scene from a distance (v. 2).

If these suggestions may be accepted, an explanation may be offered of the word *parivṛktā* in v. 11, supposing this word to have a personal application. It is generally applied to Mudgalānī; but is there anything in the hymn (apart from this word) to suggest that Mudgala was estranged from Mudgalānī? May it not rather refer to Indrasenā? According to my suggestions Mudgala, Mudgalānī, Indrasenā, and Vadhryaśva would be all mentioned or alluded to, and the only person in the family who is omitted is Indrasenā's husband. Mudgala's sons were or became brahmans, and her husband's name, Brahmiṣṭha (or Brahmarṣi), suggests that he adopted brahmanhood. May he not have quitted her in order to follow out the observances of brahmanhood? Do not the terms used apply to a young woman such as Indrasenā was, rather than to a middle-aged woman like Mudgalānī?

If these suggestions are reasonable, the hymn and the genealogy fit each other, and that result would show that the commentators are right in ascribing the hymn to the Mudgala who was Bhṛmyaśva's son. And further, on this conclusion, would not Mudgala's bombast in this hymn be quite in keeping with his father's braggadocio which has been mentioned above, and is it not easy to understand the preservation of the hymn? Mudgala's

descendants, the Maudgalyas, would, as a warlike family, have been proud of it, since it describes a successful contest, and their influence as brahmans would have secured its admission into the *Rig-Veda*.

F. E. PARGITER.

ABHINAVA-GUPTA IN MODERN KASHMIR

Dr. Barnett's article on the *Paramārthasāra* of Abhinava-gupta (*ante*, pp. 707 ff.) reminds me that the old Śaiva teacher, although belonging to the eleventh century, is still a name to conjure with in Kashmīr. In order to show this, I here give an extract from the *Śiva-pariṇaya* of Kṛṣṇa Rāzdān, who is still alive. It is interesting as containing a legend about Abhinava-gupta, and also as an example of Kāshmirī poetry, written in the *kāvya* style by a Hindū of the present day.

Sōriy hēth nim sarva-wōpakōrī

Abinawaguptātōrī zan || 1 ||

Bāh shēth sāṭa hēth suh bāla-brahmatōrī

Sōriy hēth gauv shiwa-lūkas |

Yiti dih hēth gauv kus dihadōrī

Abinawaguptātōrī zan || 2 ||

Bāktⁱ cyōnⁱ kati mahākālan mōrī

Lagayō pōrī Shiwa-rūpas |

Pālanā karawani kāla-samhōrī

Abinawaguptātōrī zan || 3 ||

Harmōkha dṛuṣṭi asē sarva-pāph hōrī

Yāñ āy Nunaraki nōrī-kinⁱ |

Sēndi-shrāna Shiwa-dyāna shāph nēwōrī

Abinawaguptātōrī zan || 4 ||

Rāmarādana khātⁱ Barata-bāla sōrī

Bāla tēy sūty gay pōrī-zān |

Barañë-bala muṣarith prayëma-barañë törī

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 5 ||

Nādabënda-haṁsanāda chukh ṣōwāpörī

Nödīṣakra-sūty gayë brahmazān |

Brahmasara sara gökh tārī Haṁsa-dwörī

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 6 ||

Sökha-mökha prayëmuk^u osh^u gauv jyörī

Nëthanani sani-wögoni wani tati ākh |

Shiwa-lōla Kōlasara sarva-pāph hörī

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 7 ||

Kōphura-ranga chukh ṣ^{ah} Gangādörī

Asë-pëth Ganga-jāta jörī trāv |

Bāktī nana ada bana sarvādikörī

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 8 ||

Bairawanātha pata pata lörī-löriy

Birū-pëth nim Lörīy-kinī |

Gōphi-manz amrëth dim dörī-döriy

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 9 ||

Güj^ü më durgath tūj^ü më khörī

Lüj^ü më wath Thājīwörī-kinī |

Gōphi-manz gājī-gāh karay jāṭadörī

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 10 ||

Jai jai chuy ṣë jai Shiwa ömkörī

Yita darshun dita nita Kṛushnas |

Trāwanöwith sarva-saṁkalpa-börī

Abinawaguptāṣörī zan || 11 ||

Translation.

1. O Śiva, who art kindly disposed to all, take me to Thyself with all (those who are mine), like Abhinavagupta, the Ācārya.

2. He was a *Brahmacārin* from his youth, and took with him twelve hundred disciples. He took all with him

to the Śiva-lōka.¹ What living man has ever gone thither in this world's body, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya !

3. When were those devoted to Thee ever smitten by Yama ! I offer myself as a sacrifice before (this) form of Śiva, the Protector, the Destroyer of Death, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

✓ 4. By the sight of (the mountain of) Haramukha² all our sins are taken away, directly we arrive at the stream of Nunar. By bathing in the River Sindhu and by meditation upon Śiva, all curses are warded off, as in the case of Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

✓ 5. Near Rāmarādan we all ascended the hill of Baruth. O Kindly One, by Thee alone do we gain complete knowledge. At Barañē-bal did we open the bolts of the door of Thy love, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.³

6. Thou art surrounded on all four sides by the mystic circle and the dot, and by the mystic *haṁsa*-call. By

¹ The legend runs that Abhinava-gupta took twelve hundred disciples into a cave, and ascended with them thence, in his own bodily form, to Śiva-lōka. The cave is still shown near Bīrū, the ancient Bahurūpa, about 13 miles to the south-west of Śrīnagar.

² Here, and in the following verses, there is an elaborate series of double meanings. Harmōkh (Haramukha) is a well-known mountain in Kashmir, sacred to Śiva, and the goal of a famous pilgrimage. The word also means "the totality of all things". Nunar is a village on the pilgrim route to Haramukha, and also means "the carotid artery" (*suṣumnā-nāḍī*), through which the soul passes on its exit at the time of death. The Sindhu is a large river of Kashmīr, which has to be crossed *en route* to Haramukha. Hence the alternative rendering is "The sight of (Śiva, who is) the totality of all things, takes away sin when a man is at the point of death, even while he is yet alive ; and meditation on Him, like bathing in the Sindhu, wards off the effects of every curse".

✓ ³ At the village of Rāmarādan (Rāmārādhanā) pilgrims commence the ascent of Haramukha, going over the spur of Baruth (Bharatagiri). See Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Trans. i, 114, and ii, 408. At Baruth the ascent first begins to be trying, and here pilgrims sometimes fall sick, owing to the rarified atmosphere or to exhaustion, see H. Knowles, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, 233. Barañē-bal is the name of some bathing-place on the route, which I have not identified. The verse also means, "Having worshipped Rāma and Bharata, knowledge of whom is obtained through Thee, we opened the bolts, consisting of the *maṇipūra* (*barañē-bal*), or mystic circle round the navel, of the door of thy love."

practising the *nāḍī-cakra* yōga exercise, we have attained to knowledge of Brāhma. At Brahmasar Thou becomest comprehended, and we descended by the Hamsadwār mountain, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.¹

7. An involuntary tear of love pours (from our eyes). O Thou Naked One (Digambara), in (telling of) the hills and valleys, it is Thou who hast been described. In the Kōlasar² lake of Śiva's love are all our sins taken away, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

✓ 8. O Thou who bearest the Ganges on Thine head, Thy body is white (with ashes, as though) with camphor. Pour Thou forth the Ganges of Thy matted locks upon us. I will proclaim myself as Thy devoted one, and then will I become possessed of all power, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

9. O Bhairavanātha, lead Thou me, ever running after Thee, to Birū, at the entrance of Lār.³ In the cave give Thou me the water of life in streams and streams, as Thou didst to Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

✓ 10. My wretched plight is melted away, departed are my troubles. I have found the path of Thāj'wôr.⁴

¹ The *Nāḍabēnd* (*nāḍa-bindu*) is the mystic form of Śiva indicated by the half-circle and dot of the sign *anunāsika*, and represented by the *anusvāra* of the syllable *ōm*. The *hamsa-nāḍa*, or soul-cry, is another name for the *ajapā*, or voiceless, mantra. The *nāḍī-cakra* is one of the mystic yōga symbols. The curious in such matters will find full particulars regarding it on p. 2825 of the *Vācaspatya*. We should expect these words to signify also certain localities on the pilgrim route, but I have not succeeded in identifying them. Brahmasar is a lake and Hamsadwār a spur passed on the same route. Brahmasar also means the *brahma-randhra*, or suture in the crown of the head, through which the soul escapes at death. With this interpretation *hamsadwār* would mean the doorway of the soul.

✓ ² Evidently the name of one of the many sacred lakes passed on the pilgrim route.

✓ ³ The name of the pargana in which the Birū cave is situated.

✓ ⁴ Thāj'wôr, a site passed on the pilgrimage, is the ancient Thalyōraka (cf. Stein, op. cit., ii, 54, n., who doubtfully, and apparently incorrectly, identifies it with the modern Thyūr). The word also means "the highest place" (*paramapada*), i.e. Śiva's heaven.

O Thou with matted locks, I will fan¹ Thee in the cave, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

11. Victory, victory, to Thee, O Śiva, incarnate as the syllable *ōm* ! Come Thou, reveal Thyself, and take Thou Kṛṣṇa (the author of the poem) to Thyself, when Thou hast released him from the burden of his volitions, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

July 20, 1910.

EXEGETICAL NOTES ON THE PARAMARTHASARA

Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar has kindly sent me some remarks on the edition and translation of the *Paramārthasāra* published at p. 707 ff. above, from which I extract the following.

"v. 3. *Ādhārakārikāḥ* : the book referred to is the *Spanda-Kārikāḥ*, composed by Vasugupta, the founder of the Kashmir Śaiva school, or his immediate disciple, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa.

"v. 10. *Karaṇa* is not 'organism', but *kriyā-śakti*, the power of action.

"v. 17. *Aṇor antaraṅgam* means the essential nature of the *aṇu*.

"v. 19. This *śloka* names the following *tattvas* : (1) the three *Guṇas*, (2) *Prakṛti*, (3) *Buddhi*, (4) *Manas*, (5) *Ahaṁkāra*. I would translate it as follows : ' (The three *Guṇas*) consisting purely of pleasure, pain, and ignorance, and of certain knowledge, change of cognition, and egoism ; *prakṛti* ; then the inner organ, in the order of *buddhi*, *manas*, and *ahaṁkāra*. ' *Niścaya*, etc., belong as much to the inner organ as to its parent, the *traiguṇya*.

¹ *Gaj-gāh*, in Hindī, is a tasselled string made up of the tail-hairs of the *Bos grunniens*, and suspended from an elephant's neck. Here *gāj-gāh* is used for the *cāmara*, or fly-whisk, made of the same materials, the employment of which indicates worship.

"v. 32. The introduction to the *Śiva-sūtra-bhāṣya* refers to the Cārvākas, Vaidikas, Yogācāras, and Mādhyamikas as teaching the identity of the *ātmā* with *deha*, *prāṇa*, *buddhi*, and *sūnya* respectively.

"v. 44. *Śaktitriśūla*: I think this means the 'trident' of Icchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā Śaktis, described in the previous verse.

"v. 73, second half. I think this consists of two sentences: 'will he rejoice in praise and the like? hence he is said to be called,' etc.

"v. 78. The *kuṇḍalinī* is of the shape of a serpent, extending from the *kanda* to below the pudendum, i.e. the perineum. The *kanda* is like a tuber behind the navel. *Suṣumnā* is a tube through which the *prāṇa* circulates. The *brahma-randhra* is at the top of the head, where the anterior fontanelle is in the child; through this the soul enters. What is between the brows is the *ājñā-cakra*, which is the sixth of the stations of the awakened *kuṇḍalinī*. The *brahma-randhra* is the seventh.

"vv. 79-80. The *khṛvāṅga* is a tiny drum. Śiva stands in the 'graveyard' with this in one hand and a skullful of liquor in the other. To the Yogi the universe is the graveyard, his body is the drum, the skull is finite cognition, and the essence of the universe, i.e. the light of Parā Śakti, is the liquor."

L. D. BARNETT.

THE CILICIAN CITIES OF ANCHIALE AND ILLUBRI

In the newly discovered account of Sennacherib's campaigns, published by Mr. L. W. King, about which Dr. Pinches has contributed an interesting article to the Journal of this Society (April, 1910), the Assyrian king states that Kirua, the governor of Illubri, had raised a revolt against his authority in Cilicia and induced "the inhabitants of the cities of Ingirâ and Tarzi" to join him.

They seized the military road which ran along the coast through the land of Quê and so "blocked" the way to the Assyrians. Sennacherib thereupon sent an army against the rebels, who were soon overthrown. Ingirâ and Tarzi were captured, and Illubri, which is called "the city of Khilakki" or Cilicia, was taken by storm. Kirua and his followers were carried to Nineveh, where the leader of the rebellion was flayed alive. Illubri was then rebuilt and colonized with captives from other lands, and the spear of Assur was set up in it, together with a slab of alabaster on which Sennacherib recorded his name and victories.

Tarzi, first mentioned by Shalmaneser II on the Black Obelisk, is Tarsus. Now we learn from a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb., *Armen. Chr.*, xlii) that Sennacherib, on hearing that "the Greeks had made a hostile descent upon Cilicia, marched against them and fought with them a pitched battle, in which, though he himself suffered great loss, he defeated them, and erected on the spot a statue of himself as a monument of his victory, and ordered his victory to be recorded upon it in the Chaldæan characters, so that the memory of it might be handed down to posterity. He then rebuilt the city of Tarsus, after the likeness of Babylon".

Ingirâ, which is coupled with Tarzi by Sennacherib, must consequently be the Anchialê of the Greek writer. And, in fact, the two names are phonetically one and the same. The Greek *l* takes the place of the Cilician *r*, as in Olba for Urwa, which, as Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown, was the native name of the town that stood westward of Tarsus. Assimilation to ἀγχίαλος has effected the rest of the change from Ingilâ to Anchialê, where the Ionic *ê* represents, as usual, an earlier *â*.

Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.*) represents Anchialê as on the sea-coast between Tarsus and Zephyrion, and states on the authority of Athenodorus that it was founded by

Anchialê, the daughter of the Cilician god Iapetos, on the banks of the River Anchialeus. Anchialê, it was further alleged, was the mother of Kydnus, the river on which Tarsus stood, and the name of which, according to Solinus (xlix), signified "fair". Kydnus, again, had a son Parthenius, from whom Tarsus derived its original name of Parthenia. The usual account, however, was that both Anchialê and Tarsus had been built by the Assyrian king Sardanapalus in a day, and that a statue of Sardanapalus stood at Anchialê representing the monarch snapping his fingers, while on the slab below him was the famous inscription in "Assyrian letters": "Eat, drink, and be merry: all the rest is worth nothing." At the beginning of the inscription Sardanapalus was said to have described himself as "son of Anakyndaraxês", which is also given as Kyndaraxês and Anabaxarês (Strabo, p. 672; Athenæus, xii, p. 529).

The attitude ascribed to the figure is clearly that of adoration, as represented on several Assyrian monuments as well as in the Cilician rock-sculptures at Ivriz.¹ Oppert conjectured that the name of the king's father was a corruption of the Assyrian *anaku sar Assuri*, "I am the king of Assyria"; but it would more probably be the beginning of an Aramaic text: *ana (Tar)kundaraus Kâsi* ("I am Tarkundaraus the Kasian"), or something similar. The Greek settlers at Tarsus made Perseus the founder of that city, and saw in the Alêian plain the place where he fell to the earth from the back of Pegasus (*Il.*, vi, 200-2). Solinus, however, who tells us that Tarsus was "the mother of cities", ascribes its foundation to Kilix, who sprang from the earth long before Zeus existed (*De Mir. Mundi*, xlix).

The local legends recorded by the Cilician writer Athenodorus indicate that Tarsus was really a colony of

¹ Arrian, however, says that the hands were pressed together (*Exped. Alex.*, ii, 5, p. 91).

Anchialê; hence, possibly, the reason why Sennacherib names the latter first. The position of "city of Cilicia", assigned by Sennacherib to Illubri, is transferred by Solinus to Tarsus, probably because Tarsus had superseded Illubri in the Greek era. Iapetos, the Biblical Japhet, was one of the seven Cilician gods—Adanos, Ostasos, Andês (for Sandês), Kronos, Rhea (probably Rhô), Iapetos, and Olymbros—who were all children of the primeval Hittite deities, the Earth (Amma) and the Sky (Steph. Byz., *s.v.* "Αδανα). As the city—or rather the State—was deified among the Hittites, the earth whereon it stood being divine, the fact that Adanos (Adana), Ostasos, and Olymbros were gods is easily intelligible.

Olymbros is evidently the Illubri of Sennacherib. As it is associated with Iapetos, the father of Anchialê, it must have been near that city, while since it comes last in the list which begins with Adanos we must conclude that it was situated to the west of that city. Here, then, between Adana on the east and Olymbros or Illubri on the west will have been the Khilakku of the Assyrians, the original land of Cilicia.¹ Eastward of it was the Alasiya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the Elishah of Gen. x, 4. The name survived in the "Aleian" plain of the Greeks, since the Ionic Ἀληία presupposes an original Ἀλασγία. Here Bellerophon was thrown to the ground by the winged horse

¹ In the time of Shalmaneser II, however, Tarzi formed part of the domains of Katê, king of Quê (*Black Obelisk*, 132-40). Kirri, the brother of Katê, seems to have the same name as Kirua, king of Illubri. To the east of Tarzi, according to Shalmaneser, were the towns of Lamena or Lawena and Tanakun. The name of Tanakun is evidently connected with that of Thanake, the wife of Sandakos who came from Syria to Cilicia and there founded the city of Kelenderis (Apollod. iii, 14, 3, 1). She was the mother of Kinyras and daughter of King Megessaros. Quê is written Qauê by Shalmaneser; hence we may connect the name with that of Ikonion which appears as *Καοανια* (i.e. Kau-van-ya) in a Phrygian inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Castle-mound at Konia. Professor W. Max Müller has pointed out that the name of the Quê survived in that of the fortress Kyinda described by Strabo as being "above Anchialê".

Pegasos. The winged horse is pictured on a Hittite seal (Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscript. Hettiticarum*, ii, pl. xliii, 8), and the story claims relationship to the Babylonian legends of Etana and Gilgames, who were similarly thrown to the ground from the back of the eagle whereon they were endeavouring to mount to heaven. In the Assyrian period Alasiya was known as Quê.

As Tarsus was founded by the grandson, Kydnus, or the great-grandson, Parthenius, of Iapetos, so, according to Gen. x, 4, Tarshish was the grandson of Japhet and the brother of Elishah, as well as of Kittim or Cyprus and Rodanim or Rhodes. His father Yavan, "the Ionian," bears an Asianic name with the distinctively Anatolian suffix *van*, and it is therefore interesting to learn that the city on whose site Antioch was built had been called Iônê, and that the name of Ionia had once been given to the Cilician coast.¹ Ion, the Ionian Greek, moreover, was not the brother, but the nephew, of Dorus and Æolus. Like Achæus, the Achæan, his father was Xuthus, the "tawny-skinned" Syrian, who was thus distinguished from the Leuco-Syri or "White-skinned Syrians" of Cappadocia.

A. H. SAYCE.

AUSTIN OF BORDEAUX

Having now completed a translation of Heinrich von Poser's book, to which I originally called the attention of Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Foster (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1910, p. 96, and this *Journal* for 1910, p. 494), I put on record here all that the traveller says about Austin of Bordeaux. Von Poser reached Agra from Lahor on December 22, 1621. On the morning of the 25th he received a visit from "Mr. Augustinus Hiriart from Bordeaux in Gascony, engineer to the Great Mogul,

¹ The *Periplus Maritimus* places Ionia at the mouth of the Pyramus.

and he offered me an opportunity of seeing the King [Jahāngīr]". On the 28th Von Poser began his journey with Mr. Augustin, their first night's halt being at Sikandrah. Having passed Sirhind, they turned off the road to Lahor, and on January 13, 1622, joined the emperor's army, putting up in the camp of Āṣaf Khān. On the 15th Von Poser saw Jahāngīr at a small window, and on the 16th Augustin took him to visit Mir Mirān (son of Mir Khalilullah, Yazdī, and married to Āṣaf Khān's daughter), and on the same day they visited Āṣaf Khān. On the 18th there was a march to Nūrpur.

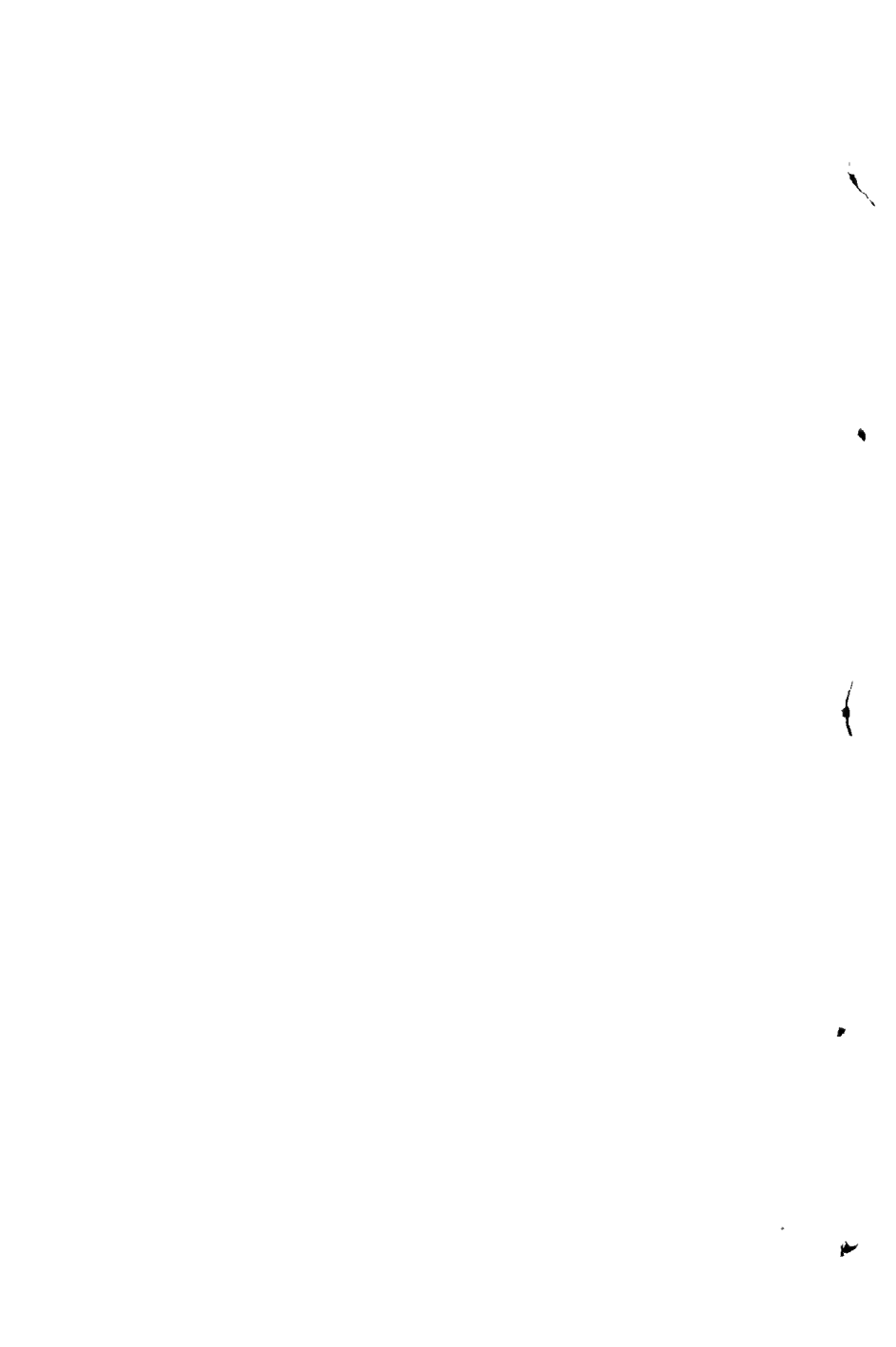
In the evening of January 19 they went to Court on an elephant. Prince Shahryār spoke to them on the way. As soon as they sent in their names the doors were opened to them. "At once there appeared a royal servant who conducted us to the king, whom we found at that moment in the barber's hands. He inspected the throne, made of gold and about a foot high, constructed after Mr. Augustin's designs; and through Issuph Chan [Āṣaf Khān] asked what countryman I was, and why I had come there, what I had learnt, and whether I had with me anything rare and special in the nature of firearms. The king gave us this interview in his inmost chamber, from which he could pass direct into the apartments of his wives. This fact I inferred from the women's music, which I listened to with great delight. The king lay on a handsome bedstead made from mother-of-pearl." Other details follow. Having decided to go on to Lahor, Von Poser left the camp and reached that city on January 25, 1622, Augustin being apparently still in his company. Finally, our traveller writes: "On the 28th May [1622] I said goodbye to Lahor and the quasi-paternal house of my Mr. Augustin, including therewith all my good friends. O Lord! Give to my benefactor and his dearest ones a sign, that it may be well with them in this world and to all eternity." Excepting a mention of

writing to him on June 3, 1622, this is all that Von Poser tells us of Augustin Hiriart of Bordeaux.

I have tried without success to verify from Portuguese sources Tavernier's statement (Ball's ed., i, 108) that Shāhjahān sent Augustin to Goa as a negotiator, and that he was poisoned at Cochin by the Portuguese.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

September 21, 1910.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, von JOHANNES HERTEL. Erster Teil: EINLEITUNG, pp. viii + [2], 159. Zweiter Teil: ÜBERSETZUNG und ANMERKUNGEN, pp. [ii], 159 + [1]. Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1909. M. 12 (bound M. 16).

TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra. Nach den Handschriften beider Rezensionen zum ersten Male herausgegeben, von JOHANNES HERTEL. Mit einer Tafel in Lichtdruck. pp. xxvii, 186. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910. M. 24.

(Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band XII, Nro. 2.)

(Continued from p. 976.)

To begin *ab ovo*, I must profess myself still unconvinced that the word *tantra* is in itself an equivalent of *nīti* (Hertel, introd. to trans., pp. 6-8 and reff.). I have previously pointed out (JRAS., 1907, xxxix, p. 732) that the word is applied to the authoritative book in any science, for example in logic. That in a suitable context *tantra* can be employed *per ellipsin* in the sense of *nītiśāstra* is therefore quite natural; and the title *Tantrākhyāyika* will accordingly have been rightly interpreted by Dr. Hertel as *nītiśāstra-ākhyāyika*. It seems also to have been clearly made out that *tantra* may have the somewhat different meaning of *rāṣṭracintā*, i.e. the art or business of government, and that this meaning appears in the word *tantradhāra*, "chief minister" (introd. to trans., pp. 6-7 and reff.). Perhaps both senses are to be found in Cāṇakya's *Arthaśāstra*.

For the last chapter of that treatise is devoted to a definition of a number of terms, such as *adhikaraṇa*, *padārtha*, *atideśa*, *upamāna*, *vākyaśeṣa*, with examples taken from the treatise itself. Now these terms are given as names of the *yuktis* of the *arthaśāstra*, and the chapter itself is named *Tantrayukti*, which accordingly must mean "definition of the literary expedients employed in [as distinguished from the subject-matter of] the Śāstra", these literary expedients being, in fact, common to all śāstras. Here *tantra* cannot denote anything but the science itself in book form. On the other hand, we have in the same chapter the following passage:—

अतिशयवर्णना व्याख्यानम्—विशेषतश्च सङ्घानां सङ्गधर्मिणां च राजकुलानां दूतनिमित्तो भेदः तन्निमित्तो विनाश इत्यसत्प्रग्रहः पापिष्ठतमो व्यसनानां तत्त्वदौर्बल्यत् इति

"*Vyākhyāna* is exposition of superlativeness, as in viii, 3 (p. 328, ll. 13–15), 'and especially in associations and royal families, which have the character of associations, division arises from gaming, and, as a result of that, destruction, and so encouragement of the bad, the most baneful of vices through the consequent weakness of administration.'"

Here (and again in the same chapter viii, 3, p. 327, l. 19) the word certainly seems to mean "administration", *rāṣṭracintā*. Accordingly we may understand *tantra* to denote either the science or the art of government; and, when we find the chapters in the *Tantrākhyāyika* called *tantras*, we may interpret the word as denoting a branch either of the science or of the art. Dr. Hertel's interpretation amounts to much the same, but the rendering "*Klugheitsfall*" gives to the word a turn which we do not find acceptable.

TEXT.

Page 3, line 10. तथानुश्रूयते: similarly Buddhist *sūtras* begin एवं मया श्रुते, and the *Harṣacarita* एवमनुश्रूयते. With reference to the variant तद्यथानु°, we may compare *Milindapañha* तथयथानुश्रूयते.

p. 4, ll. 11–12 (v. 4). °स्य । को ऽयः misprint for °स्य को ऽय ।

p. 11, l. 7 (v. 29). येन येन हि राजन्तः the reading रज्यन्तः, “take pleasure in,” seems superior in authority and sense.

p. 13, l. 4 (v. 41). पाषाणभारसहस्रः the metre seems to demand °भर°.

p. 25, l. 6. आरोहताः why not retain the आरुहता of $\alpha\beta$?

p. 49, ll. 12–13. मा खलु कश्चिद्वनं धारयतुः but वनं धारयतु gives a poor sense, if any, whereas धनं धारयतु, “let no one owe money,” agrees excellently with what follows.

p. 59, l. 13 (v. 172). कुलशीलः read °लं.

p. 61, l. 14 (v. 177). पूतराः error for कातराः, as is read in this verse *Subhāṣitāvalī* 3468? Or is पूतराः a stronger equivalent?

p. 68, l. 2. उपधापरीक्षेयं: against the proposal to read उपधेयं we may quote *Harṣacarita* (Bombay, 1892), p. 153, l. 1, उपधाभिः परीक्षितौ.

p. 69, ll. 21–2. We seem to have the remains of a faulty *śloka*—

परस्परं विहन्याद्यो अन्यस्त्वन्येन भक्ष्यते ।

परस्परापकारात्तदुभयवैरमीरितम् ॥

and possibly an *Āryā* verse followed.

p. 70, ll. 4–5 (v. 25). The verse would give better sense if it read—

शत्रुणापि स संदध्यात्सुस्त्रिष्टेनापि संधिना ।

आतप्तमपि पानीयं शमयत्येव पावकम् ॥

“Even with an enemy he should ally himself, even in intimate alliance. Water, though heated, puts out fire.”

The heated water is the angry person with whom the

agreement is made, extinguishing the flame of war. The long आ in आतप्तं explains the reading सुतप्तं, as students of Brāhmī writing will recognize. As regards the sentiment, we may compare *Arthaśāstra*, vii, 2 (p. 267, ll. 5-6), नातप्तं लोहं लोहेन संधत्ते.

p. 71, l. 22 (v. 36). I find it hard to doubt that the author wrote न भवन्त्यमहात्मनाम् ॥, as some MSS. of the *Southern Pañcatantra* (ii, 26) read.

p. 73, ll. 4 seq. (vv. 39-42). Here we have eight lines of the narrative in *ślokas*. This is a noticeable fact, suggesting that the whole (of this narrative) had a versified original.

p. 84, l. 9 (v. 74). विवशताः विविशतां β seems preferable, because (1) वि० विस्तार्यते is a rather strained construction, and (2) a भङ्ग of a सेतु can scarcely be said to be विवश. A thing is विवश when it is beyond its own control.

p. 84, l. 16 (v. 76). °पिठिराः should this be °पिठरा? *Bhartṛhari*, iii, 22, and *Sbhv.* 3196 read °विधुरां.

p. 88, l. 21 (v. 100). सदाः read महा, with SP. ii, 62?

p. 89, l. 7 (v. 103). °पथ्यदनाः what is the objection to °पथ्यधनाः αβ = °पाथेयाः?

p. 98, l. 14 (v. 143). नैकत्र च वित्तशालिः in the *Mahābhārata*, where the verse occurs (iii, 2815 = iii, 72. 8), the reading is नैकत्र परिनिशालि.

p. 99, l. 5 (v. 146). दिवसवरेः read दिववसरे?

p. 105 (v. 164). Why not keep the old reading सर्वमुत्पादि भङ्गुरं (*Das Südliche Pañcatantra*, ii, 81), which is so common a truism in Indian writing?

p. 107, margin. PS: read SP.

p. 116, ll. 5-6. असंशयः does this form (for °शयं) exist?

p. 117, l. 9. जीवजीवकः the usual form is जीवजीवक.

p. 123, l. 11 (v. 62). °नामकाः read °नाशकोः violating ahimsā's.

- p. 129, l. 12. °मा बालः read °माबालः.
- p. 145, l. 4 (v. 138). कृतान्तदंष्ट्राविनष्टानिः read °निविष्टानि = °गतानि? See apparatus criticus.
- p. 149, l. 28 (v. 5). निष्प्रयोजनमत्सरः read °वत्सलः with SP. iv, 2?
- p. 150, l. 4. असमो विकारः read असमोपकारः?
- p. 150, l. 20 (v. 10). मित्रं वा : this Āryā line is imperfect. Read नैवातिप्रणय with *Sbhv.* 2893?
- p. 153, ll. 10–11. Read °मुपरिभागेना°?
- p. 157, l. 10. °वपनं : why not retain °वापनं (causative)?
- p. 161, l. 14. निवर्तस्तरामः the imperative with the termination तराम is very remarkable. Usually we find only the indicative (3rd pers. sing.).

TRANSLATION.

p. 23, ll. 7–8 (text, p. 23, ll. 13–14). *Gerade daher, woher Gefahr droht* : but यतो . . अपायः श्रूयते would more exactly mean “whence danger is (proverbially) said to come”.

p. 23, l. 26 (text, p. 24, l. 7). *Getötet hat dieser Bösewicht mit List diese Fische* : read अप्रज्ञापूर्वकं, “through their want of sense”? See the following words.

p. 31, l. 23 (text, p. 23, l. 10). *Diese Worte* : rather, “his words,” तद्वचनं.

p. 42, ll. 13–14 (text, p. 46, ll. 2–3). *Gelangte (wieder) in das Gewässer* : rather, “went to another pond,” अन्यं जलाशयं गतः.

p. 67, v. 33 (text, p. 71). *Durch Vereinigung gleicher Interessen* [“*Interessengemeinschaft*”] : but B. & R. translate सामर्थ्ययोगात् by “je nach den Umständen” (योगात् = “in virtue of”), and it might mean “according to their powers or suitability”. The phrase occurs in the *Arthasāstra*, i, 8, p. 20, l. 15.

p. 68, ll. 14–15 (text, p. 72, ll. 14–15). *In einer*

Liebe, wie sie in der Welt [sonst] nicht zu finden ist: but लोकातीत means merely "miraculous", "marvellous".

p. 69, l. 4 (text, p. 73, l. 7). *Die mit ihr, ihrer grössten Feindin. Freundschaft geschlossen hatte:* does not एकारिमित्रतां तेन गतस् = "having the same enemies and friends as he" ?

p. 69, l. 19 (text, p. 73, l. 14). *Gewöhnlicher Überlegung folgend:* perhaps सामान्यदर्शनात् means, rather, "through seeing only the genus (crow) and not making out the individual."

p. 76, v. 61 and n. 5 (text, p. 81). In this interesting passage concerning the form of the letter *h*, we should note the play on the word ऊष्मन्, "spirant." The verse recurs with variants in *Bhartṛhari* (supp. 5).

p. 77, v. 66 (text, p. 82). *Die Entfernung des Entsagung . . . die Wiederholung des Sterbens:* rather, "an acceptance of Renunciation (cf. सेवाधर्मः परमो गर्हणो योगिनामप्यगम्यः) . . . a paraphrase (पर्याय) of dying."

p. 77, v. 67 (text, p. 82). *Sinkt er von seinem Glanze [aus seiner glänzenden Stellung] . . . so wird er verachtet:* but तेजस् = "spirit", "fire", rather than "brilliance", and परिभवः is more than "contempt", namely "ill-usage".

p. 78, v. 69 (text, p. 83). *Von Hilfe entblässt:* but उपचारपरिमृष्टः = "devoid of courtesy", and it agrees syntactically with हृषणो जनः. See B. and R., s.vv. उपचार and भ्रंश + परि; also *Ind. Sprüche*², 5950, *einen groben Geizhals . . . angeht*.

p. 79, ll. 17-18 (text, p. 85, l. 3). *Ein Zufall fügte:* कथमपि rather = "how I cannot tell", laying stress not so much on the accidental character, as on the difficulty, of the escape.

p. 79, l. 22 (text, p. 85, l. 4). *Selbst wenn sie schlafen:* स्वप्नगतानामपि = "even seen in a dream".

p. 80, v. 86 (text, p. 86). *Eine hervorragende Stellung:* but निरुष्टा दशा is the opposite of this.

p. 82, vv. 100–1 (text, p. 88). With these two verses compare *Harṣacarita*, vii, *ad init.* (Bombay, 1892, p. 226).

p. 83, n. 4 (text, p. 89). These verses occur in the *Mahābhārata* as follows: 104 = *Mbh.* iii, 33. 29; 105 = *Mbh.* xii, 224. 7; 106 = xii, 181. 16, 322. 16; xiii, 7. 22.

p. 84, v. 111 (text, p. 89). Dr. Hertel's citation of *Sic vos non vobis* is most apt.

p. 87, n. 3. This argument would make the *Harṣacarita* also a Kashmirian production. The twilight is distinguished from nightfall even in Hindustan.

pp. 88–9, v. 129 and n. 1 (text, p. 95). *Gesellt sich als vierter nicht der Trug*: does not चतुर्थी नास्ति वद्मना mean “there is no fourth kind of deception to compare with these three”? The षड्वर्ग is surely either = शत्रु(अरि)षड्वर्ग of *Arthaśāstra*, p. 12, ll. 1 and 3, i.e. the six faults, desire, etc.; cf. B. and R., s.v. षड्वर्ग; or, more probably, = the five senses + *manas*: see B. and R., loc. cit.

p. 89, v. 130 and n. 4 (text, p. 95). This verse is quoted (with variants विनिश्चित्य and वशे) from *Mahābhārata*, v, 1014 (= v, 33. 44). Compare also *Buddhacarita*, ii, v. 41—

एकं निनिन्दे स जुगोप सप्त
सप्तैव तत्याज ररच पञ्च ।
प्राप त्रिवर्गं बुबुधे त्रिवर्गं
जज्ञे द्विवर्गं प्रजहौ द्विवर्गम् ॥

p. 90, v. 140 (text, p. 96). *Einige freilich ziehen das Almosen vor*: or does दानं केचिद्विजानते mean “only some (few) understand giving”? The meaning “prefer” seems not evidenced in connexion with *viññā*.

p. 92, l. 5 (text, p. 98, l. 5). *Vom Schicksal zum Unverstand getrieben*: निमित्तप्रचोदिताकुशला = “mishap being suggested by the occurrence (or by an omen)”.

p. 92, ll. 37–8 (text, p. 99, l. 1). *Dein Auge ist die Weisheit*: perhaps rather “you have the eye of Wisdom”.

p. 93, v. 147 (text, p. 99). *Gerät auf abwege* [*Wörtlich*

ist krummgängig]: “go bowed down,” like a fettered prisoner.

p. 93, l. 27 (text, p. 99, ll. 21–2). *Die Augen langsam öffne*: अक्षिणी निमीलयामि is, however, “I close my eyes” (resignedly, giving up such preferences). Cf. B. and R., s.v. मील + नि, and *Harṣacarita* (Bombay, 1892), p. 286, ll. 5–6, सर्वमक्षिणी निमील्य सोढव्यममूढेन मर्त्यधर्मणा.

p. 96, v. 154 (text, p. 103). *Kein besseres Samenkorn und keinen besseren Dünger*: but in connexion with मन्त्राणां we must assign to बीज and उच्चरण (उच्चारण) their technical senses.

p. 97, v. 156 (text, p. 104). *Dem nicht*: why not translate कस्य as an interrogative, महोत्सवकल्याः being the predicate?

p. 98, v. 164 and n. 2 (text, p. 105). This verse is from the *Mahābhārata*, xi, 2. 3; xii, 27. 31, 330. 20; xiv, 44. 19.

p. 102, ll. 4 seq. (text, p. 109, ll. 2 seq.). These officials are named in the same order in the *Arthasāstra*, i, 8 (p. 20, ll. 12–14): the functions of the संनिधातृ, “revenue-officer,” are described in ii, 23, pp. 57 seq., and those of the समाहर्तृ, “officer of works,” in ii, 24, pp. 59 seq. The अन्तर्वेशिक, who was in charge of the guard of the royal apartments, is mentioned p. 41, l. 7, and p. 252, l. 7.

p. 105, v. 13 and n. 1 (text, p. 111). *Wer durch seine Siege vereinsamt ist* (= *Wer Pyrrhussiege erfochten hat*): य एकतरतां गत्वा जयी = the victor in a contest which has been doubtful and might have inclined to either side (एकतर).

p. 108, ll. 35–36 (text, p. 115, l. 19). *Besitzest geistliches und weltliches Wissen*: or is ज्ञानविज्ञान = “knowledge and science”?

p. 109, ll. 21–2 (text, p. 116, l. 9). *Da sein Leben aus ihm gezogen war*: निष्कृष्टायुः = “straining his powers to the utmost”?

p. 109, l. 28 (text, p. 116, l. 13). *Ganz deutlich merkte :* निपुणं साधयित्वा = "clearly (or cleverly) inferred" ?

p. 110, v. 50 (text, p. 117). *Durch den Vorwand des Kaninchens :* rather, "des Mondes," शशिनो.

p. 115, n. 7 (text, p. 123). *Wir Brahmanen :* but *ye yajāmahe* (an oft-quoted phrase) means the *yajamāna* and his friends.

p. 136, v. 134 (text, p. 144). *Viele Erhebungen zunichte gemacht hat :* in regard to the *Pisācī* (properly = "will o' the wisp", "Irrlicht"), बह्वच्छायविकारिणी will mean "taking various tall shapes".

p. 137, v. 139 (text, p. 145). *Verstellung und Würde trägt :* गाम्भीर्य = "depth", "concealment of thoughts". The word वज्रदंष्ट्रा refers very possibly to the jaws of death, often represented with open jaws and large teeth (like *Kālī*).

p. 140, ll. 7-8 (text, p. 148, l. 4). *Valīvananaka* ["*Faltengesicht*"] : with this very apt name compare Juvenal, x, 193-5, *rugas quales . . . in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.*

p. 148, l. 14 (text, p. 156, l. 8). *Hoherfreut :* more exactly, "with great desire"; cf. text, 68, l. 14, where Dr. Hertel translates, "ersehne ich innigst [wörtlich : "mit vielen Wünschen]," and 152, l. 7.

p. 149, ll. 4-5 (text, p. 157, l. 4). *War bei Tag[esanbruch] aus dem Schläfe erwacht :* but read दिवामुप्तप्रतिबुद्ध = दिवास्वाप° in one word, "awoke from a siesta" (or "nap").

GLOSSARY.

अनुप्रवेश (p. 109, l. 13); cf. °प्रविश्य (text, p. 11, l. 6, and *Harṣacarita*, p. 152, l. 4).

अपार्थक (p. 150, l. 11), "schädlich." Rather, "useless," "purposeless" (B. and R., "sinnlos"). So *Harṣacarita* (Bombay, 1892), p. 268, l. 1.

आत्ययिक (pp. 109, ll. 1 and 5, 110, l. 4, 115, l. 7), "Gefahr für das Bestehen des Reiches," and adj. It seems

unnecessary to lay stress upon the idea of danger; the sense of "urgent" (B. and R. "dringend") is sufficient. B. and R.'s "*wobei periculum in mora est*" is explanation, and for *periculum* we might substitute *incommodum*. The word occurs in the Sohgaure Plate inscription (JRAS., 1907, pp. 509 sqq.) and in the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 29, l. 12, a passage which the *Tantrākhyāyika* (p. 109, ll. 1 and 5-6) has in view.

आनुषङ्गिक (p. 7, l. 15), "sich anschliessend, nachgehend." So also B. and R., but I venture to suggest that the meaning intended is *accidental* concomitance or consecution, i.e. coincidence. Cf. *Harṣacarita*, p. 31, l. 6, **अनुषङ्गः प्रसङ्गः**

आसार (p. 7, l. 1) occurs several times in the *Arthaśāstra* as denoting a division of an army, e.g. pp. 277, l. 14, 283, l. 11, 362, l. 18, 368, ll. 11-12 (**प्रत्यासार**), 404, l. 1 (**निरासारः सासारो वा**). 405, l. 2.

एकपादे (p. 109, l. 16), "plötzlich." Read **एकपदे** ?

कारणं (p. 152, l. 6), "Unternehmen." Or has the word here only the same sense as in **मम कारणे**, etc. ?

कर्मान्तिक (p. 109, l. 3), "Reichsbaumeister" ? Cf. B. and R., s.v. **कर्मान्त**, and *Arthaśāstra*, **आकरकर्मान्तप्रवर्तन**, title of a chapter (i, 30).

परिपन्थिन् (iii, v. 7) occurs also in the *Bālarāmāyana* (see the smaller St. Petersburg lexicon) and the *Harṣacarita*, p. 208, l. 4.

पादतले (p. 162, l. 5), "Fussboden." But is not **पादतले** = "at his feet" ?

पार्ष्णिद्याह (p. 7, l. 1). For other instances see the *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 272, l. 1, 299, **पञ्चिन्ता**, title of c. 117 (pp. 299-303); cf. p. 281, l. 11.

पुरातन (p. 131, l. 18), "den früheren Zustand besitzend." But the text is **पुरातनमिव**.

पुरुषक and **वर्तुला** (p. 123, l. 2), "eine Observanz." But the corrupt passage **वर्तुलापुरुषक** contains, no doubt, the word **तुलापुरुष**, which is known from other sources.

प्रत्यक्षदर्शनां (p. 20, l. 16), "den Augenschein liefernd." But is not the word a Bahuvrihi?

प्रदेष्टु (p. 109, l. 2), "Anweiser." The word occurs *Arthasāstra*, p. 20, l. 12, in the same connexion.

महोदय (ii, v. 125), "Herr Fürst." Is not the meaning merely "great man"?

व्युत्थान (ii, v. 18), "Befreiung von den Pflichten," "Unabhängigkeit." But cf. व्युत्थानं . समाधिश्चालनं (*Harṣa-carita*, p. 135, ll. 1 and 20), and B. and R., s.v.

षड्वर्ग (ii, v. 129) = षडङ्ग. Is it not rather = षडिन्द्रिय or षड्व्यसन? See my note *supra*.

समाहर्तृ, सन्निधातृ (p. 109, l. 2). See my note *supra*.

स्थानीय (p. 6, l. 13). In the *Arthasāstra*, p. 46, l. 3, the neuter स्थानीयं is explained as the head-quarters of a district of 800 villages.

Add स्वयंग्राहिण p. 6, l. 16 (स्वयंग्राह occurs in ii, v. 124).

PRATIKAS.

I append a list of the verses which with the aid of Aufrecht's indices I have traced in other works. A large proportion of them recur in the *Mahābhārata*, and these will have an interest for the history of that work, as well as for that of the *Tantrākhyāyika*. One verse seems to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The remaining citations, from anthologies, etc., of later date than the *Tantrākhyāyika*, may be helpful in connexion with textual questions.

Among the abbreviations the following may need explanation:—

Skm. = *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (Aufrecht MS.);

Sbhv. = *Subhāṣitāvalī*;

Śp. = *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*;

S.-Muktāv. = *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī* (Aufrecht MS.);

S.-Saṃcaya = *Subhāṣita-saṃcaya* (Aufrecht MS.).

I have marked with * works quoted from MSS., and with † the citations already supplied by Professor Franke and Professor Lanman (Hertel, trans., pp. 146–7).

arthena hi vihinasya, ii, 53 = *Rāmāy.* vi, 83. 33.
 arthebhyo hi pravṛddhebhyaś, Anh. i, 57 = *Rāmāy.* vi, 83. 32.
 atyucchrīte mantriṇi pārthive, i, 64 = *Mudrārākṣasa*, 91.
 anāgatavidhātā ca, i, 128 = *Mbh.* xii, 137. 1 and 20.
 apy unmattāt pralapato, ii, 144 = *Mbh.* v, 34. 32.
 avyavasāyīnam alasam, ii, 97 = *Sbhv.* 2848.
 ahitahitavicāraśūnyabuddhes, i, 12 = *Sbhv.* 3444.
 †ātmanas capalo nāsti, ii, 18 = *Mbh.* xii, 138. 149-50.
 ārādhyamāno bahubhiḥ pra°, i, 93 = *Sbhv.* 426, 3231.
 āśāṃ kālavatīm kuryāt, ii, 126 = *Mbh.* i, 140. 88, xii,
 140. 32.

āsannam eva nrpatir bha°, i, 18 = *Śp.* 1381, **S.-Muktāv.*
 xxi, 14, *Vetālap.* (Uhle), p. 132.

iṣṭo vā sukrtaśatopalālito, ii, 27 = *Sbhv.* 437.

uttiṣṭha kṣaṇam ekam, ii, 60 = **Skm.* v, 236, *Sbhv.* 3195.

utsāhasampannam adirgha°, ii, 96 = *Sbhv.* 315, **S.-Samcaya.* xv, 1.

udirito 'rthaḥ paśunāpi, i, 16 = *Śp.* 200, **S.-Muktāv.*
 ix, 15, *Vetālap.* (Uhle), p. 8, *Siṃhāsanad.* (Weber), p. 395.

ṛṇaśeṣam agniśeṣam, iii, 114 = *Mbh.* xii, 140. 58.

ekaṃ hanyān na vā hanyād, iii, 123. Cf. *Mbh.* v, 33. 43.

ekayā dve vinirjitya, ii, 130 = *Mbh.* v, 33. 44.

ekasya duḥkhasya na yāvad, ii, 160 = *Mahānātaka*,
 iv, 40 (210).

ekākini vanavāsiny, i, 4 = *Sbhv.* 594.

kadarthitasyāpi hi dhairyavṛtter, i, 31 = *Bhartṛ.* ii, 75,
Sbhv. 316. 528, *Śp.* 227.

kanakabhūṣaṇasaṃgrahaṇocito, i, 36 = **Skm.* iv, 76,
Sbhv. 898.

kalpayati yena vṛttim, i, 24 = *Sbhv.* 2892.

kṛtaśatam asatsu naṣṭam, iv, 17 = *Sbhv.* 340.

ko 'rthān prāpya na garvito, i, 90 = **Skm.* v, 176, *Sbhv.*
 3470, *Śp.* 1534.

ko 'haṃ kau deśakālau, iii, 121 = *Śp.* 1404.

guṇā guṇajñeṣu guṇibhavanti, i, 100 = *Sbhv.* 260, *Sp.*
 295, *Gaṇar.*

guror apy avaliptasya, i, 121 = *Mbh.* i, 140. 54, v, 178. 48, xii, 57. 7, 140. 48, *Rāmāy.* ii, 21. 13.

jīvitam ca śarīram ca, ii, 105 = *Mbh.* xii, 224. 7, cf. xii, 174. 22.

tānindriyāṇy avikalāni, ii, 61 = *Bhartr.* Suppl. 5, *Bhojaprabandha*.

trṇāni nonmūlayati pra°, i, 52 = *Sbhv.* 261.

tyajanti mitrāṇi dhanair vihinam, ii, 54 = **S.-Muktāv.* iv, 13.

tyajed ekaṃ kulasyārthe, i, 118 = *Mbh.* ii, 62. 11, v, 37. 17, 128. 49.

dattvā yācanti puruṣā, ii, 91 = *Mbh.* iv, 20. 6.

dānād damo viśiṣṭo vai, ii, 140 = *Mbh.* xiii, 75. 15.

dānena tulyo vidhir, ii, 141 = **S.-Muktāv.* ix, 49.

dinā dinamukhair yadi, ii, 76 = *Bhartr.* iii, 22, *Sbhv.* 3196.

dūrād ucchritapāṇir ārdra°, i, 108 = **Skm.* v, 177, *Sbhv.* 342.

deśam balaṃ kālam upāyam, iii, 25 = *Sbhv.* 2913, **S.-Muktāv.* iv, 1.

dvīpād anyasmād api, ii, 139 = *Ratnāvalī*, 7, quoted *Dhvanyāl*, p. 114, *Daśurūpa*. i, 24, iii, 3, *Śp.* 441, etc.

†dharma eva hato hanti, iii, 60 = *Mbh.* iii, 313. 128.

na gopradānam na mahīpradānam, i, 117 = *Vetālap.* (Uhle), p. 51.

na mantrabalavīryeṇa, ii, 119 = *Mbh.* xii, 226. 20.

naṣṭam apātre dānam, i, 104 = *Sbhv.* 341.

†nāsti jātyā ripur nāma, ii, 33 = *Mbh.* xii, 138. 139, 140. 51.

nimittam uddiśya hi yaḥ, i, 94 = *Ghaṭakarpara Nītisāra*, 10, *Sbhv.* 230, *Śp.* 360.

nirdravyo hriyam eti, ii, 67 = *Alaṃkāratilaka*, p. 25.

nṛpaḥ kāmāśakto gaṇayati, i, 83 = *Śp.* 1390.

naivākṛtiḥ phalati naiva, ii, 115 = *Bhartr.* ii, 94, *Sbhv.* 3100, **S.-Muktāv.* viii, 24.

prāyeṇa kulānvitam, i, 177 = *Sbhv.* 3468.

phalāny amṛtakalpāni, Anh. iv, 19 (only so far) = *Rāmāy.* iii, 73. 6 and 10.

- priyaṃ brūyād akṛpaṇaś, ii, 128 = *Mbh.* xii, 70, 4.
 balopapanno 'pi hi buddhi°, iii, 67 = *Sbhv.* 2924.
 bahavaḥ paṇḍitāḥ kṣudrās, i, 116 = *Mbh.* xii, 111, 63.
 †bādhyante na hy aviśvastā, ii, 34 = *Mbh.* xii, 138, 197.
 mantramūlaṃ hi vijayaṃ, iii, 36 = *Rāmāy.* vi, 6, 5.
 mitraṃ vā bandhuṃ vā, iv, 10 = *Sbhv.* 2893.
 yaj jīvyate kṣaṇam api, i, 10 = *Śp.* 1481.
 yatnād api kaḥ paśyec, i, 159 = *Sbhv.* 964, *Śp.* 873.
 yathā dhenusahasreṣu, ii, 106 = *Mbh.* xii, 151, 16, 322, 16,
 xiii, 7, 22.
 yathodayagirer dravyaṃ, ii, 153 = *Mbh.* xii, 293, 4.
 yad akāryam akāryam eva, i, 180 = *Sbhv.* 2903.
 yayor eva samaṃ vittaṃ, iii, 87 = *Mbh.* i, 131, 10.
 yasmāc ca yena ca yadā ca, ii, 5 = **S.-Muktāv.* viii, 29.
 yasyārthas tasya mitrāṇi, ii, 52 = *Mbh.* xii, 8, 19, *Rāmāy.*
 vi, 83, 35.
 †yādṛśais sannivasate, ii, 151 = *Mbh.* v, 36, 13, xii, 299, 32.
 yo na dadāti na bhunkte, ii, 110 = *Śp.* 387.
 rājā ghrṇī brāhmaṇas, i, 183 = *Śp.* 1541.
 rāmapravrajanaṃ baler, iii, 136 = *Bhojapr.* 23.
 rogī cirapravāsī parānna°, ii, 72 = *Sbhv.* 3184, *Śp.* 404.
 labdhavyāny eva labhate, ii, 120 = *Mbh.* xii, 226, 22.
 lavaṇajalāntā nadyas, i, 169 = *Bhartṛ.* ii, 71.
 lāṅgūlacālanam adhaś, i, 8 = *Sbhv.* 641.
 varam yuktaṃ maunaṃ, ii, 70 = *Padyasaṃgraha*, 10.
 varam ahimukhe krodhāviṣṭe, ii, 68 = *Sbhv.* 456, *Śp.* 255.
 vināpy arthair prājñas, ii, 99 = *Sbhv.* 535.
 vimānanā duṣcaritānukirtanam, ii, 44 = *Sbhv.* 2922.
 vyomaikāntaracāriṇo, ii, 9 = **Sk.* v, 356, **S.-Saṃcaya*,
 iv, 2, *Vetālap.* (Uhle), p. 59, *Aṣṭaratna*, 2, etc.
 śaśidivākarayor grahapīḍanaṃ, ii, 8 = *Sbhv.* 3125,
 **S.-Saṃcaya*, ii, 5, *Sarasvatik.* v, etc.
 śūnyam aputrasya grhaṃ, ii, 59 = *Mṛcchakatikā*, p. 2.
 śrutena buddhir vyasanena, iii, 140 = *Kāvyaṇyaprakāśa ad*
 vii, 9, **S.-Saṃcaya*, xv, 4.
 saṃgrāme praharaṇasaṃkaṭe, ii, 134 = *Sbhv.* 3129.

- śrūyate hi kapotena, iii, 78 = *Rāmāy.* vi, 18. 24.
 satam matam atikramya, i, 73 = *Mbh.* v, 124. 26.
 samtāpo na khalu nareṇa, ii, 131 = *Sbhv.* 3128.
 sarvathā dharmamūlo 'rtho, ii, 104 = *Sbhv.* 2813.
 sarvas sarvaṃ na jānāti, ii, 143 = *Mbh.* iii, 72. 8.
 sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ, ii, 165 = *Mbh.* xi, 2. 3, xii, 27. 31,
 330. 20, xiv, 44. 19, *Rāmāy.* ii, 105. 16, vii, 52. 11.
 sahāyabandhanā hy arthās, iii, 24 = *Mbh.* v, 37. 38.
 supuṣpitas syād aphalaḥ, ii, 127 = *Mbh.* i, 140. 68, v, 34. 24,
 xii, 140. 31.
 supūrā vai kunadikā, i, 11 = *Mbh.* v, 133, 9.
 suhrd ayam iti durjane 'sti, ii, 26 = *Sbhv.* 3066.
 suhrdām upakārakāraṇād, i, 6 = *Sbhv.* 2898.
 suhrdi nirantaracitte, ii, 158 = **S.-Muktāv.* ix, 13,
Vetālap. (Uhle), p. 20.
 svalpaṃ snāyuvāsāvasakamalinam, i, 7 = *Bharr.* ii, 23.
 hutāsajvālābhe sthitavati, i, 110 = **Sk.* iv, 247, *Sbhv.*
 1917.

F. W. THOMAS.

DER ÄLTERE VEDĀNTA : GESCHICHTE, KRITIK UND LEHRE.
 Von MAX WALLESER. Heidelberg, 1910. Carl
 Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

In his previous work, *Die philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus*, Dr. Walleser has shown that he possesses a scholarly knowledge both of modern philosophy and of ancient Hindu thought, and that he can apply the former to the analysis of the latter with skill and judgment. The present book is distinguished by the same qualities. It is a welcome addition to the literature of the Vedānta, and will doubtless be indispensable for the critical study of Vedantic theories.

By the term "der ältere Vedānta" Dr. Walleser designates the teachings of the Kārikā ascribed to Gaudapāda upon the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, which he expounds in the light of the commentary of Śaṅkara

and the gloss of Ānandajñāna. At the outset he denies the identity of this Gauḍapāda with the writer of the same name to whom is ascribed the Sāṃkhya-kārikā. He believes that the name *Gauḍapāda* is a figment, made up from the title of the book *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā*, "summary-verses consisting in *pādas* of the Gauḍa school" (pp. 1, 6, 11). This is of course possible, but the evidence adduced is very inconclusive. *Prima facie* the name *Gauḍapāda* is exactly parallel to *Dramiḍā-cārya*; and the word *pāda*, properly an honorific ending, is often applied to form titles of individuals, e.g. Pūjyapāda. This seems to us to be the natural explanation of the name; and the quotations adduced by Dr. Walleser do not prove his case.

Dr. Walleser's chief conclusions on the text itself are as follows. The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad itself is but little, if at all, older than the Kārikā or Gauḍapādīya attached to it, which was existent as early as c. 550 A.D., the period to which we may ascribe the beginning of the Vedantic philosophy; "man darf also wohl annehmen, dass die Zusammengehörigkeit von Upaniṣad und Kommentar von vornherein bestand" (pp. 5, 19). The Gauḍapādīya is the only surviving text of the older Vedānta; no other is mentioned in the earlier Buddhist literature, and everything suggests that the Vedānta was scholastically formulated in it soon after the composition of the specifically Vedantic Upaniṣads, e.g. the Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, and Śvetāśvatara; the Sūtras are later. The Gauḍapādīya, the anonymous handbook of the schoolmen of Gaur, is in spirit closely connected with the great *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, which is probably the reason for the traditional association of the latter with "Gauḍapāda" as his spiritual grandson (pp. 22-3).¹

These conclusions, if true, are of far-reaching importance,

¹ Dr. Walleser, however, doubts the identity of this Śaṅkara with the author of the commentary on the Gauḍapādīya (p. 55, note).

and we must admire the learning and ingenuity with which they are propounded. But "Bedenken" suggest themselves at once. If "Vedānta" means only the schools of the Gaudapādiya and Śaṅkara, it is doubtless right to say that the Kārikā is the sole monument of the "earlier Vedānta". But what if, as we believe, it means much more? "Vedānta" is synonymous with "Upaniṣad"; each school believed that its doctrine was the natural interpretation of the Upaniṣads. The Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas in particular are entitled to protest against this arbitrary restriction of the term, and to demand that the study of "the earlier Vedānta" shall take account of their origins. The Śvetāśvatara is not a "Vedantic" Upaniṣad in Dr. Walleser's sense; it is a forerunner of the Śaiva schools, who are also Vedantic. And, lastly, the conclusion that the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad is hardly, if at all, older than its Kārikā lacks real evidence; more than one Sanskrit text has been incorporated in accretions of much later age.

However, we may provisionally agree to accept Dr. Walleser's restriction of the term "Vedānta"; we have now to see how he accounts for the rise of this particular school. His explanation is as follows. The "Vedānta" is based upon a doctrine of illusion and negativism, which is summed up in its theory of "Māyā". Now the latter is quite foreign to older Upaniṣads, and appears to be derived from Buddhist sources. Notably the fourth book of the Gaudapādiya attacks the realistic doctrines of both the Sāṃkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas, and asserts its doctrines of monism, illusion, and negativism in language strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist schools (p. 24). In the age of Nāgārjuna (the second-third centuries) Indian logic was still in a rudimentary state. Nāgārjuna developed the dialectical method of *prasaṅga* for establishing negation, which led in the hands of his school to absolute negativism. This method was followed by Brahman controversialists, the more readily since in

their effort to work out their monistic theory into a consistent system the doctors of the Upaniṣads had long admitted the unrcality of the phenomenal world. Hence the Vedānta in its oldest form is an organic combination, in which one side of later Buddhism, its negativistic theory of cognition and logic in general, is assimilated with the traditional Upaniṣadic monism, the doctrine that all is One, Self, Brahma; and this union of ideas first appears in the Gaudapādiya (p. 33).

In this theory of the origin of the Vedānta there is much that commends itself to consideration. Yet we must confess to doubts on some points. Is the doctrine of Māyā "durchaus fremd" to the older Upaniṣads? True, they have not worked it out in the sense of the "Vedāntā", and they do not use the word *māyā* before the Śvetāśvatara. Yet it is quite possible that from their loose idealistic language some thinkers drew "illusionistic-negativistic" conclusions before the Buddhists appeared. We are still of opinion that the Māyā-theory was derived from the teaching of an Upaniṣadic school, though perhaps this school was not the truest to orthodox tradition. On the other hand, there can be no doubt, especially after Dr. Walleser's studies, that the later representatives of this school were strongly influenced in the negative side of their doctrine by the absolute negativism of Buddhism, while preserving the positive side of their tradition, the belief in the reality of the transcendental subject.

In the second half of his book Dr. Walleser enters upon less debatable ground. Here he analyses and elucidates with great ability the teachings of the second book of the Gaudapādiya on the cardinal subjects of Vedānta, such as the unreality of phenomenal experience in waking and sleeping, Vedantic epistemology, the Self or absolute Ego in its relation as substrate and cause of phenomenal consciousness, etc. It must suffice here to say that his exposition is sound and scholarly, and his criticism just.

While he shows with perfect fairness the real achievements of the Vedānta, he equally reveals its weakness from the standpoint of modern idealism and its necessary ultimate degeneration into indifferentism.

Among the somewhat numerous printer's errors two especially call for notice. On p. 34, l. 6, *v. Chr.* should be corrected to *n. Chr.*, and on p. 53, l. 20, *parimāṇa* should be *pariṇāma*.

L. D. BARNETT.

INTRODUCTION À L'HISTOIRE DES MONGOLS DE FADL
ALLAH RASHID ED-DIN. Par E. BLOCHET. Leyden,
E. J. Brill ; London, Luzac & Co.

This book is the twelfth volume published in the E. J. W. Gibb's Memorial Series. It consists of a number of papers which the student of Chinese, Persian, or Mongol history will find interesting. As the title indicates, it is intended to be introductory to the *History of the Mongols* by Rashid ed-Din, a most valuable and important authority, one of the most noteworthy of the Persian historians. These historians at Tabriz, under the Mongol princes, have given us in their writings accounts of the China of that period, the time of the Yuan, or Mongol, Dynasty. Rashid ed-Din is one of the mediaeval writers who mentions Zaitûn, or Zayton, the port near Amoy, over which discussion has been rife as to whether it was Chwanchow or Changchow.

The translation of the Persian text of this historiographer having already either partly appeared or being about to appear, the present work has taken up that portion which has never been edited, viz., the history of the Mongols in both China and Persia for a period commencing after the death of Chinghis Khan.

The readers of this book will find many accounts of histories and Persian works of various kinds—prose and

poetical—belonging to the literary cycle of the Jami et-Tawarikh of Rashid. A roll of all the writers referred to would make a long chronicle. It is a storehouse of information on works connected with the period, or bearing any relation to Rashid's labours; for this erudite work is full of information on this epoch and subsequent ones, and replete with critical notes and statements, all bearing more or less on the labours and the monumental work of Rashid, and the periods of which he writes. Numerous extracts are given in the notes from Persian sources, accompanied by translations, and every now and then excerpts from Chinese works for the elucidation of some point or other, such as the Yuan Shi and other histories.

By this translation the locked-up treasures of the Persian originals are now thrown open to the student of Mongol events whose knowledge hitherto did not extend further than the Chinese histories. The Persian and the Chinese historians are complementary, the one to the other; the former note the events taking place in Mongolia and amongst the Turks, whilst the latter touch on subjects unknown or but imperfectly known to the Persian, such as the relations of China with the cluster of countries to the south-east. The indebtedness of the Persian to the Chinese historians as well as to other sources is shown. The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, spent some months in Persia, and there are several passages in Rashid ed-Din's histories, as well as Wassáf's, which there is but little doubt were derived from information supplied by him.

The Persian chroniclers are not always reliable. One of their own historians says of them that they have no notion of what passed in China after Timur's reign; and their ignorance was shared pretty well by the people. To this day it appears that not only amongst the mass but even amongst well-educated Persians the idea is

prevalent that descendants of Jenghiz Khan are still occupants of the Chinese throne, so wide-spread across Asia was the power of that great Mongol potentate. M. Blochet exposes the pretensions of some of these Persian, or Mongol, historians, who desire in their accounts to gain credit for some clan as being near akin to the emperors of the mighty empire of China.

Most obscure is the early history of the Mongols. These nomad tribes of Central Asia rise out of the almost unknown. Legend is busy, of course, with their origin. The early progenitors of the Mongols, it is said, were a grizzly wolf, or a blue wolf Ssanang Ssetzen says, and whitish bitch. Anyhow, the wolfish nature of the remote ancestor showed itself in the ferociousness of his descendants in their early days.

M. Blochet tells us that it was not the lust of conquest so much that impelled the hordes of Asiatic nomads on the rich countries of Europe and China, as the fixed idea that, as there was but one God in Heaven, so there was but one sovereign on earth to whom all should submit and acknowledge as suzerain. This principle animated Batu and his successors when they put Russia to fire and sword.

The author has found some further information concerning the life of Rashid ed-Din which was unknown to the indefatigable and learned Quatremère, and which is contained in a Persian work. He also touches on certain points which he believes will help to elucidate the evolution of the Mongol Empire, and to explain its rapid decay in China, for, as is well known, the emperors of the Yuan Dynasty only sat eighty-nine years on the Dragon Throne. The story is told of a series of intrigues which resulted eventually in the downfall and death of Rashid.

The argument that Rashid was at least of Jewish descent is stated, the general opinion in Persia being that

he was a Hebrew, hence the son of Timur had his bones transferred to a Jewish cemetery. This view, however, is quite opposed to the opinion of Quatremère. M. Blochet says: "C'est là une question à peu près insoluble et pour laquelle il est facile de trouver des arguments sérieux dans les deux sens."

The author devotes some space to proving that Rashid was a plagiarist, and the sources of the *Jami et-Tawarikh* are traced. He sums up as follows: "En résumé, on voit maintenant que la *Djami el tévarikh*, la 'Somme des Chroniques', se compose de quatre ouvrages historiques." "Il n'y a guères à douter qu'Abd Allah el-Kashani fût . . . le véritable auteur." In this connection M. Blochet naturally expresses surprise how one man could have the time to acquire such an amount of varied science and find time to write the thousands of pages in folio which his works contain, whether historical, religious, or philosophical, as well as attend to all his duties.

M. Blochet says, "six princes mongol ont porté le titre impérial après Timour," but this statement leaves out of count Yu Chi (Achakpa), Ming Tsung (Hosila), and Ning Tsung (Ile Chepe). This is scarcely "parfaitement exact". Four of the nine issued no coins, to be sure, but all nine had the *nien hao*, or titles of reign, assigned to them. Doubtless the three omitted have been considered by the Persians as negligible quantities, for Yu Chi and Ning Tsung were but boys. Only a year each is given to them in the Chinese dynastic tables, and Ming Tsung died in a month's time.

M. Blochet enlarges upon the diplomatic relations that existed between the extremes of the Mongol Empire in Eastern and Western Asia. Kublai Khan was the suzerain lord, and a Persian monarch waited for his confirmation before assuming the full regal position. From Houlagu to Arghun-Khan all Persian rulers were in the position of the great Khan's Lieutenant-Governors. Down to the

last hour the Mongol emperors of China looked upon Persia as a part of their immense dominions. The Ming emperor, even in the time of Shah Rukh, considered himself as the suzerain lord of these distant parts of the world.

Constant ambassages travelled between China and Persia, and this accounts for the Chinese influence exercised on Persian paintings (and doubtless also, we should think, on Persian ceramics), but the Persian historians with one exception have ignored the dispatch of their tribute-bearers to the Son of Heaven—naturally enough, as the humiliation of it was great.

J. DYER BALL.

DESCRIPTION OF CHINESE POTTERY AND PORCELAIN.

Being a translation of the *Tao Shuo*. With introduction, notes, and bibliography. By STEPHEN W. BUSHELL. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1910.

The late Dr. Bushell was an authority on Chinese art, curios, coins, and porcelain. Stationed for many years, some thirty, at the British Legation in Peking, he made a good use of the opportunities which presented themselves for acquiring an extensive knowledge on these interesting subjects.

It is much to be regretted that he never published a work on Chinese numismatics, though short articles, notes, or answers to queries on the subject by him may be found scattered through the pages of the *China Review* and other magazines, etc.

It was otherwise with porcelain. A good use was made of his acquaintance with Chinese ceramics in different articles and books written by him. We may mention amongst them an article on "Chinese Porcelain before the Present Dynasty", also the chapter on "Pottery and Porcelain" in the two volume book entitled *Chinese Art*,

which is freely illustrated with examples from the South Kensington Museum, while another noteworthy production is the letterpress in a volume on *Oriental Ceramic Art*. This last was produced in America at a cost of £50,000, it is said : the price was £100 a copy, and the edition was limited to 500 copies. It took about seven years to produce, and some of the plates which illustrated it passed forty-four times through the press.

The present work is a translation of a Chinese book, considered by Chinese connoisseurs to be the chief authority on Chinese ceramics. This work, originally published in A.D. 1774, filled a gap in Chinese literature, as it was the first special book written on the subject. The author was an official who carried on a personal investigation of the processes employed in the manufacture of porcelain at the famous Imperial factories at Ching-tê chên, as well as at the other private potteries there, making up the number of the "three thousand furnaces" which the poet tells us

"glow
Incessantly, and fill the air
With smoke uprising, gyre on gyre,
And painted by the lurid glare
Of jets and flashes of red fire".

The Chinese author's book consists of a running commentary on a series of extracts made from other books. Some idea of his diligence in thus culling excerpts may be gathered from the number of volumes that have been referred to by him; for Dr. Bushell has given a bibliographical list which contains 105 of them, but is limited to the principal ones only. The introduction prepared by the English translator adds much to the interest of the book, as also do the two long valuable letters by the Jesuit missionary, Père d'Entrecolles, written in 1712 and 1722. These dissipated the absurd notion prevalent in Europe as to the process employed in the manufacture

of porcelain, for they contained detailed accounts of it in the K'ang-hsi period at Ching-tê chên, which place the worthy father often visited. There are no Chinese characters given in the English translation, which is rather a drawback, though, of course, printed in England the inclusion of these would have added seriously to the cost of publication.

The want of an index to the book, though to be regretted, is perhaps of less moment as the Chinese work is divided into books and sections. The first book, "Description of Modern Ware," is almost entirely taken up with a description of the illustrations; these unfortunately do not appear in the English translation. This drawback is remedied to a certain extent in a note referring readers to other books on Chinese porcelain containing illustrations similar in style. The second book is entitled "Description of Ancient Ware", the third "Description of Ming Ware", while the remaining three books are headed "Description of Specimens".

Chinese authors are strong on prefaces, and the present volume has no less than four, each, *more Sinico*, written by a different hand.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the Chinese were the inventors of porcelain. No one disputes this, though some other inventions, at one time accredited to them, have been proved to have had other sources of origin.

The Chinese have never been above taking from other nations things that were indubitably of utility to them, and thus we find that a few of the designs used in the decoration of porcelain in China were derived from the West, and the Chinese were indebted to the Arabs for cobalt blue. They repaid any slight borrowings of the sort with interest, as their beautiful ware has been widespread not only in the modern world but also in mediaeval times. It went to India, Persia, and other countries on the south-west of Asia, Egypt, and the east of Africa.

It was from Egypt that Chinese porcelain seems to have reached Europe. Marco Polo said of it that it was "exported all over the world".

The bronze age, if one may so style it, of Chinese decorative art has supplied many of the beautiful and unique forms and shapes now seen in Chinese porcelain, and "porcelain enamelled in colours was painted in imitation of brocaded silks".

The invention of pottery, according to the Chinese, was in the time of Hwang-ti (B.C. 2698), or, perhaps with more certainty, in the third millennium B.C. The imperceptible gradation of Chinese pottery or faience into porcelain renders it difficult to determine with certainty, the date of the invention of the last. The first mention of it in Chinese official records is in A.D. 621. Dr. Bushell also gives an earlier date, that of 583. Julien's placing of it "entre les années 185 avant et 87 après J.C." is a mistake due to Hsin-p'ing being mentioned in a Chinese work as the place of its invention. There were two places bearing the same name, hence the error.

The definition of what is porcelain is different in China from what it is in England. "A clear resonant note on percussion" is the practical test in the land of its origin. Dr. Bushell was of opinion that there was transparent porcelain as early as the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-905), though some European writers doubt it. He is confirmed in this by the accounts of an Arab traveller in the ninth century.

Another error of Julien's requires correction, and that is his rendering of the Chinese word *ch'ing* by blue in order to be consistent. Anyone familiar with Chinese is aware that this people apply the word to the colour of nature as seen in the green of the foliage and grass on the earth's surface, or blue as visible in the depths of the sky, and when applied to ceramics it covers more

than one shade of colour. It then represents "all shades of clear greens and blues from the olive-green and grass-green of ancient Lung-ch'üan ware to the sapphire blue of more modern monochromes, and the brilliant blue of the blue and white of the hawthorn vases of the reign of K'ang-hsi". What seems like a curious mistake in the book under review, due to a misapprehension of the tones, is on p. 115, where the Chinese for "frogs" is given as "sky chickens". It should be "field chickens".

The Chinese are nothing if not religious, and each trade and calling, sooner or later, has set up a god or a saint for its craft or profession. "The Genius of Fire and Blast" is the god of the potters. The baking of large dragon fish-bowls having failed year after year, the eunuchs in charge inflicted most severe punishments. Doubtless brooding over this trouble the future god leaped into the burning furnace with, of course, the result that the dragon-bowls came out quite perfect.

J. DYER BALL.

INVENTAIRE DESCRIPTIF DES MONUMENTS CAMS DE
L'ANNAM. Par H. PARMENTIER. Paris: Ernest
Leroux, 1909.

The above-mentioned book fittingly continues the series of excellent publications issued under the auspices of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. It comprises two large octavo volumes, the first containing the text and smaller illustrations, the second being a case for the numerous plans and larger illustrations of the architectural monuments described in the first. Taken together they form a very complete record of Cham architecture and sculpture. M. Parmentier has done his work in a most conscientious and minute manner, and with a thorough appreciation of the nature of his task.

The book is really one for experts rather than the general reader, though the latter will find much in it to

interest him. Cham art, as depicted in these pages, is typically Indian in its sources, but has been considerably affected by local conditions, and has developed peculiar characteristics of its own. Its subjects are mainly Śivaite, but local kings and queens, and probably also local divinities, more or less definitely grafted on to the Hindu pantheon, play a considerable part in it. The sculpture, though not as a rule in the first rank of artistic excellence, is often executed with much spirit and deserves more detailed study than I am in a position to give it. The architecture, though inferior to that of Camboja, has a certain solid and rather gloomy magnificence of its own. Both are curious as modifications of Indian types. They have also a somewhat pathetic interest as belonging entirely to a dead past. For an alien race and a different form of civilization now occupy the land, and Cham art has neither a present nor a future. It is only represented by ruins or (worse still) by buildings that have passed into the hands of strangers and have been adapted by them to foreign uses.

But for the researches of French scholars the Cham race would have disappeared at no distant date without leaving any substantial trace of its former grandeur. The civilized world owes a great debt to the painstaking explorers and students who have succeeded, often amidst great difficulties, in rescuing for posterity the relics that remain to remind us of the great past of this interesting people. It would be the height of rashness to attempt to anticipate the verdict of the historical philosopher who, taking the whole world for his province, may some day endeavour to weigh rival civilizations in his balance and estimate their respective values in the development of the human race. Yet to such a synthetic student, if ever he appears (and reads, as he certainly should do, the back numbers of this Journal), I venture to recommend the study of the Cham people as a leading case of one form of civilization

prevailing over another. Their country was formerly, so far as its culture was concerned, a part of India; it is now, from the same point of view, a part of China.

I do not venture to draw any conclusions from this great fact, nor am I competent to enter into a technical criticism of the specimens of art described and illustrated in these pages. I can only recommend the book to all students of Indian art and archæology. They will find many things in it that will interest them.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1630 – 1633. By
WILLIAM FOSTER. Clarendon Press, 1910.

In the volume before us Mr. William Foster carries one stage farther the valuable series of early records on which he has been so long engaged. It presents all the well-known merits of its predecessors; Mr. Foster's great care and his knowledge of the period make him an editor whom it would be hard to equal and impossible to surpass.

The English continue to find themselves threatened at sea by the Portuguese, whose redoubtable admiral, Ruy Freire de Andrada, is still to the fore. On land, however, a sharp lesson was taught by the English to these haughty rivals. On October 14, 1630, a small body of English sailors drove a superior number of Portuguese into the sea at Sûrat, and slaughtered many of them without losing more than one man, and he died from heat apoplexy.

The volume contains much interesting matter on the course of trade, the nature and prices of the goods exported, with their curious, uncouth names, and the various inland marts to which the agents were sent, extending as far as Patna in one direction and Samāna (in the Punjab) in the other. The trade on the Coromandel coast began to prosper through careful nursing at Armagon and Masulipatam. In 1633 initial efforts were made to open up the Bengal trade

by way of Balasore, but at this stage it was far from promising to assume the preponderance it afterwards attained. As usual, the Company was troubled by the dissensions of its own servants; while its unceasing efforts to suppress private trading were crowned with little success. Unkindest cut of all, their monopoly was threatened by an interloper sailing under King Charles' auspices. The manners and customs of the Company's servants at Sūrāt have a lurid light thrown on them by the protest of a certain Richard Boothby, but it may be permitted us to take *cum grano* the angry comments of a malcontent. In those early days the Mogul governors of Sūrāt and their subordinates were a constant source of trouble, and as we know, this evil continued until the day when, as much from this cause as any other, the trade of Sūrāt was killed, and Bombay rose upon its ruins. It was during these years that the East India Company's servants at Sūrāt altered their style from "Agents" to that of "President in Council".

As was the case in previous volumes, many valuable sidelights are thrown on the general history of the country. The new emperor (i.e. Shāhjahān, s. 1627) had "cut off all the blood royall" to secure himself, and had begun to depress and keep in order the great nobles. We have glimpses of Shāhjahān's campaign in the Dakhin, of which the objects were solidifying his conquest of the Ahmadnagar State and obtaining cessions from Gulkanda and Bijāpur. There is a graphic reference on p. 159 to the heroic death of Khān Jahān, Lodī, after his rebellion and flight. Prominent above everything else are the references to the famine, which recur again and again; the distress seems to have been very severe, lasting for three years, and extending across India from Ahmadābād to Masulipatam.

A few miscellaneous observations may be added in conclusion. I should like to know more of the Mīr Jumlah

mentioned under the year 1633 (p. xxxv). I presume he is not identical with the Mīr Jumlah who in 1637 deserted the Gulkanda service and went over to the Moguls. I fancy the Antonio de Andrade, provincial of the Goa Jesuits in 1631 (pp. viii and xxxvi), must be the Jesuit of the same name who went to Tibet twice, first in 1624 and again in 1625, and was thus one of the earliest missionaries in that country. On pp. 87 and 92 instead of "Khwajah Ali Razzāq" I am inclined to read "Khojah" (eunuch) "Ali Rizā". "Razzāq" seems to require "Abd-ul" and not "Ali". You have as proper names either "'Alī Rizā" or "'Abd-ul-razzāq". As for "Rizack", the original spelling, that need be no obstacle, as I have found, for instance, *Rajah* constantly spelt *Rajack*. There was a eunuch at the Gulkanda Court called Rizā Qulī, who conquered for that State part of the Karnātik in 1662, and ruled there until his death in April, 1672, when he was about 76 years of age. Perhaps this "Ali Rizack" is the same man. I see that Mr. Foster favours the spelling "Damān" for the Portuguese town north of Bombay, but from my inquiries I came to the conclusion that the second *a* is short, and that we ought to write "Daman". The nasalized *n* at the end is of Portuguese introduction.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

LE T'AI CHAN: ESSAY DE MONOGRAPHIE D'UN CULTE CHINOIS. Par E. CHAVANNES. Paris: E. Leroux.

There are many Chinese books devoted to an account of the sacred mountain, T'ai Shan, but the only one in a European language is in German, *Der T'ai Shan und seine Kulstalten*, by Tschepe, and it does not quite fill the position which the present exhaustive monograph does. M. Chavannes has the reputation of being a sound sinologue and one of the most industrious. This volume is only another instance of the two qualities which he possesses in such an eminent degree.

The mountain of which the book under review is a study is the most celebrated of the five especially sacred mountains of the Chinese. The part which mountains play in their religion, the rôle assigned to this particular one, the reason for its veneration, and why it occupies such a pre-eminent position, both in nature-worship and in history—all these aspects of the subject are entered into at great length, and the evolutionary process shown by which the worship has developed from high antiquity.

Not only do their solitudes offer suitable retreats for Taoist hermits, their romantic glens present delightful sites for temples and monasteries beside their purling streams, their rugged heights furnish fitting abodes for genii and gods, but the mountains themselves are divine in China. We are indebted to M. Chavannes for putting clearly before us the part which the mountain is believed by the Chinese to play in the economy of the world and its supernatural character. Dominating the plains by their majestic grandeur, the everlasting hills seem emblematic of stability.

Reasoning thus from their massive shape on the earth, they have attributed to them the power of ensuring firmness, preventing earthquakes and floods and the overflowing of rivers. The clouds which gather round the mountain-top are supposed to be under the command of the deity of the mountain, and he has thus in his power the hastening of the harvest. Prayers to this divinity therefore naturally divide themselves under the two headings for security from earthquake and flood and the securing of an early and prosperous harvest. Thanksgivings and petitions are presented for transmission to the Supreme Deity through the agency of the god of the mountain as an intermediary between man and high Heaven.

The East is the source of life, and so T'ai Shan, the easternmost of the five sacred heights, presides in the

east over life. Life is again supposed to be rendered up in the same place, so here the souls of men have their rendezvous when they cast off their mortal coil. The *yang* principle in the dualistic philosophy of the Chinese, which takes within its range almost everything that can be thought of, is believed to be concentrated on this sacred height.

A curious custom is practised among some Buddhists of gilding the bodies of certain deceased monks after applying a coat of lacquer, and thus preserving them for future worship or reverence. Some fifteen cases have been discovered lately by a naval medical officer in China. If our memory serves us right, Sven Hedin mentions it as occurring in Tibet in his last book on that country. A similar practice is in vogue in Siam, though there it is employed simply for a temporary preservation of the corpse till preparations have been made, lasting perhaps a year, for the eventual cremation of the body.

The present writer heard of an instance in the south of China where it was proposed that the body of a deceased Taoist should be preserved for worship by the country people, as he was looked on as almost a saint who had ascended to Heaven, but prudential motives prevented the carrying out of the plan.

M. Chavannes mentions an instance that he came across on T'ai Shan, where, according to the accounts given to him, nature acted as a preservative at first, after which the marvel was preserved in a somewhat similar manner to those described above. What makes it interesting is that this monk was a Taoist, not a Buddhist. One could wish that we had a fuller account of the affair, and that our author had investigated the whole subject as fully as possible. What does he mean by saying "*ses tibias et ses mains*"? Has he trusted to his memory in writing this account, and should he have said "*bras*" instead of "*tibias*"?

The author, with the caution which an intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese entails, speaks of the stones inscribed with the magic formula in which the name T'ai Shan appears, as often seen by the traveller in North China; but such stones are to be seen constantly, let into the walls in the streets, in South China as well. Again, in speaking of dendrolatry the same caution is observed in instancing its occurrence in the north. Doubtless both are widespread through all parts of China, though with regard to tree-worship the form it assumes is somewhat different in the south of China as the present writer has seen it. As regards the stones, other sources for this charm, this demon-frightening inscription, have been assigned, though we believe the potency of T'ai Shan is the real origin. At the same time it does not mean that the stone itself has come from the celebrated mountain, which one naturally would think was the inference to be drawn from the inscription itself.

It is difficult to render happily titles from a language like Chinese, and perhaps improvement might be made in some that are given. The inscription over the chief of the Taoist gods under the trinity of the Three Pure Ones is translated as "Image du grand dieu sovereign de jade, Empereur d'en haut". The word "image" does not appear in the Chinese. The application of the epithet *t'ien tsun* to Taoist deities is only another of the numerous cases, we believe, of imitation of Buddhism by Taoists. It is applied by Buddhists in China to the twenty-four Dêva Aryas, and has been well rendered as Heaven's Revered. There is the analogous title of *shih tsun*, which means the World's Honoured or Revered, so this might be put as the Heaven's Honoured or Revered, instead of *ta t'ien tsun* being translated as "grand dieu", which is not a translation at all.

In one of the numerous temples on T'ai Shan the sage Confucius is represented by an image instead of the usual

tablet. This is uncommon at the present day, though not so at one time. We ourselves have seen one or two instances of it in the Canton province.

A complete topographical guide to T'ai Shan is an interesting part of the book.

Texts are given (and their translations) which refer to the sacrifices by the Emperors of China on this mountain during the Han, T'ang, and Sung dynasties. Would not one translation of the *fong* and *chan* ceremonies have been enough, after which any little additions or changes in subsequent celebrations could have been noticed and commented on? An interesting episode is that of an Empress asking to be allowed to make the offerings to the female deities and to the earth. This was conceded in A.D. 666 and carried on for some time, for even in China woman will at times assert her rights. Eventually, however, the irregularity, as it was considered, was rectified. The prayers specially prepared for the worship, and the most celebrated or the most characteristic inscriptions on T'ai Shan, are translated.

An Appendix gives us an account of the God of the Earth in ancient China, who is the original of the present T'u-ti kung whose image is to be seen at every street corner in the towns and villages. One could have wished that the modern popular ideas of this god had been more fully entered into, for there is but a passing allusion to him in this aspect, and that the goddess, his wife, who sits beside him, had her origin given as well.

The book is illustrated with sixty-one photographs, besides being well provided with an Index and List of Errata; a few mistakes occur which are not noticed. The book is nicely got up typographically, but the binding in paper is evidently only meant to be a temporary one.

J. DYER BALL.

THE SEAL-CYLINDERS OF WESTERN ASIA. By WILLIAM HAYES WARD. Published by the Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1910. London: Quaritch.

Of all the artistic remains of the nations of antiquity in Western Asia, there are probably none which are of greater interest, and which give us more information, than the engraved stone cylinder-seals and gems which their artists, from about 4000 years B.C., produced. In addition to the many public collections of these objects, in London, Paris, New York, Berlin, Constantinople, etc., the subject has attracted such private collectors as the late M. Louis de Clercq, the late Earl of Southesk, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. W. Harding Smith, and others, whilst a few are to be found in the collection of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, and many are scattered in private hands throughout Europe.

For many years the study of cylinder-seals has formed Dr. Hayes Ward's speciality, and he amassed a goodly number of these little monuments, which he has described as being embryo rotary presses, himself. It is probably in this that the collector finds a special charm, as their cylindrical form furnishes him with the greatest amount of material in the smallest space.

The present work is one of considerable extent, running, as it does, to more than 400 quarto pages, with no less than seventy-one chapters, and 1315 figures. And this is only a series of selections of typical subjects. It will easily be understood that this wealth of illustration gives the book special value, though most will admit that good half-tone blocks would have been more satisfactory than the hand-drawn pictures of which the illustrations consist. Most of these objects lend themselves excellently to reproduction by such means, for the subjects engraved upon them do not need to be pieced together like the impressions found on clay tablets, which seldom occur in their entirety.

Perhaps, if a second edition be issued, this improvement could be introduced.

The thoroughness of the descriptive work, however, as well as the selection of the subjects to illustrate it, are beyond all praise. It is, in fact, a book that will be daily consulted by those interesting themselves in the subject of ancient Oriental intaglio engraving. No fewer than twenty-five royal cylinders, or cylinders of royal scribes, are described and figured, and to these must be added fourteen reproductions of cylinders impressed on clay tablets, and bearing the names of kings and their scribes or agents. All this will be useful for reference, notwithstanding that additions thereto will have to be made, probably in the near future.¹

How far these objects go back is at present a matter of conjecture, but 4000 years B.C. is probably a moderate estimate. It would be interesting to know to whom, and in what way, the idea of these primitive "rotary presses" first occurred. Was it that some prehistoric seal-engraver chanced to cover a pebble or an artificially rounded stone with designs, and then, in a moment of relaxation, amused himself by making continuous impressions in clay, without at first realizing the value of his invention? This we shall probably never know, and everyone will have his own opinion as to the origin of these objects.

And very wonderful are these memorials of the dead

¹ It is interesting to note that Dr. Hayes Ward's No. 11 on p. 27, from a tablet in his own possession, has the same cylinder-seal as in *Amherst Tablets*, vol. i, pp. 76-8. In Dr. Ward's specimen the design (the ordinary one of the owner of the cylinder led into the presence of his god) is the more perfect, but apparently the inscription of the Amherst example is the better preserved. The text reads: "Dungi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four regions, En-šinibzu, his servant." Another, on tablet No. 61 of the Hoffman Collection, referred to in Radau's *Early Babylonian History*, p. 251, has likewise the design of the owner led into the presence of his god, and the bird with outspread wings in the field above. The inscription, which may be completed from other tablets, is as follows: "Dungi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four regions, Sur-Lama, the judge, his servant."

civilizations of Western Asia. From the early period of the two seated deities drinking through tubes, and looking somewhat like Orientals smoking strange-shaped nargilehs, to the beautiful specimen of the priest before Ištar (the Assyrian cylinder figured on p. 248), we have a wealth of material upon the art, manners, customs, religion, rites, and ceremonies of the Babylonians and Assyrians, with their neighbours—the nations which came under their influence. We have all our old friends over again, and many new ones. The naked man and the bull-man struggling with lions and bulls—an exceedingly ancient design—and its variant, the ringletted man, tight-clad, kneeling on one knee, and holding a lion by its mane and tail above his head; Etanna and the Eagle, with the landscape visible to that hero when mounted on the bird's back; and many others. One of the most interesting subjects treated by Dr. Hayes Ward, and regarded by him as illustrating this myth, shows a man drawing water by means of the shadouf (p. 147), indicating that this apparatus was known to the Babylonians 2000 years B.C. If the Babylonians knew of it, then the Assyrians must have been accustomed to the use of it too, and Sennacherib can hardly be regarded as the one who introduced this means of raising water¹—which, in fact, he does not claim. Referring to the Kassite cylinders in Babylonia, one of these, the author points out, shows figures holding musical instruments—a lute and a cithern. Many of the cylinders of this period have a representation of a cross, which is stated, with great probability, to be a modification of the pictures of the sun's disc. Much might be said with regard to this, as it would then not only be the emblem of Šamaš and Merodach, but also connected with the winged disc emblematic of Aššur—a common emblem on Assyrian monuments of later days. With regard to the "Syro-Hittite deity in a Chariot" (ch. liii)—a four-horsed

¹ See JRAS. for April, 1910, p. 403.

and four-wheeled vehicle—it is noteworthy that this is shown on a Cappadocian case-tablet of about 2000 B.C., belonging to the Liverpool Institute of Archæology. The literature of this district (Kaisarieh in Asia Minor) seems to have been produced by an Assyrian colony.

For the monumental work noticed here, Dr. Hayes Ward will have the thanks of all interested in these specimens of ancient and often exceedingly primitive art, which he has discussed with such rare knowledge and acumen. It is a book which no writer upon the art and the mythology of the ancient nations of the nearer East can afford to neglect.

T. G. PINCHES.

CYLINDERS AND OTHER ANCIENT ORIENTAL SEALS IN THE
LIBRARY OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN. Catalogued by
WILLIAM HAYES WARD. New York: privately
printed. MCMIX.

From a description of the seal-cylinders of Western Asia as a whole, we come to a detailed catalogue of a very interesting collection, this time illustrated by photographic reproductions of plaster impressions of the objects. These range from the archaic to the Sassanian period, and including the cones and seals, number 323 specimens. Among the most interesting may be mentioned the seal with the lion-headed eagle of Lagaś, with outspread wings, supporting itself on the rumps of two ibexes back to back, and bending the fore-knee, possibly in adoration before the divine names in the inscription, which informs us that it belonged to Lugal-Gusilim, scribe and *šabrū* (seer or the like) of some personage whose name seems to be Lundingira (No. 13). Another noteworthy design is a very early representation of a four-wheeled chariot, drawn by a single horse (or ass) (No. 14). The royal cylinder of Ibe-Sin (about 2750 B.C.), with the inscription, "Ibe-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, (S)ur-Sakkut and seed, his servant" (No. 61), is also of interest. It has the usual

design of the owner being led into the presence of his god. Yet another cylinder shows a seated deity, and two figures introduced by the "bifrons". The first of the two figures carries, suspended behind from a crooked stick, a bunch of dates, and the other bears similarly the "bird-man", hanging head downwards from a kind of mace on his shoulder (No. 60). In the section dealing with the pictures of the Tree of Life, Dr. Hayes Ward says that it "is guarded by a beneficent winged genius who plucks off the fruit and gathers it in a basket to bestow on the possessor of the seal". In confirmation of this he refers to No. 160, where an eagle-headed figure is represented in the act of plucking the fruit. This is a very noteworthy specimen, as is also No. 165, which shows winged figures, human and animal, hovering over a tree, and a dove perched on the top.

A more natural representation of a tree—whether sacred or not may be questioned—is No. 280. It has a rounded leafy top, and a wavy trunk, and making obeisance to it (simply leaping, according to the author) is a spotted stag. This is one of the prettiest and best designs figured.

Though much smaller than the *Seal-cylinders*, noticed above, this is a very important volume, whose value is enhanced by the many photographic reproductions. Both Mr. Pierpont Morgan and the author are to be congratulated on the excellence and value of the work.

T. G. PINCHES.

A HISTORY OF SUMER AND AKKAD: AN ACCOUNT OF THE
EARLY RACES OF BABYLONIA FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES
TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE BABYLONIAN MONARCHY.
By LEONARD W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the
Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities,
British Museum. With map, plans, and illustrations.
London: Chatto & Windus, 1910.

In this work of 380 boldly printed pages we have a conspectus of the history of a very important—perhaps

the most important—nation of the ancient East during the fourth and third millenniums before Christ. We all know the prominent place assigned in the Old Testament to “the land of Shinar”, and the renown attained among the nations of antiquity by the wonders of its later capital, Babylon; and it may justly be said that we do not know, even now, how far we are indebted to them for many an archaic myth or legend, and possibly, also, for some of the requirements of every-day life, passed on to us either through one of the ancient Semitic nations or by the intermediary of Greece and Rome.

Notwithstanding all that has been discovered concerning this ancient tract, we are even now in doubt as to the date of the entry of the non-Semitic and the Semitic inhabitants respectively into the country. Apparently from the earliest period of which we have any documents, they inhabited the land side by side, as is shown by the Semitic words borrowed by the Sumerians and used in their inscriptions. To all appearance, however, it was the Sumerians who, by their superior civilization, were the masters of the country; and it is they who ruled in the earliest period of its history. That there were two races, and that their types were distinct, is not only clear from the early sculptures, but also by the fact that the Sumerians shaved the head as well as the beard, whilst the Semites allowed both to grow. That their deities are represented with hair and long beards is probably due to Semitic influence upon the Sumerian religion, which was possibly, in its origin, purely animistic, whilst the Semites regarded the powers of nature—the sun, moon, wind, etc.—as real deities. But the influence of the Sumerians over the Semites was much greater than that of the Semites over the Sumerians, as is testified by the fact that the kings of the Semitic state of Agadé or Akkad constantly used Sumerian phrases, introduced, seemingly, when their system was adapted to the writing of Semitic Babylonian.

Though this was the earliest Semitic state, it is probable that it was of Sumerian origin, and began its political existence under Sumerian rulers, becoming gradually subjected to the growing Semitic influence. In any case, the other states of Babylonia show a slow transformation of this kind, if we may argue from the names of the kings of the dynasty of Ur. Thus the first two, Sur-Engur and his son Dungi both have Sumerian names, but those of the remaining kings of the dynasty, Bûr-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibê-Sin, are all Semitic. Another example is that of the Elamite kings of Larsa, in which a change from Elamite to Sumerian and Semitic may be traced. Semitization, therefore, would seem not to have been caused by a conflict or revolution, but by a gradual change, due to the peaceable nature of the people, who were indifferent as to who ruled them as long as their rulers satisfied them.

In Mr. King's book the above questions are treated from a different point of view, but the conclusions are practically the same. A good account of the early cities of Babylonia is likewise given, beginning with Lagaš, that wonderful state of primitive times with a really chequered history. Among these cities Abû-Shahrain, the site of Êridu, the renowned home of Êa or Enki, father of Merodach, king of the gods, is of special interest.¹ The other sites treated of are Jôkha; Fâra (the home of Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah); Abû-hatab; Warka (Erech); and Muqayyar (Ur of the Chaldees). One would have liked, however, to see something more about Bismâya (Adab), where an exceedingly interesting crematorium was found;² Sinkâra, the Biblical Ellasar, and other sites. It is needless to say, however, that there were many more important cities in ancient Babylonia than these, and the inscriptions furnish

¹ It is noteworthy that Nabonidus is sometimes called "King of Eridu".

² This seems to prove the burning of the dead in that state, in which case the statement on p. 21 would need modification.

us with hundred Babylonian place-names, all which, so to be hoped, will ultimately be explored and identified. It is gratifying to note that the first descriptions of two of the primitive cities of Babylonia—Mugheir or Muqyar and Abû-Shahrain—were published in the *Journal* of this Society, and still retain their original value. With regard to Tel Ibrahim, there is no doubt that this marks the site of Cuthah; tablets found by Rassam in the ruins seem to place this beyond a doubt.

With respect to the racial type of the Sumerians, the author remarks that as not proven. Probably none will find fault with him for this, but those who put forward their Mongolian origin will object to the statement that the idea was first suggested by "the obliquely set eyes of the figures in the earlier reliefs, due mainly to an ignorance of perspective characteristic of all primitive art". The Mongolian theory I, too, hold as possible, but I did not base my opinion upon these reliefs, though I regarded one, and one only, as supporting it. Most, too, will probably deny that the comparison of certain Sumerian words with Turkish is unworthy of being considered—"may well be fortuitous." Concerning the entry of the Semites into the country, there is every possibility that the author may be right when he imagines it to have been from the north-west, "after traversing the Syrian coast-lands". They not only settled in Babylonia, but also founded "the independent principalities of Lulubu and Gutium". Other Semitic states mentioned in connexion with Lulubu are Simurum, and we also meet with the apparently Semitic names Šašrum and Urbillum, as well as Harsî and Humurti, cited along with Kimaš, whilst yet another similar name is Simalum. All these occur in the date-lists of the dynasty of Ur, about 2800 B.C., and others are to be found in the texts of the tablets of this period. Yet others are Karšum in South Babylonia, and Sabum, a doubtful district. In all probability the predominance

Sumerian names for the cities of Babylonia in early times is a sufficient proof that the Sumerians were the first inhabitants of the country; about 30 per cent. only are to all appearance Semitic, indicating either later (Semitic) foundations or Sumerian cities to which Semitic names were afterwards given. How far back the foundation of the Sumerian settlements went is uncertain, but the date of their civilization would be about 3400 B.C., but not earlier, in the opinion of Mr. King.

From the chapter on the wars of the city-states and the fall of Lagaš we gather that the early Sumerians had already elaborated all the needful machinery of government, even at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. The author quotes in full Thureau-Dangin's translation of the remarkable record of the misfortunes of Lagaš, and points out the cumulative effect of its oft-repeated phrases; and to this may be added the force of its final words: "The power that is come unto them, from them shall it be taken away. Of sin on the part of Uru-ka-gina, king of Girsu, there is none; but as for Lugal-zaggi-si, *issag* of Umma, may his goddess Nidaba bear this sin upon her head."

Discussions of the cultural influence of the Sumerians and an account of the recent explorations in Turkestan, though they lead to no definite conclusions, add to the value of the volume.

T. G. PINCHES.

HERM. MØLLER. INDOEUROPÆISK - SEMITISK SAMMENLIGNENDE GLOSSARIUM. Copenhagen, 1909.

This is a continuation of Professor Møller's well-known researches upon the subject of the connexion of the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic languages with each other, and, notwithstanding the abbreviated way in which the work is presented, will be found of considerable interest. The book shows much and extended research, and the number

of comparisons which are registered therein is enormous, when the limited extent of the work (152 pages) is considered. The roots are arranged alphabetically from the Indo-Germanic standpoint, and the sounds are classified systematically. It is difficult to choose any special entry as being more interesting than others, but that under *ād*, the preposition, might be chosen, in which the Latin *ad*, Ags. *æt*, Phœn. *yad*, Aram. *yad*, Assyrian *adi*, etc., are compared. An index, especially for the Semitic words quoted, would be a help to the study of the work.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Series D: Researches and Treatises. Vol. V, Fasciculus 1: The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge-story, and The Temple Library of Nippur. By H. V. HILPRECHT. pp. x, 65, and 2 plates. Philadelphia: published by the University of Pennsylvania. 1910.

DER NEUE FUND ZUR SINTFLUTGESCHICHTE AUS DER TEMPELBIBLIOTHEK VON NIPPUR. Von H. V. HILPRECHT. Mit 6 Abbildungen. pp. 64 and 2 plates. Leipzig: H. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1910.

The importance for Biblical history of the Babylonian story of the Flood accounts, doubtless, for the great amount of interest that has been aroused by these publications, though not for the severe criticism to which the first has been subjected. As the title indicates, this new fragment comes from the Temple Library of Nippur, which is identified with the Calneh of the 10th chapter of Genesis. This, according to the Biblical record and the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria, was one of the oldest cities of Babylonia, and anything coming from the site, if written in archaic script, would naturally have authority

as being either an original or a copy of the oldest possible period. Whatever be the date of the fragment, it is probably a copy of an earlier original, but how it compares in the matter of antiquity with the other versions known must be left to future research to determine.

The fragment which forms the subject of these two modest publications is small, measuring only $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The obverse is entirely broken away, except for the ends of three lines visible on the right-hand edge. The text preserved consists, therefore, of the remains of fourteen lines of the right-hand column of the reverse, and where it first becomes legible the Creator seems to be speaking. He announces that he will loosen [the confines of heaven and earth, and make a deluge], which shall sweep away all men together; but the Chaldean Noah is to [seek lif]e before the deluge cometh forth, for [over all things], as many as there were, he was going to bring overthrow, destruction, and annihilation. The person spoken to is directed to build a great ship, the dimensions of which were given, though they are unfortunately broken away on the fragment. It was to be "a house-boat", carrying what had been saved of life, and was to be covered with a strong deck. Into it were to be taken the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven, [and the creeping things, two of everything], instead of a number, according to the author's restoration of this line. The patriarch's family is then referred to, and at this point the text unfortunately breaks off.

There is no doubt that we have here an exceedingly interesting and important addition to our knowledge of the Babylonian deluge-legend, in this case with noteworthy variations, bringing it apparently more into accord with the Biblical version. It would take up too much space here, however, to make all the comparisons with the account in Genesis which Professor Hilprecht suggests, but the "loosening of the bonds", etc., is compared with

the loosening of the fountains of the great deep in Gen. vii, 11; the sweeping away of all men finds its parallel in Gen. vi, 11, where the destruction of all men along with the earth is referred to. The destruction and annihilation of all things is compared with the destruction of all flesh in Gen. vi, 17. It is to be remarked that in the directions to take the living things into the ark the birds of heaven are referred to as in Gen. vi, 20, etc. (this is absent in George Smith's Nineveh version). The description of the vessel as a *ma-gurgurru*^m, which the author translates as "house-boat", is noteworthy. It apparently refers, as he explains, to its being covered in (as the Nineveh version has it), "like the abyss," by the crust of the earth—domed, seemingly, as the second *Daily Telegraph* fragment implies, "like the vault of heaven."

Naturally, in such a small fragment, there is much that is doubtful, but all unprejudiced readers will probably admit that Professor Hilprecht has done his best with the meagre amount of material at his disposal. Whether the line containing the characters *ku-um mi-ni* is to be translated and completed "[two of everything]" instead of a number", and the translation of the corresponding phrase in Hebrew, לְמִינֵהוּ, is to be modified in accordance therewith, as he contends, may be left to future discoveries to settle—in any case, it is worthy of careful consideration, and may be substantially correct.

Concerning the date of the fragment, there has been much discussion, as it has been contended in America that it belongs to the Kassite period (1700–1300 B.C.). This, however, would seem to be against the indications of the explorers, as it came, according to the statements published by Professor Hilprecht, from "Tablet Hill", a part of the ruins of Niffer which, among the 2200 fragments or thereabouts found there, has produced none of a later date than Rîm-Sin, the contemporary of Hammurabi and king of Larsa. This statement, which is supported by the

evidence of Dr. J. P. Peters, the first explorer of the site since the days of Layard, and the first leader and director of the American explorations on the site, would seem to be conclusive, and in that case would overrule any palæographic indications that the fragment belonged to a lower date. When my attention was called to the matter I was inclined for the later (early Kassite) period, but frankly stated that I had not had an opportunity of examining many tablets of that period at first hand. Moreover, it may be argued that no hard and fast line with regard to the date of the script can be drawn. I therefore refrain from further committing myself in the matter. Professor Hilprecht's estimate of the date of the fragment is probably correct, and in any case, he, having seen the tablets of the site where it was found, both those of the Kassite and the earlier periods, has had better opportunities of estimating the date of the fragment than I have.

A great many interesting questions are touched upon by the author of this important contribution to the literature of the Flood, among them being the chronology of the second portion of the Dynasty of Isin, the order of whose rulers he gives as follows:—

Ur-NIN-IB, Bûr-Sin II, Itêr-pî-ša, Uru-imitti, Sin-iqîšam, Enlil-bani, Zambîa, Sin (Nannar ?)-êllu, Sin-māgir, and Damiq-îli-šu.

The tablets containing these names, the author says, show a mingling of the older and younger forms of writing, the scribes of Itêr-pî-ša and Enlil-bani preferring the older, and those of Zambîa and Damiq-îli-šu the later forms of the Babylonian characters.

An interesting point for the present writer is Professor Hilprecht's note upon the name of Itêr-pî-ša. According to him, the character represented by *pî* is that quoted in the *Journal* of this Society for 1909, p. 1155. This

confirms my reading of *Pî-ša-Iši-Dagan* in the *Amherst Tablets*, vol. i, pp. xv, xvi, 52, 54, etc., the first component of which is expressed by the sign in question.

Both works are worthy of the reputation of the author, to whom American Assyriology is greatly indebted.

T. G. PINCHES.

LA DÉCOUVERTE DE LA LOI SOUS LE ROI JOSIAS. UNE
INTERPRÉTATION ÉGYPTIENNE D'UN TEXTE BIBLIQUE.
Par EDOUARD NAVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. Extrait
des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles
Lettres, Tome XXXV, 2^e Partie. Paris : Librairie
Klincksieck. MDCCCX.

Many years ago I suggested that the single language of the world as known to the Hebrews, abolished by the Creator on the occasion of the building of the Tower of Babel, was the Assyro-Babylonian *lingua franca*, which, as the Tel el Amarna tablets prove, was used from the Babylonian plain to the Mediterranean, and also, it would seem, in Persia and Elam. Professor Sayce, in the *Expository Times*, has gone farther than this, and shows that in the second chapter of the Book of Genesis a number of the verses are simply reproductions of a Babylonian original text. Professor Naville, however, in the opusculum before us, makes a good attempt to prove that the whole of the Pentateuch was written in cuneiform, and that Deuteronomy, hidden in the foundations of the Temple at Jerusalem, was lost and forgotten until the time of Josiah, when it was discovered by the High Priest Hilkiah. Being unable to understand the script in which it was written, he handed it to Shaphan the scribe, whom Naville supposes to have been learned in that script. The result of this was that the king regarded it as being of such importance that it was read before the people, and

restored to its place in the sacred canon. The Egyptians were accustomed to inscribe chapters of the Book of the Dead on stone, which were sometimes hidden under a divine statue, and the writing is described as having been of a special and mysterious nature. It was, moreover, the custom of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians to place records in the foundations of their great buildings, and to this custom we are indebted for a not inconsiderable amount of the Assyro-Babylonian literature which has come down to us. The placing of the book in the foundations, however, was really due to the influence over the Hebrews of the Egyptian custom referred to, of which Professor Naville gives numerous interesting examples.

The great literary man of the Hebrews was Solomon, who had close relations with Hiram of Tyre. It was probably owing to this great king that the Phœnician script replaced the complicated cuneiform among the Hebrews, and afterwards penetrated to the other nations of Western Asia, being used even in Babylonia and Assyria, the strongholds of the wedge-written records, though to a rather limited extent.

Such is the theme of Professor Naville's interesting paper, which is worked out in detail, and contains many noteworthy arguments. Naturally it lacks the advantage of absolute proof, but this is a defect from which all theories, even the most probable, suffer. Should it turn out to be correct, however, the higher critics will have to reconsider their position, and all conceptions concerning the earlier books of the Old Testament will probably need modification.

Naturally such a book as the Book of Deuteronomy would have been written on skin or some similar flexible substance, and special precautions must have been taken to preserve it against decay. Clay tablets, however, are not altogether excluded, though necessarily bulky; indeed,

they would need quite a considerable recess for their accommodation.

Professor Naville may be congratulated on having brought forward a most attractive theory for all except the higher critics, and it is to be hoped that he may be able to elaborate it.

T. G. PINCHES.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट t	ब b
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ऊ ḷ

◌̣ (Anusvāra) ṃ

◌̤ (Anunāsika) m̤

◌̥ (Visarga) h̥

◌̦ (Jihvāmūliya) h̦

◌̧ (Upadhmāniya) ḩ

◌̨ (Aragraha) '̨

◌̩ (Udātta) ◌̩

◌̪ (Svarita) ◌̪

◌̫ (Anudātta) ◌̫

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit ;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere َ or ِ	ل l	ع ī
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	و ū
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . . s or z	و . . w or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or z	ه h
ح ḥ	ط t	ي y
خ . ḥ or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	و au
د d	ع َ	wasla ْ
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS.
ر r	ف f	hamza َ or ِ
ز z	ق q	silent t . . ḥ
		letter not pro-
		nounced . . َ

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro-	ت or پ . t	خ . . . ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>	nounced as	ق or چ . . q	ج . . . g
ژ . z or <u>zh</u>	g k	ز or ر . . r	ن . . . n
گ g	گ ñ		ش . . . ksh

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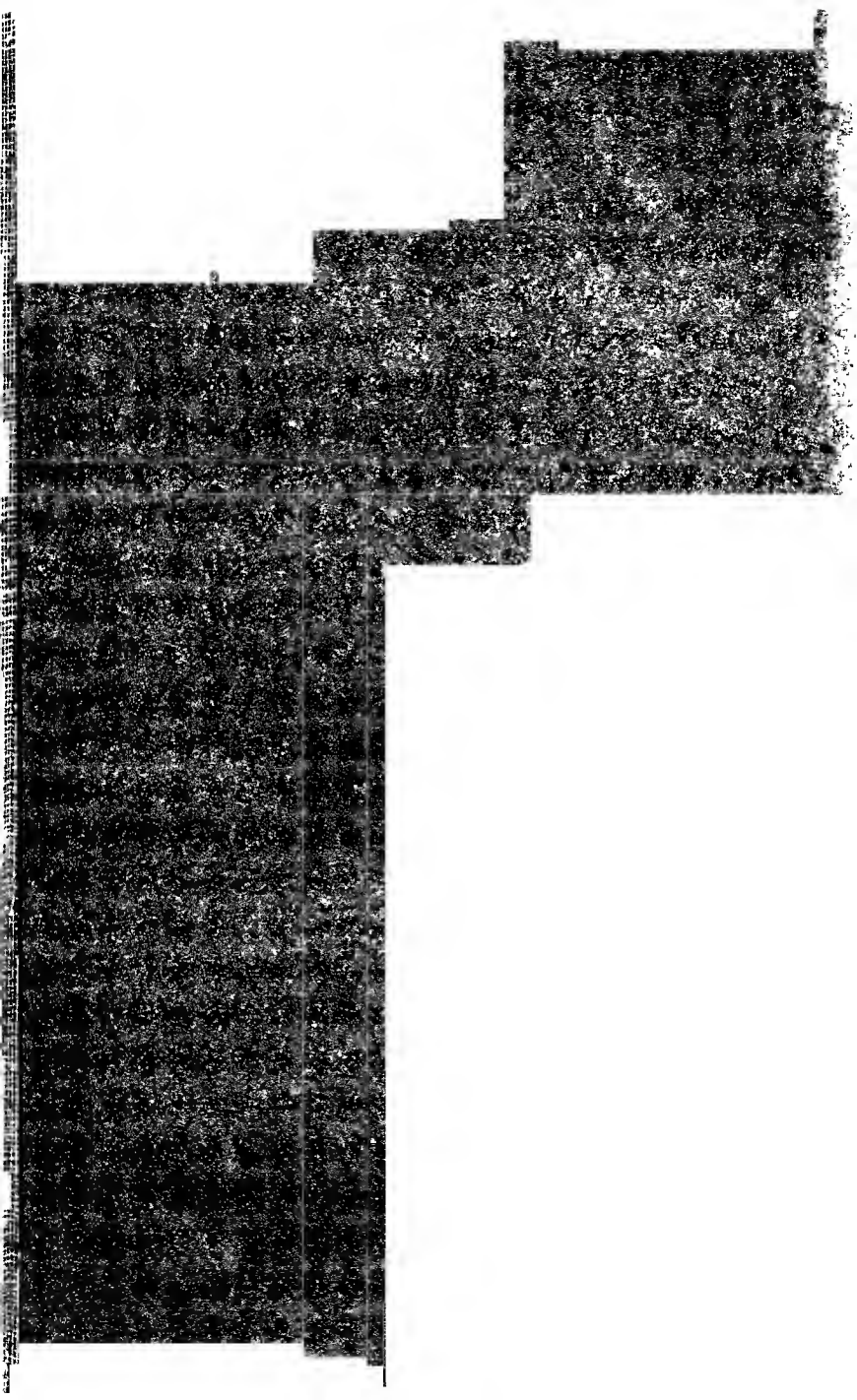
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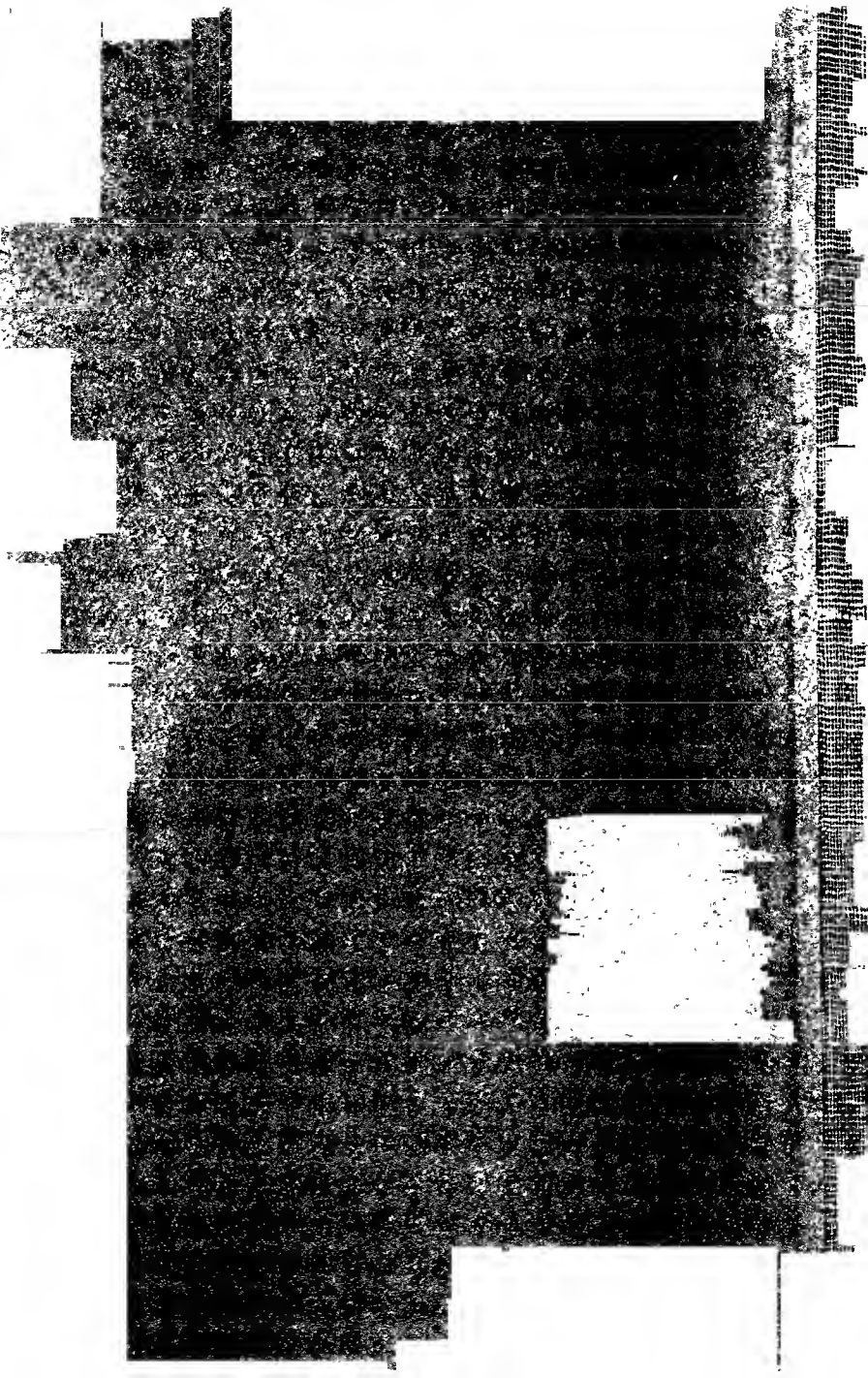
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